

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

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**CASE CONCERNING**

**ARBITRAL AWARD OF 3 OCTOBER 1899**

**CO-OPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA**

**v.**

**BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA**

**MEMORIAL OF GUYANA**

**VOLUME III**

**19 NOVEMBER 2018**



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## **Annex 54**

Government of Guyana, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Memorandum on the Guyana/Venezuela Boundary* (2 Nov. 1981), reprinted in U.N. General Assembly, 36th Session, *Review of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security*, U.N. Doc A/C.1/36/9 (9 Nov. 1981)







UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/C.1/36/9  
9 November 1981

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

IN LIBRARY

Thirty-sixth session  
FIRST COMMITTEE  
Agenda item 58

NOV 17 1981

UN/SA COLLECTION

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON  
THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 2 November 1981 from the Permanent Representative of  
Guyana to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to request that you arrange to have the enclosed memorandum prepared by the Government of Guyana with respect to Venezuela's claim to territory in Guyana circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 58.

(Signed) Noel G. SINCLAIR  
Permanent Representative

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# MEMORANDUM ON THE GUYANA / VENEZUELA BOUNDARY

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**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
GUYANA**

## INTRODUCTION

Guyana is under militant threat of a claim by the neighbouring republic of Venezuela to no less than five eighths of her territory. Guyana is a small developing country which achieved independence just fifteen years ago. Venezuela is a rich and comparatively powerful country with a land area four times that of Guyana and a population twenty times that of Guyana. Her claim is being advanced through an intensive campaign of mounting hostility to Guyana. The claim moreover is one which completely disregards the fact that the existing boundary was defined by the unanimous judgment of an international arbitral tribunal given in Paris in 1899, that it was thereafter laid down on the ground by a Venezuelan/British Mixed Boundary Commission, and that, as so laid down, it was fully respected and observed by both sides and by the international community for upwards of sixty years.

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### Brief Historical Background

The origins of the problem lie in the European scramble for empire in the "New World" which took place during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the major colonising powers being Spain, Portugal, Holland and Britain. It was against a background of unsettled and competing claims amongst these powers that the liberation struggles within Latin America were carried on in the early years of the 19th century. The consequence was that many countries emerged out of that process into independence without defined boundaries. These were left to be determined by the new states themselves through negotiation, arbitration, and, regrettably in some cases, armed conflict. One of these states was the Republic of Venezuela, which proclaimed its independence from Spain in 1811.

The Republic of Guyana consisted originally of the three separate Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice. These were conquered by Britain in 1803 and were ceded to it by the Dutch in 1814. In 1831 the three colonies were united to form the Colony of British Guiana. British Guiana achieved independence in 1966 under the name of Guyana.

### The Venezuela/British Guiana Boundary Dispute

Arising out of the historical circumstances alluded to above, for the greater part of the 19th century the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela was the subject of dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, the territory claimed by Venezuela being the entirety of what was the original Dutch colony of Essequibo, while the territory claimed by Great Britain reached far into what are now the eastern and north eastern regions of Venezuela.

Venezuela sought the support of the United States which gave the support sought in supposed vindication of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. Under what history records as a definite threat of war by the United States, Great Britain agreed with Venezuela to submit the dispute to international arbitration.

### The Treaty of Washington, 1897

With that object in view on February 2, 1897, Britain and Venezuela signed a treaty in Washington under which they agreed

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to establish an international arbitral tribunal for the purpose of determining the "*boundary line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela*". After spelling out the terms and conditions under which the Arbitral Tribunal was to function, the treaty concluded with a solemn undertaking by the two Contracting Parties "*to consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect and final settlement of all the questions referred to the Arbitrators*".

The Arbitral Tribunal consisted of five members. Two of these were appointed on behalf of Britain. They were the Lord Chief Justice of England and an English Justice of Appeal. Two members were appointed on behalf of Venezuela. They were the Chief Justice and another member of the Supreme Court of the United States. The fifth member was a distinguished Russian jurist unanimously chosen by the other four members.

#### The Case before the Arbitral Tribunal

In the course of the procedures leading up to the arbitration, several volumes of historical evidence and arguments were exchanged between the two sides. The hearing before the Arbitral Tribunal, which was held in Paris in 1899, occupied no less than 54 sessions of oral argument.

In the case as presented by her, Venezuela elected to found her claim on rights based on Spanish discovery of the "New World". Such evidence of occupation as she advanced was secondary, tenuous and perfunctory. By contrast, the British rested their case on concrete acts of extensive occupation, possession and development carried on both by themselves and by their Dutch predecessors.

#### The Arbitral Award, 1899

On October 3, 1899, the Arbitral Tribunal gave its decision. The decision was unanimous. It laid down a line corresponding to the existing boundary.

The Award of the Tribunal coincided substantially with the British case, but not entirely, because certain areas claimed by the British, including the strategic mouths and lower reaches of the Amakura and Barima rivers and the upper reaches of the Cuyuni river, were awarded to Venezuela.

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### Acceptance of the Award

The Award was the subject of appreciative comments from responsible quarters both in the United States and in Venezuela. During the years 1901-1905 the boundary as defined by the Award was laid down on the ground by a Venezuela/British Mixed Boundary Commission. On January 10, 1905, the Boundary Commissioners unanimously signed a Joint Report of the boundary as demarcated by them and as set out in a map of the entire boundary which was also signed by them. Their report, with the boundary map, was in due course presented to and accepted by both governments.

For over six decades successive generations of British, Guyanese and Venezuelans and, indeed, the rest of the international community accepted as settled and final the boundary as laid down by the Arbitral Tribunal and as demarcated by the Venezuela/British Mixed Boundary Commission. The boundary as so laid down was later reproduced in official Venezuelan maps, including maps published in Caracas in 1911 and 1917. On July 24, 1932, the Bulletin of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela published the text of an Act of Inauguration by the Venezuelan Legislature of certain border marks which had been agreed by Guyana, Venezuela and Brazil as determining the tri-junction point of the boundaries of the three countries where they meet at Mount Roraima. Indeed, as late as December 13, 1965, the Legislative Assembly of the Venezuelan State of Bolivar, which is adjacent to Guyana, enacted a law which formally incorporated and promulgated the definition of the boundary as laid down by the 1899 Arbitral Award. It is to be remarked that that law was passed some three years after Venezuela first repudiated the Arbitral Award of 1899 upon pretensions to be now noticed.

### A Posthumous Allegation

In keeping with her solicitation of American sponsorship of her cause, Venezuela had elected in 1899 to have her case presented to the Arbitral Tribunal by four American lawyers, namely, ex-United States President General Benjamin Harrison, ex-United States Secretary of War General Benjamin Tracy, Mr. Severo Mallet-Prevost and Mr. James Russell Soley. Mr. Mallet-Prevost was a junior lawyer in the team. In January 1944 he was decorated by the Venezuelan Government with the Order of the Liberator. On

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the 8th day of the following month and after all the other actors in the drama had passed away, he dictated a memorandum which he directed should be published only after his death. In this document, which was published posthumously in 1949, Mr. Mallet-Prevost asserted that the 1899 Arbitral Award was null and void on the alleged ground that it was the result of a political deal between Great Britain and Czarist Russia.

#### **The Allegation is without Merit**

Serious research has long since questioned the accuracy of the faded recollections on which Mr. Mallet-Prevost's posthumous allegations were sought to be based. Even writers known to be otherwise sympathetic to Venezuela have agreed that his allegation that the Award was the result of a political deal between Britain and Czarist Russia is without foundation. Yet it is chiefly on the strength of this wholly unsubstantiated calumny of the distinguished members of the Arbitral Tribunal of 1899 that Venezuela is now seeking to impugn the validity of the Award.

Recognising the utter weakness of the Mallet-Prevost allegation of a political deal, Venezuela has sought to rest her case on alternative grounds including, for example, matters relating to the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington 1897 and the fact that no reasons were given by the Arbitral Tribunal for its decision. But the material on which challenge is sought to be brought on these alleged grounds was always within the full knowledge of Venezuela which nevertheless positively affirmed the validity of the boundary for six decades. For this and other reasons, which cannot be conveniently dealt with here, these other alleged grounds of challenge are considered to be without merit.

#### **Venezuela Objects To Guyana's Independence**

Meanwhile, in Guyana the struggle against colonialism was gaining momentum. By 1962 it was clear that the demand of the Guyanese people for independence could not much longer be put off. In 1962, during a sensitive and vulnerable phase in Guyana's movement for independence, Venezuela raised the question of the boundary in the United Nations, when she formally repudiated the validity of the 1899 Arbitral Award and objected to independence being granted to Guyana until and unless the question so raised had been settled. Concomitantly, Venezuela launched an international campaign against Guyana the effect of which, had it been

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successful, would have been to delay the granting of independence to Guyana and to prolong her colonial status.

#### Examination of Documents

Notwithstanding the certain failure of Venezuela's attempts to delay Guyana's independence, as the time for granting independence approached the Government of the United Kingdom, in consultation with the Government of the then Colony of British Guiana, agreed as a gesture of goodwill to afford to the Venezuelan Government an opportunity of having its contention of nullity examined. Accordingly, on November 12, 1962, Mr. Colin Crowe, the United Kingdom representative at the United Nations, made an offer to Venezuela in the United Nations Special Committee to the effect that the relevant documentary material on the 1899 Award be examined by experts from the United Kingdom, British Guiana and Venezuela. In doing so he was, however, careful to state —

In making this offer, I must make it very clear that it is in no sense an offer to engage in substantive talks about revision of the frontier. That we cannot do; for we consider that there is no justification for it.

Venezuela having accepted this offer, the documents were then duly examined by experts from each of the three countries between 1963 and 1965. In the opinion of the governments of the United Kingdom and British Guiana the work of the experts disclosed that there was not a scintilla of evidence to support Venezuela's contention of nullity.

#### The Geneva Agreement — February 17, 1966

However, in view of continued Venezuelan agitation, which became particularly marked during the period immediately preceding Guyana's independence, just four months before independence the Government of the United Kingdom, in consultation with the Government of Guyana, agreed with the Government of Venezuela to establish a Mixed Commission of Guyanese and Venezuelan representatives charged with "the task of seeking satisfactory solutions for the practical settlement of the controversy between Venezuela and the United Kingdom which has arisen as the result of the Venezuelan contention that the

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Arbitral Award of 1899 about the frontier between British Guiana and Venezuela is null and void" The arrangement to this effect was set out in the Geneva Agreement which was signed by the United Kingdom, Guyana and Venezuela at Geneva on February 17, 1966. The life of the Mixed Commission so established was stipulated to be four years. During that period the Geneva Agreement explicitly prohibited either party from pursuing the issue in any form or manner except within the Mixed Commission.

#### Venezuela's Refusal to Prove her Case

The Mixed Commission held several meetings during the four years of its existence. At the very first meeting, Guyana invited Venezuela to produce evidence and arguments in support of her basic contention that the 1899 Arbitral Award was null and void. Surprisingly, Venezuela's reaction was that the issue of nullity, which she had raised, was not an issue with which the Mixed Commission should concern itself, and that the only issue before the Commission was how much land Guyana was prepared to make over to Venezuela. Guyana not unnaturally declined to proceed in that way. Venezuela then sought to circumvent argument about her contention of nullity by putting forward proposals for the "joint development" of the area claimed by her under arrangements which would effectively have transferred to her substantial elements of sovereignty over the area. These "joint development" proposals were consequently unacceptable to Guyana.

#### Venezuela's Breaches of the Geneva Agreement

The work of the Mixed Commission was regrettably hampered by pressure and hostility exerted by Venezuela throughout the life of the Commission. The fact that these acts represented distinct breaches of the Geneva Agreement and accepted norms of international behaviour seemed in no way to trouble Venezuela. Guyana's protests, both within the Mixed Commission and directly to the Government of Venezuela, were contumaciously ignored. Some of these breaches were as follows:—

(i) *Venezuela's Violation of Guyana's Territorial Integrity – Ankoko Island*

In accordance with the general map of the boundary, as

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demarcated and authenticated in 1905 by the Venezuela/British Mixed Boundary Commission, the eastern portion of the island of Ankoko in the Cuyuni River belongs to Guyana. As mentioned earlier, that fact was distinctly recognised as recently as December 13, 1965, in a decree concerning the boundary which was published in the Official Gazette of the Venezuelan State of Bolivar which abuts Guyana in the area of Ankoko Island. Yet a mere ten months after the publication of that decree the armed forces of Venezuela proceeded to invade the Guyana portion of the island, which ever since has been in the illegal occupation of Venezuela notwithstanding repeated protests from Guyana.

*(ii) Venezuela's Attempt to appropriate Guyana's Off-shore Waters*

On July 9, 1968, President Leoni of Venezuela signed a Decree purporting to annex as part of the territorial waters and contiguous zone of Venezuela a belt of sea lying along the coast of Guyana between the mouth of the Essequibo River and Waini Point, and purporting further to require the armed forces of Venezuela to impose the dominion of Venezuela over the said belt of sea. This Presidential Decree, apart from being in open breach of the Geneva Agreement, also contravened international maritime law since it violated the Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone and the Convention on the Continental Shelf of 1958, both of which clearly visualise that such off-shore waters pertain only to the relevant coastal state.

*(iii) Economic Blackmail and Aggression\**

On May 15, 1968, there was published in "The Times" of London a paid advertisement entitled "Communique from the Venezuela Ministry of Foreign Affairs" dated May 14, 1968, in which the Government of Venezuela publicly and categorically stated "that they do not recognise any type of such supposed concessions, either granted or to be granted by the Guyana Government over the territory stretching to the West of the Essequibo River from its source to its mouth . . ." The Venezuelan Government was reacting to information that, with the help of the United Nations and the United States of America, the Government

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of Guyana was seeking to develop the mineral sector of the country's economy in the Essequibo region. This is but one example of pressure consistently applied by Venezuela with a view to strangling Guyana's economic development.

*(iv) Venezuela's Intervention in Guyana's Internal Affairs*

Between 1966 and 1968 agents of the Government of Venezuela organised clandestine meetings with citizens of Guyana, aimed at the promotion of her claim through subversion. These efforts were unsuccessful. Indeed, in the early years of her independence the Government of Guyana was obliged to expel a Venezuelan diplomat for the part he played in these acts of interference in the internal affairs of Guyana.

Between December 24, 1968, and January 2, 1969, the Venezuelan Government however instigated and conspired with a number of ranchers in the Rupununi District of Guyana, which is in the area claimed by Venezuela, to seize certain administrative posts in the area. The aim was to establish a separate state in secession from the rest of Guyana. Venezuela had an active role in training, arming and supplying these ranchers. The attempted act of secession failed and with it Venezuela's efforts at promoting her claim by such means.

Guyana has naturally reserved her position on all of these breaches by Venezuela of the Geneva Agreement and of international law.

**The Protocol of Port-of-Spain, June 18, 1970**

Against this background it is not surprising that the Guyana/Venezuela Mixed Commission ended its four-year term of office without reaching agreement for the settlement of the controversy. In keeping with article IV of the Geneva Agreement the governments of Guyana and Venezuela were thereupon required to choose one of the means of peaceful settlement specified in article 33 of the United Nations Charter, namely, negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other means of peaceful settlement chosen by the parties.

The requirement to resort to these settlement procedures was suspended in 1970 by a new Agreement which in effect froze the

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problem for a twelve-year period. This period expires on June 17, 1982, but is automatically renewable unless either party gives six months' notice of termination. The Agreement, which was signed at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, operates as a Protocol to the Geneva Agreement 1966. So long as the Protocol is in force it imposes upon Guyana and Venezuela the duty to explore all possibilities of better understandings between them and their peoples and for the constructive improvement of their relations. Correspondingly, it continued the prohibition imposed by the Geneva Agreement against any activation of the controversy raised by the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award was null and void.

### The Operation of the Protocol of Port-of-Spain

At the beginning, the Protocol of Port-of-Spain served to induce a period of calm and a measure of responsible behaviour from Venezuela following the hostilities and various forms of aggression and intimidation against Guyana which were features of previous years. Thus, on Guyana's initiative, Dr. Haydee Castillo de Lopez Acosta, Minister of Development, became in 1971 the first Venezuelan Minister ever to make an official visit to Guyana. Later that year Cde. P.A. Reid, then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, returned the visit. In the years which followed discussions took place at several levels. These discussions, from a Guyana point of view, were aimed at improving co-operation between the two countries in many areas. The spirit generated by the Protocol of Port-of-Spain provided the climate for exploratory conversations of substance which took place in 1978 between the then President of Venezuela, Sr. Carlos Andres Perez, and Guyana's then Prime Minister, Cde. Forbes Burnham. These conversations examined in considerable depth the state of relations between Guyana and Venezuela and were regarded as helpful in advancing the objectives of the Protocol and in opening the way for a more ordered search for a settlement of the controversy which stemmed from the Venezuelan contention that the Award of 1899 was a nullity.

Unfortunately, the later years of the Protocol saw a recrudescence of Venezuelan hostility towards Guyana. Notwithstanding that, however, with the advent of a new Venezuelan administration early in 1979, the Government of Guyana renewed its efforts towards meaningful discussion and co-operation with Venezuela.

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### **Visit of the President of Guyana to Venezuela – April 2-3, 1981**

Indeed, it was in furtherance of these objectives that the President of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana paid a visit to Venezuela on April 2-3, 1981, in response to an invitation by his counterpart. The visit, which at the official level was cordial, unfortunately took place amidst an orchestrated Venezuelan campaign of hostility towards Guyana, including strident calls for military occupation of the region claimed and the institution of a naval blockade of Guyana.

### **Statement by the President of Venezuela – 4th April, 1981**

Less than twenty-four hours after the President of Guyana returned home, the President of Venezuela saw fit to issue from Miraflores Palace the following statement:

As a result of the recent visit to Venezuela of the President of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, Mr. Linden Forbes Burnham, and the meetings he held with President Luis Herrera Campins, the Venezuelan Government announced that:

1. Both Chiefs of State held cordial and frank talks on relevant issues and on matters of current international interest.
2. President Herrera Campins firmly ratifies Venezuela's claims to the Essequibo territory. An illegal arbitration award of 1899, which was never valid, despoiled Venezuela of that territory.
3. President Herrera Campins thus reiterates Venezuela's rejection of any compromise incompatible with Venezuela's claim and stresses the nation's desire that the grave injustice committed against it by the voracity of the colonial empires should be righted.

For the same reason President Herrera reiterates Venezuela's rejection of the Hydroelectric Project of the Upper Mazaruni.

4. President Herrera also reiterates that Venezuela and Guyana are committed to seek practical and satisfactory

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solutions to the pending controversy, and ratifies Venezuela's determination to continue exploring every means to achieve that end.

Therefore, for the record, he states that at this moment, Venezuela is not willing to extend the Port-of-Spain Protocol.

Thus, even while the moratorium so thoughtfully provided by the Protocol of Port-of-Spain was still in force, Venezuela at the highest level represented by her President chose to go on record as breaching the moratorium by actively reviving the issue and seeking to thwart the economic development of Guyana. This latter aspect of Venezuela's current attitude is particularly surprising, regard being had to Venezuela's professions of concern for the economically disadvantaged and her championship of the cause of economic co-operation among developing countries.

If the belligerency of Venezuela's current campaign of hostility towards Guyana is any guide, it is a fair if unsettling conclusion that the statement by the Venezuelan President of Venezuela's intention to terminate the Protocol of Port-of-Spain portends for Guyana an ominous return to the unhappy earlier period during which both Guyana and the Caribbean region faced constant threat to their peace and security as a result of the Venezuelan claim and the methods whereby it was asserted and advanced.

#### Venezuela — the New Conquistador

The Venezuelan claim, being based on supposed rights of Spanish discovery, rests essentially on the long since discarded notion that it was the manifest destiny of European peoples to hold dominion over non-white peoples and their lands. Technological superiority was thought sufficient to override the claims of others. Examples abound. Today, however, the principle of self-determination is a mandatory and fully crystallised norm of international law and relations.

The persistence of the Venezuelan claim to five-eighths of Guyana's territory notwithstanding that the entire population in the area claimed is Guyanese in every respect is a strange-atavistic throwback to the presumption of European superiority which inspired the Spanish conquistadors of an earlier time. It is sad that

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Venezuela should be so insensitive to the incongruity of the role which she would assume of a 20th century prosecutor of an obsolete 16th century European colonialism over non-white peoples. For even if by any stretch of imagination the land claimed were technically Venezuelan territory, it is clear that that circumstance could not justify her in recolonising the very substantial population of the territory which since 1966 has exercised its right of self-determination by freely joining in the formation of the independent sovereign State of Guyana.

#### Guyana Stands Firm

In the light of the statement issued by the President of Venezuela on April 4, 1981, President Burnham considered it desirable to clarify Guyana's stand. This he did in a statement made by him to the Press in Guyana on April 8, 1981, when, restating his views as publicly declared during his recent visit to Venezuela, he defined the position of the Government of Guyana to be as follows:

- (a) The 1899 Arbitral Award was entirely valid.
- (b) Even if the Award was invalid, the boundary laid down pursuant to the Award has acquired full validity as a result of Venezuelan recognition, acquiescence and other conduct relating thereto.
- (c) Even if both the Award and the boundary laid down pursuant thereto are invalid, the land claimed by Venezuela does not automatically go to her.
- (d) In such a situation, whatever settlement procedure is adopted, account will have to be taken of all the claims of both sides, including in particular –
  - (i) claims by Guyana to the Amakura, Barima and Cuyuni areas, which we lost to Venezuela as a result of the Award; and
  - (ii) claims by Guyana based upon her possession and occupation right up to comparatively recent times when Venezuela first formally rejected the validity of the 1899 Award.

- (e) Meanwhile, the Essequibo Region is an integral part of Guyana and has been so for the entire history of the country.
- (f) There is nothing whatsoever in the Geneva Agreement or the Protocol of Port-of-Spain which precludes Guyana from developing any part of her territory, including the area claimed by Venezuela. Nor will Guyana ever consent to any arrangement having any such effect. On the contrary, Guyana has a moral duty to make optimum use of her resources for the benefit of her population and for the promotion of the integrated development of the Region and the Hemisphere of which she is a part.
- (g) This applies very specifically to the Upper Mazaruni Hydro-Electric Project. Besides being crucial to the development of the nation, the project offers opportunities for regional co-operation of a kind visualised under OLADE, which Venezuela vigorously espouses, and the Treaty of Amazonian Co-operation to which both Guyana and Venezuela stand committed. Guyana therefore intends to intensify her efforts to bring this project to fruition.

President Burnham ended by saying –

It is entirely a matter for Venezuela to decide whether she will terminate the Protocol of Port-of-Spain. But this Government does have some say over the course to be pursued when the Protocol comes to an end. We would hope that the exploration of the problem will continue to develop, as it has been developing under the Protocol, in a climate of friendship, understanding and co-operation. To those honourable ends I pledge this Government. I would sincerely like to think that the same applied to the Government of Venezuela.

#### Continuing Venezuelan Hostility

Since the issuing of President Burnham's press statement evidence has come to light through the Venezuelan media of other developments giving cause for more concern. No less than a

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Minister of the Government of Venezuela has publicly boasted of the fact that he has recently led a substantial body of Venezuelans across the border for the purpose of establishing acts of occupation by Venezuela in the territory of Guyana. The Minister has also publicly declared his intention to conduct other similar exercises. In addition, the Venezuelan Government has openly announced that it has given instructions to its various representatives abroad to implement a concerted strategy of opposing efforts by Guyana to obtain financial support for the implementation of projects vital to her economic development. By way of general accompaniment, the Venezuelan media is at all levels continuing its campaign of hostility.

### The Nature of the Venezuelan Negotiating Process

It is difficult to negotiate in good faith with Venezuela. The Treaty of Washington 1897 was entered into by Britain with Venezuela as a result of pressure applied on Britain by the United States on behalf of Venezuela. In appreciation of American support, George Washington's statue in Caracas was covered with wreaths by jubilant Venezuelans. Yet Venezuela was later to say that she had been coerced by America into signing the Treaty. Under the Treaty, as mentioned earlier, Venezuela and Britain undertook to "consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect and final settlement of all questions referred to the Arbitrators". Venezuela, having for so long duly respected the decision of the tribunal, has now totally rejected it.

And then there is the Protocol of Port-of-Spain itself. It was signed in 1970 by the Foreign Minister of Guyana and the Foreign Minister of Venezuela at a ceremony presided over by the late distinguished Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, the Right Honourable Dr. Eric Williams. The United Kingdom was also a signatory. Yet in later years, when it suited her, Venezuela was to take the position that the Protocol was not valid for the alleged reason that it had never been formally ratified by the Venezuelan Congress.

Guyana's experience has been shared by others. In 1901 Venezuela rejected an arrangement which she had previously come to with Colombia over the frontier between them. In 1980 Venezuela similarly rejected an agreement reached by a Venezuela/Colombia Mixed Boundary Commission which had demarcated the

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boundary between the two states in the Gulf of Venezuela. It is known that leading elements within Venezuela are opposed to any form of settlement with Colombia which does not result in the entirety of the Gulf being awarded to Venezuela, and this despite the fact that Colombia has a substantial coast line along the western side of the Gulf. According to the Venezuelan members of the Mixed Commission, they had acted with the approval and support of the Venezuelan President himself. Not surprisingly they resigned in protest.

Negotiations with Venezuela are never easy – particularly where smaller states are concerned.

#### Venezuelan Revanchism

In her own eyes, Venezuela must be the most "despoiled" country in South America. She has territorial claims against Colombia. Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago have not yet settled the demarcation of their boundaries in all their aspects. Grenada and Venezuela need to settle the limits of their respective maritime jurisdictions. Venezuela has established her suzerainty over Bird Island in the Caribbean, and she is yet to conclude discussions regarding demarcations in the sea between Bird Island and the French territory of Martinique. And Venezuela claims five-eighths of Guyana. Of all states in this region it is, perhaps significantly, only against the Federative Republic of Brazil that Venezuela has no territorial claim.

#### The Past and the Future

In 1968 Cde. L.F.S. Burnham, then Prime Minister of Guyana, in a speech to Parliament had cause to lament one of Venezuela's several breaches of international law. It was a breach of the Geneva Agreement, occasioned by the Venezuelan Decree of 1968 purporting to annex a belt of sea off Guyana's coast. Cde. Burnham spoke in terms which had a prophetic ring. His words, with which this memorandum might conveniently end, were these –

I cannot tell with any certainty where this ill-advised course of action on which the Government of Venezuela has embarked will lead us. We must be prepared, however, for further and even more aggressive demonstrations of international lawlessness from the Government of Venezuela.

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We will need all our courage and strength to withstand these efforts to break our will and despoil our land. Venezuela has now made clear her intention to seek relentlessly to reimpose the yoke of colonialism on a small nation that has succeeded in freeing itself from the tutelage of another imperial power. We have no quarrel with the Venezuelan people but we shall not lack courage or resolve in resisting aggressive demands of a Venezuelan Government that is prepared to defile the traditions of Bolivar and to flout the precepts of hemispheric and world order and security.

In our stand for survival we shall call upon the conscience of all peace-loving people to speak out in our cause and we shall need all our unity as a people so that our voice may be heard in all corners of the world and in all the councils of the world's institutions for peace.

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**Annex 55**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (Dec. 1981)



EMF  
YOUR EXCELLENCY  
MR RASHLEIGH JACKSON  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA  
GEORGETOWN.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE THE HONOUR OF ADDRESSING YOUR EXCELLENCY, WITH THE PURPOSE OF FORMALLY NOTIFYING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA, AS TO THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA NOT TO EXTEND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE PROTOCOL OF PORT OF SPAIN BEYOND THE 18TH JUNE, 1982. THIS DECISION, WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION IN PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT TALKS, IS NOW FORMALIZED IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISION OF ARTICLE V OF THE SAID PROTOCOL.

LIKewise, I FULFILL THE DUTY OF INFORMING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA THROUGH YOU, ITS WORTHY REPRESENTATIVE, ABOUT THE FIRM RESOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA TO SEEK, THROUGH THE ABERVANCE IN GOOD FAITH OF THAT ESTABLISHED IN THE GENEVA AGREEMENT, A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION FOR THE PRACTICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE PENDING TERRITORIAL CONTROVERSY, SO THAT IT BE SETOLED AMICALLY AND PEACEFULLY, IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PARTIES.

THIS OPPORTUNITY IS NOT THE MOST BEFITTING TO BE ABLE TO CONVEY TO YOUR EXCELLENCY MY HIGHEST REGARDS,  
(SIGNED) JOSE ALSOBERTO ZABRANO VELASCO, MINISTER OF FOREIGN

2/1/82



**Annex 56**

*Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (19 Sept. 1982)*





FOLDER  
U. — # 2UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION (GUYANA)

Caracas, September 19, 1982.

His Excellency,  
Mr. Rashleigh Jackson,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

Georgetown:

Mr. Minister,

I have the honour of addressing you on the occasion of referring to compliance with the procedures laid down by the Geneva Agreement of February 17, 1966.

The period of three months provided for in Article IV 2 of the Geneva Agreement has expired without it having been possible to reach agreement on one of the means of peaceful settlement of controversies provided for in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. It has therefore become necessary to apply the other provisions of the same paragraph.

The Government of Venezuela has become convinced that the most appropriate international organ to choose a means of solution is the Secretary General of the United Nations, which organ accepted this responsibility by its note of April 4, 1966 subscribed to by U. Thant and whose role has been expressly agreed upon by the parties in the text itself of the Geneva Agreement.

In consequence of this, the Government of Venezuela intends to refer this matter to the Secretary General for his consideration and would be happy if the Government of Guyana were to undertake a similar initiative.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

Jose Alberto Zambrano  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of  
Venezuela.



**Annex 57**

U.N. General Assembly, 37th Session, *Agenda item 9*, U.N. Doc. A/37/PV.16 (4 Oct. 1982)



United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**  
 THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION



**16th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 4 October 1982,  
 at 3.15 p.m.

Official Records

NEW YORK

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

**AGENDA ITEM 17**

**Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:**

(a) **Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon, I shall first of all invite the members of the Assembly to consider part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (b). In paragraph 4 of the report the Fifth Committee recommends the appointment of Mr. Enrique Ferrer Vieyra of Argentina to fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of Mr. García del Solar's term of office, that is, until 31 December 1984. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 37/305 A).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

2. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Cristino Seriche Bioko, Vice-President and Minister of Health of Equatorial Guinea. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

3. Mr. SERICHE BOKO (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me to avail myself of this opportunity to address the Assembly in the name of the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and their President, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, whom I represent here, and to express to the vast family of the international community the brotherly greetings and solidarity of my country.

4. I am particularly pleased to pause here to express, on my own behalf and on that of the delegation over which I have the honour of presiding, our most sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President on your well-deserved election as President of the Assembly to direct and preside efficiently over the debates that will be held throughout these days during which we shall be trying to find viable solutions to the innumerable problems which affect our world of today and constantly threaten peace and the civic and harmonious coexistence of peoples. It is our profound hope that your presidency will be carried out with the equanimity, foresight, wisdom and high diplomatic skills which have always characterized you and won for you the respect and esteem of us all. I should also

like to transmit to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our appreciation for the effective manner in which he discharged his functions during the last session. We particularly wish to congratulate Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the Secretary-General, on his election to the lofty responsibility of ensuring the administrative and political functioning of the Headquarters of our great community. We are certain that his stature as an accredited diplomat and his vast knowledge of the machinery of the United Nations system will ensure that the difficult tasks entrusted to him will be carried out with guarantees of certainty and effectiveness.

5. On my delegation's behalf, it is my pleasant duty to express our sincere gratitude to the Government of the United States of America, and in particular to the authorities of the State of New York, for the hospitality that has always been lavished upon us and for making available to us the material and spiritual conditions necessary for the success of sessions of the General Assembly.

6. Three years ago a representative of the people of Equatorial Guinea came before the Assembly at this podium to announce to the international community the action taken by the Equatorial Armed Forces which, on the dawn of 3 August 1979, decided to do away with the blood-stained régime of the wretched tyrant Macías Nguema.

7. Three years ago, in the same statement, the Government of the Supreme Military Council, established by that liberating action of the people of Equatorial Guinea undertook freely and resolutely, before the world and history, the sacred obligation of making every necessary effort to remove my people from the abandonment and destruction in which it had been plunged by the former régime.

8. Of course, the Government of the Supreme Military Council had no idea of the enormous difficulties that would later arise in the country's reconstruction. Indeed, the difficulties were and are enormous and multiple, since our task consists in eliminating the trauma from the minds of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea and building a new and different society. To this end, we have the urgent need to give priority to rehabilitating those fields of activity most important to the normalization of life in Equatorial Guinea, namely, health, education, agriculture and, above all, the economy—the decisive factor in the entire process of our reconstruction and development.

9. Today we can be proud of having worked honestly and resolutely, facing every difficulty and overcoming all kinds of obstacles to achieve some positive goals along the long and difficult road of reconstruction. Our achievements can be seen by all in Equatorial Guinea, and it would be too much for me to try to

list them here, achievements which, I must add, would not have been possible without the decisive support of the international community.

10. When, in order to bring about the economic relaunching of Equatorial Guinea and in response to the pathetic appeal made by my country, the United Nations approved the holding of an international pledging conference at Geneva, we could not have guessed the significance it would have for our country. That Conference, held at Geneva in the month of April last—and attended personally by Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic—represented for my country a propitious opportunity for us to present in a clear, concise and detailed manner to the international community an inventory of our most urgent needs and the projects we have for solving them gradually, and at the same time to request assistance from international financial circles in obtaining contributions for the financing of those projects.

11. Through not only the assistance but also the interest and understanding of the international community, we were able to revise our forecasts, which was a source of great satisfaction to us, and we are very grateful to the countries which attended the Pledging Conference and showed interest in several of the projects we submitted there. We are also grateful to the governmental and non-governmental organizations which also showed an interest in our projects and to the United Nations system which, with special zeal and sincerity, worked ceaselessly to ensure the smooth running and success of the Conference, whose results are already being made visible in Equatorial Guinea through the large number of representatives of countries and international organizations who have come to maintain the first contacts and evaluate on the spot the possibilities of carrying out the proposed projects within the context of that Conference.

12. I have been specially asked by the President of the Republic to avail myself of this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Equatorial Guinea, our sincere gratitude to all those who participated in or contributed in any way to that Conference, and our thanks for the fruitful results it achieved. It is an obvious proof of solidarity which the people of Equatorial Guinea will never forget, and we are confident that the spirit of that Conference will be kept alive and fervent, and that there will be increasing interest in assisting our country both on the part of the countries which attended the Conference, and on the part of those which, while not having been able to attend, feel a sense of solidarity with the cause of my country's reconstruction.

13. One of the most serious injuries suffered by the people of Equatorial Guinea during the dictatorship was the undisguised and unprecedented suppression of our fundamental rights, leaving the citizen of Equatorial Guinea deprived of his minimum rights. There are numerous examples that bear eloquent testimony to the acts of the past régime which with impunity cruelly jeopardized those rights. Therefore, one of the main goals of the Supreme Military Council, when it took power on 3 August 1979, was to restore those fundamental rights to the people of Equatorial Guinea; and from that very year a gradual but firm process of democratization of the country was initiated and measures adopted for the scrupulous and

strict respect of the human person. On past occasions we listed in various statements the measures we have taken, from the liberation of all political prisoners to the drafting and presentation to the people of a Constitution which our Government has been implementing faithfully, to comply with the promise and commitment entered into before our people and history.

14. Indeed, the Government of the Supreme Military Council, faithfully following the line of conduct it established when it first came to power, and in compliance with General Assembly resolution 34/123 which established the programme for the gradual democratization of our country, has lived up to its promise made to the people on the occasion of the second anniversary of the "freedom coup", and has drafted the text of a constitution which, in order to comply with the requirements of our time regarding guarantees of human freedoms and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it submitted for revision to United Nations experts appointed for that purpose by the Division on Human Rights.

15. On 2 August 1982 that Constitution was officially and solemnly presented by Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic, to the people of Equatorial Guinea. On 15 August the people was consulted in a popular referendum about whether or not it accepted the text of the Constitution. On 21 August, the National Referendum Committee announced the official results of that referendum.

16. It is my pleasure here to announce with pride to the international community that the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in a referendum conducted through a direct, free and secret ballot, has provided itself with a new democratic constitution, supported by an overwhelming majority of 95 per cent of the votes cast, on the basis of a 96 per cent voter turnout.

17. On the same occasion, and in accordance with another provision of the Constitution, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, by the acclamation of the people and in expression of its free will, was charged with guiding the sacred destiny of Equatorial Guinea for the seven years following the adoption of the Constitution.

18. That massive, unanimous election of Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo to the nation's highest office was free from any trickery and resulted from the desire of the people of Equatorial Guinea to maintain continuity in the process of democratization it has undertaken, and that the same guiding hand should complete it, before proceeding to the general elections to take place at the end of the seven-year term of the presidential mandate.

19. Our Constitution, the basic code which now rules and guides the sacred destiny of my people, provides for a Council of State, a People's House of Representatives, a Court of Justice, a National Council for Economic Development and Community Councils. The latter are adapted to our national situation for democratization by giving the power structure its roots in the communities, in the countryside.

20. We think we have kept our word to the international community, given in the Assembly, and are pleased to have done so before the time set in a programme drawn up in collaboration with the United

Nations. Our devotion to the people, and our historic commitment to it, have enabled us to provide that people, only three years after taking power, with a democratic constitution, with all the organs and conditions required to ensure scrupulous respect of its basic rights and the enjoyment of a state of law, in keeping with the standards of the second half of the twentieth century.

21. We are fully convinced that, just as it responded massively and affirmatively in favour of the Constitution, our people will also be able to live up to it by safeguarding and respecting it, so that, with the Constitution as our cornerstone and beacon, we shall go forward together in peace and national harmony to accomplish the very difficult task of reconstructing the country.

22. Basic difficulties—such as those we face in the area of food and, above all, in restoring the country to economic health—have shown us that our strength is limited, although our efforts are enormous. We are therefore certain that we cannot travel this hard road on our own, without the steadfast assistance of the international community, whether bilateral or multilateral.

23. Regarding bilateral relations, we have sought to break with the isolation which the past régime imposed on our people for more than a decade, and we have not only succeeded in re-establishing international credibility and trust, but have greatly strengthened the links that unite us with neighbouring countries, with the African continent, and the world in general, without ideological or bloc discrimination.

24. In this connection it is my honour to mention the excellent relations of co-operation between the Republic of Equatorial Guinea with Spain, whose assistance has always been decisive for our country, as well as the relations we maintain with France, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Morocco, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Egypt, to name but a few. These are countries whose co-operation has already taken positive form in Equatorial Guinea.

25. Our relations of co-operation with the neighbouring brother countries of the United Republic of Cameroon, the Republic of Gabon and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are excellent, for those countries have spared neither effort nor moral and material means to encourage us and spur us on to continue resolutely the great task of reconstruction. I express, before the Assembly, our deepest gratitude to them. We have signed agreements on bilateral co-operation with Sao Tome and Principe.

26. As to the community of Hispanic nations, we are aware of the affinities and identity which unite us to it, and we are making every effort to achieve greater integration and to establish solid links with our brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean region. There are already joint projects with the Argentine Republic, and our ties with other countries such as Venezuela, Cuba and Mexico, are strengthening and are becoming increasingly positive.

27. In a world like ours in the second half of the twentieth century, our concerns can only grow. We believe that this rostrum—the Assembly—is the

most appropriate place to denounce the alarming and growing abandonment by nations of the principle of dialogue in favour of the spirit of war and confrontation. The cold war, which, during the post-war years, had itself been a threat hovering over the peoples, has dangerously given way to the proliferation of armed confrontations.

28. National leaders are growing more intransigent, and the results of this are there to be seen: self-destruction and the tens of thousands of human beings who are paying with their lives for wars waged for sterile claims. Such problems are of profound concern to my Government; they are to be seen far beyond the walls of this Hall, and it is imperative that practical solutions be found. I refer especially—but only by way of example—to the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the question of the Malvinas, the occupation of Cyprus, the situation on the Korean peninsula, a practical satisfactory solution for which has been sought since 1966 without success, the untenable status of Namibia.

29. All these problems have a significant effect on the noble principles of the self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, principles to which my Government adheres and abides by. Along with this, there is the constant tension in the Middle East, which has become more acute with the invasion of Lebanon and the killing of Palestinians by Israeli forces, which constitute flagrant flouting of the inalienable rights of an entire people. Further, terrorism runs rampant in Europe.

30. The African continent continues to be the theatre for military operations and adventures by non-African Powers. Those Powers are fomenting discord and confrontation among our States, in order to weaken us and freely to exploit our resources, imposing on us truly humiliating trading conditions.

31. The tensions which exist are well known and do not need a special review at this time, for they are always a part of the daily life of our continent and pose a grave threat to the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. This is not the time for a detailed analysis of this tragic problem, for we believe that that analysis and a solution to the problem are an inter-African responsibility.

32. Nevertheless we appeal to African States to show maturity and find a single firm and decisive solution to the crisis, one respecting the integrity and inviolability of the fundamental principles of the charter of the OAU. We cannot permit the disintegration of the OAU because our solidarity would thereby be profoundly affected, as it is our best weapon in our struggle against the political, economic and social injustices from which the African continent suffers.

33. We are pleased at the return to order in Chad and we wish that brother people peace and prosperity.

34. In accordance with this line of thinking, the people of Equatorial Guinea, in the person of its President, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, whom I have the honour to represent in the Assembly, is in favour of finding immediate and positive solutions to these disputes by way of dialogue and mutual understanding, involving the consistent, clear, and literal

implementation of the relevant resolutions on these disputes adopted by this great Organization.

35. As Vice-President of the Supreme Military Council, and having the honour of representing the President of the Republic, it remains only for me to reiterate to the Assembly that my Government is resolutely determined to promote the social and economic development of our country, strictly and faithfully to comply with the process of democratization which we have started, to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to make every effort to help establish solid foundations for peace in the world.

36. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Vice-President and Minister of Health of Equatorial Guinea for the important statement he has just made.

37. Mr. SAAVEDRA WEISE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great and significant honour for me to come to this rostrum representing my country before the world.

38. My first words go to you, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your well-deserved election as President of this session of the Assembly. Your unmistakable gifts as an experienced diplomat guarantee the success of our work. It is a pleasure, and not merely a formality, for me to convey the thanks and congratulations of my Government to Mr. Kittani of Iraq for the wise and successful way in which he carried out his duties as President of the thirty-sixth session.

39. Recently the United Nations has seen its mission even further enriched by the appointment as Secretary-General of one of its most distinguished officials, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a most worthy representative of Peruvian diplomacy. Bolivia reiterates its pleasure at his appointment and its congratulations and best wishes to him, the first Secretary-General representing Latin America, and the brotherly and ancestral ties between Bolivia and Peru and the Andean countries are well known. His presence as Secretary-General is a sound guarantee for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Organization.

40. For years we have been expressing our faith and reiterating our purposes. Every year we come here and repeat our intention to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter. We announce optimistic outlines for the future and the definite achievement of our aims. However, realistically and objectively I think we must now pause on our way to see whether we have really moved beyond mere statements to concrete achievement.

41. Peace is still an unachievable goal and perhaps, sad to say, a nostalgic dream of Utopia. Colonialism still seeks to broaden its areas of domination, with aggressive and even bloody usurpation; hegemony and the use of pressure by the powerful still persevere and indeed show a disturbing tendency to increase. Inequalities and injustices continue to show their ugly faces. Terrorism and new treacherous forms of aggression, under cover of the advocacy of change, disrupt every form of coexistence. Racial discrimination continues as a flaw of mankind in our time. Territories conquered by force of arms remain in foreign hands.

Arms manufacture and the development of new and powerful means of destruction cast gloom over the positive achievements of our civilization, and now there is a real danger that tomorrow, just as the twenty-first century is about to begin, we may find ourselves with a world in ruins unless common sense prevails.

42. These are some glimpses of the realities of today's world, which persist despite the efforts of the Organization. My delegation would like to state certain views on these matters, as an expression of the unswerving Bolivian position on principles and international policies.

43. Bolivia is one of the non-aligned countries, for compelling reasons of principle and also because we advocate the elimination of dogmatic compartmentalization and hegemonic bonds and because self-determination and the inviolability of sovereignty are the proper response to the efforts of the various forms of imperialism to absorb others. The non-aligned countries advocate a role of balance in defence of the rights of the weaker countries in the face of the cold struggle by the great Powers for supremacy.

44. Those who supply raw materials and make great sacrifices in their struggle to achieve their development have their spokesmen in the non-aligned countries. The demands and claims made by many of our peoples have received a positive echo in the voice of the non-aligned countries. That is the case, for example, with Bolivia's demand for the restoration of its sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. Only an equidistant position between the imperialist forces, avoiding subjugation and imposed conditions, can grant a country moral authority and consideration in international affairs, and that is precisely the position which the non-aligned countries seek.

45. It is this unswerving support for the principles of self-determination and sovereignty which has led the Government of Bolivia, presided over by General Guido Vildoso Calderón, to apply a policy of a return to democratic institutional rights for our people.

46. In Bolivia we have set in motion the pre-electoral process, with the scheduling of a general election for April 1983. The consensus achieved among the political parties on the basis of the invitation to participate made by the Government without any discrimination has led to the constitution of a National Electoral Court. We have also started on the study of a plan for economic recovery in order to apply emergency provisions to overcome the situation of deficit and the serious crisis inherited by the present Government. As a result of a study, the economic plan was, also on the basis of consultations, brought to the notice of the political forces and the trade unions; a political and economic dialogue thus took place.

47. Giving effect to the general feelings expressed by the political parties and labour representatives, who requested an immediate transition to a democratic system, the Bolivian Government has decided to convene the representative Parliament elected in the 1980 elections, which had been suspended by a military coup at the time, so that that Parliament will, in accordance with the norms of the political Constitution of the State, appoint the new office



holders who will have charge of the nation from 10 October next. For them and their arduous task in government we request the solidarity of all nations, particularly on account of the grave economic crisis that my country is experiencing. The new constitutional authorities will have to overcome that crisis and will need all the co-operation that they can possibly obtain from friendly countries—combined, of course, with Bolivia's own efforts—in order that Bolivia may progress.

48. All this process of transition to democracy has taken place within the framework of an unchanging respect for human rights and the prerogatives of the citizens, and on the basis of the fulfilment of the treaties and international commitments entered into by Bolivia.

49. On 10 October next the armed forces of Bolivia will restore the political control of the nation to a civilian Government. This voluntary gesture, in keeping with the wishes of the Bolivian people, is worth emphasizing in this international forum.

50. Another subject which I cannot refrain from mentioning is that of the progress of integration. Happily, we are living in a time of integration and economic co-operation, of interdependence. All nations—literally all—need something from others. There is inevitably a need for raw materials, goods and services, technology, credits and assistance of all sorts. What is important is that the prices should be fair, exchanges just and that co-operation have but one aim—to secure the goal of shared development and common benefit.

51. In the regional and sub-regional spheres Bolivia has been taking part in all the programmes of integration and co-operation. Its special geographical location in South America and the fact that it is a country with tributaries of three of the four major river basins of the continent has given it a unique status as a signatory country of all the sub-regional agreements as well as the regional treaties of the Latin American Integration Association and the Latin American Economic System. For example, we are a member of the Cartagena Agreement, binding on the Andean nations, and a signatory of the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation and the Treaty of the River Plate Basin.

52. The Bolivian position with regard to the process of integration is clear. We uphold the need to preserve, expand and improve the machinery of the integration process. Integration and the programmes and actions for co-operation are only a means towards the ends of development and the harmonious progress of our nations. We must also nurture, strengthen and improve those instruments of economic and social progress, whose sole beneficiaries must of course be our peoples and their future.

53. We must also make the North-South dialogue a reality and seek ways to give viable form to the new international economic order. This scheme has so far not had the acceptance, the solidarity and particularly the political will of the industrialized nations, which it needs if its basic objectives are to be met.

54. These problems, therefore, should be seen as part of the struggle for economic, political, social and

cultural liberation of peoples who, like those of Bolivia, are currently engaged in their own development. If manifest unwillingness and delaying tactics continue to be shown, it will be impossible to intensify the co-operation which at the international level should promote the development of nations in a setting of justice and equity. We therefore look forward very much to the prompt initiation of the global negotiations.

55. Understanding, co-operation and the processes of integration have another requirement in order to be perfect—the redressing of injustices and inequalities. I must refer once again, before the world community assembled here, to our geographical condition—the fact that we are landlocked, a fact that has been forced upon us for the past 103 years. This reference also derives from the imperative mandate given by my people, who for more than a century have pressed for their rights to return, with sovereignty, to the shores of the Pacific.

56. We all know that when they have the stamp of legitimacy the rights of nations are never exhausted. Therefore, the return of territories which have been usurped in so many latitudes of the world is essential.

57. With regard to the maritime problem of Bolivia, the time of our return to the Pacific Ocean is bound to come. But good faith is necessary for this, together with a clear readiness by the other party to make reparations. We also need action and the encouragement and support of the international organizations, particularly if, as is fortunately the case, we have the firm support of the majority of the world community for our just cause.

58. Humanity has virtually put an end to one of the most degrading and odious systems adopted by man in the past—slavery. But, late in the twentieth century, still other grievous vestiges of the past remain as an affront to mankind—colonialism and racial discrimination.

59. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Each year we revert to the terms of that declaration and the General Assembly adopts new resolutions on specific cases. Nevertheless, new forms of colonialist aggression can be clearly seen, not simply disregarding the principles and purposes of the Charter but clearly violating them. A recent example was the case of the Malvinas Islands, with its bloody epilogue, leading to the restoration of colonialism, which should give us food for serious thought.

60. Faithful to its position of principle on the rejection of any form of colonialism, Bolivia supported the Argentine cause and will continue to support the demands for repossession of its territory made by our brother nation of the River Plate, as we have done since 1833, when the President of Bolivia at that time was the first to speak up against the British usurpation of that era.

61. We can never try hard enough in the Organization to put an end to colonialism and all forms of seizure of territories and the imposition of tutelage and foreign rule on peoples. On the day we dispose

of these last vestiges of colonialism mankind will be able to take pride in having taken an enormous step towards a world of truly free communities, such as those for which the Liberator Bolívar fought. His bicentenary is to be commemorated next year, and I am sure that the Organization will wish to participate in commemorating that anniversary, thereby confirming the universal nature of Bolívar's thinking and deeds.

62. With regard to racial discrimination and *apartheid*, my country's consistent attitude has been one of opposition and condemnation of that situation and system, which are a breach of the elementary principles of equality and human rights.

63. Man holds certain rights even before his birth. If we commit a breach of those rights, we offend God, who modelled our spirit on His image and in His likeness.

64. I said at the beginning of this statement that peace was an objective that the world had not yet achieved. The recent distressing events in the Middle East, particularly those in Lebanon, give some idea of the deplorable situation.

65. I must express here the deep concern of the Bolivian community and its Government over the now long-drawn-out crisis in the Middle East, which has so grievously affected various peoples in the region. We must strive to find there an understanding which, with recognition of the rights of the countries involved, will bring about a return to peaceful coexistence and mutual respect.

66. Violence can only give rise to greater violence and peace is not a free gift; it must be built carefully, with sacrifice and magnanimity.

67. The mission of the United Nations with regard to the problems of the Middle East and of the world in general is still an arduous one requiring unswerving commitment. We must all be committed to this task if we want to show that man is capable of thinking of the future, using his intelligence to coexist and to build, to reconcile differing views and not to hate, thus overcoming a shameful recent past, which paradoxically encompassed the greatest examples of barbarity and tragedy as well as the greatest achievements of the technological era. The answer to the challenge of the years to come lies within us; it is the possibility of offering the coming generations a world of harmony, peace and justice.

68. These difficult problems concerning peaceful coexistence lead to another major theme of our age. I am referring to the problem of disarmament. A Bolivian writer has said:

“Two of the greatest mistakes made by mankind were to condemn Socrates and to manufacture the atomic bomb. The first did violence to the meaning of justice; the second showed man the road to his own destruction.”

69. Instruments have been adopted by the United Nations and at the multilateral and bilateral levels on the need for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons including resolutions banning test explosions in the atmosphere and under water. In open contradiction with these commitments, however, the arms buildup, the sophistication of weapons and

the production of new and menacing means of destruction have continued. Unfortunately, each conflict gives rise to improvements in and new uses for the means of warfare, as was the case in the recent painful conflict over the Malvinas.

70. Perhaps what is needed to stop the arms buildup is in the first place spiritual disarmament: the elimination of hatred and prejudice; the liquidation of barriers of ideological animosity; the promotion of fellowship, bearing in mind that mankind is after all a single entity and that fraternal understanding is possible.

71. The period of multiple crises which mankind is once again experiencing is straining our capacity to face up to the challenge it presents and our courage. The Organization is again being put to the test and we the Members must not evade this tremendous challenge but meet it head on. The principles of the Charter and all the resolutions and declarations generated by the problems of the world form a basic body of norms accepted by all the world. We must now show that we can go beyond the spirit and the letter of those documents and are capable of establishing peaceful coexistence, with freedom, bread and love for all the people of our earth.

72. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): I should like first to convey to you, Sir, the warm and sincere felicitations of the delegation of Pakistan on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your assumption of this high office is an acknowledgement by the international community of your outstanding merit and qualities as a statesman. It is also a tribute to your great country. I wish you every success in guiding the deliberations of the General Assembly on the complex issues facing it in the year ahead. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our esteem and admiration for your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with great distinction and success. I should also like to convey our deep appreciation to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar for his dedicated and unremitting efforts in search of peace during a year which has seen a succession of crises and continuing turmoil. We commend his resolve in the bleak international circumstances of today, to strengthen the role and influence of the United Nations in the conduct of international relations.

73. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] is an eloquent and candid comment on the grim reality of the international situation, which he has succinctly described as “international anarchy”. In the recent past we have witnessed an alarming intensification of conflicts and tensions, use of force with impunity, growing mistrust among nations, increasing confrontation in East-West relations and a new escalation in the arms race, which in this nuclear age portends the gravest consequences for the very survival of mankind. This spiral of violence is accompanied by a deepening apathy regarding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and an indifference regarding the role of this institution as the primary multilateral instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

74. The gravity of the international scene demands a rededication to the ideals of the United Nations

in the same spirit of commitment as led to the foundation of this world forum after the agony and horror of the Second World War. The strength of the United Nations, which is indispensable to world peace, is also a measure of our determination to achieve a just and civilized world order and to prevent a universal holocaust.

75. The Middle East conflict remains the most serious crisis on the international horizon and a glaring record of persistent violations of international law and brazen defiance of the United Nations by an intransigent and implacable aggressor.

76. The recent massacre of Palestinians in west Beirut epitomizes the tragedy of the Palestinian nation. The shock and indignation felt throughout the world over this massacre should serve as a reminder of the continuing Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people, whose homeland has been usurped and who have been subjected to relentless persecution. Since its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories in 1967, Israel has been pursuing a systematic policy of annexing those territories by changing their demographic and historic character, establishing settlements there and driving the Arab and Palestinian population into exile. In the process Israel is determined to liquidate the identity and nationhood of Palestinians in their ancient homeland.

77. Beyond the occupied territories, Israel desires to establish its military diktat and hegemony in the region. It has attacked its neighbours at will and with impunity. The brutal invasion of Lebanon, the cruel siege of Beirut and the events which led to the Israeli advance into the city and the massacre of Palestinians fully expose Israeli ambitions in the region. The crisis in Lebanon should make it clear to Israel's friends and allies that their support and protection only encourage Israel to sustain its irredentist ambitions on the pretext of strengthening its security.

78. The valour with which the Palestinian freedom fighters withstood the ferocious Israeli attacks, and the sacrifices of the Palestinian people, bear testimony to the strength and justice of their cause, which cannot be trampled by terror and expansionism. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has emerged with renewed vigour as the voice for Palestinian freedom and has won international acclaim for its restraint.

79. The proposals endorsed by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez [see A/37/696] constitute a major initiative for a durable peace in the Middle East and demonstrate the sincere desire of the Arab countries and the PLO to bring to a dignified and honourable end the chapter of conflict in the Middle East. Predictably, Israel has rejected the Fez plan, as well as the proposals by President Reagan, which illustrates Israel's obsession with holding on to the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and its negative response to opportunities for peace.

80. In the immediate context, it is imperative that Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon be secured, that civilian life be fully protected and conditions of peace and normality be restored in that ravaged country. The agony of the Palestinian people and the justice of its cause demand that the international community take determined action for the achievement of durable

peace in the Middle East. Such peace depends on the immutable condition of Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the restitution of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to a sovereign State in its homeland.

81. In our neighbourhood, the crisis in Afghanistan resulting from Soviet military intervention in that country nearly three years ago persists, with no sign of reprieve in its severity. The Afghan national resistance has proved to be enduring and steadfast, despite the awesome military superiority and sophisticated modern equipment deployed against it.

82. The presence of 100,000 foreign military troops in Afghanistan, with its dangerous portents for the stability of the entire region, continues to evoke deep concern in the international community, which has consistently pronounced itself on the illegality of that presence and has demanded its termination. The latest expression of this international concern was embodied in General Assembly resolution 36/34, adopted last year with the overwhelming support of 116 Member States, which outlined, once again, the essential elements of a just political solution of the Afghanistan problem, namely, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of government and to choose its economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever, and the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

83. Despite the repeated calls of the United Nations and similar demands by the movement of non-aligned countries and the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the end of the crisis in Afghanistan is not in sight. It is a matter of regret that the Soviet Union, which had traditionally enjoyed good relations with countries of the area, including Afghanistan, and which takes pride in its solidarity with third-world causes, should engage and persist in an action which has caused immense tragedy to the people of Afghanistan and which has been firmly opposed by the international community.

84. The grave political implications of the Afghanistan crisis are compounded by a vast and growing humanitarian problem in the exodus of the Afghan population on a massive scale from their country. Nearly 3 million Afghan refugees, who represent one fifth of the total population of Afghanistan, have been forced to seek shelter on our soil and have placed on us an enormous responsibility for their upkeep which we have willingly accepted as our humanitarian and Islamic duty.

85. As a country grievously affected by the crisis in its neighbourhood, Pakistan has a direct and vital stake in a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem. Consistent with the decisions of the United Nations, Pakistan has sincerely co-operated with every international endeavour, including the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal

Representative on Afghanistan. The Geneva discussions held in June under the good offices of the Secretary-General marked an important step in his efforts for a political settlement. We participated in those talks in a positive and constructive spirit and we look forward to further progress in the process of consultations initiated by the Secretary-General and assure him of our continued co-operation.

86. It remains our ardent hope that the Afghanistan crisis will soon be resolved in compliance with the decisions of the United Nations with the aim of strengthening peace and security in the region, while preserving respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State.

87. The ramifications of the crisis in Afghanistan and the disturbing security climate in our region have deepened our concern for the defence of our frontiers. We are seriously endeavouring to turn those borders into frontiers of permanent peace. But we have no control over developments in our neighbourhood and cannot turn our eyes away from the imperative of maintaining an adequate defence establishment commensurate with the size of the country and the extent of its international frontiers, which stretch across more than 5,000 kilometres. The strengthening of Pakistan's defence capability should not be a matter of concern to any other country—first, because any suggestion of such concern would have no relation to reality and, secondly, because those who make it assume the privilege of passing judgement on vital matters falling exclusively within our sovereign domain. We are tied to no bloc or strategic consensus, and our right to have a minimum defence capability of our own is an expression of our sovereign status as a non-aligned country.

88. The unfortunate conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq has been a source of deep anguish and concern for us. In addition to causing extensive human and material losses, this war has aggravated the climate of insecurity in a highly sensitive region, and its early termination remains in the best interests of the peoples of the area. With this conviction, the President of Pakistan has made several efforts, singly and collectively, under the auspices of the Islamic Conference, and will continue to make every endeavour for the solution of this tragic conflict.

89. The convulsions of our neighbourhood have made us keenly aware of the perils of great-Power rivalry and confrontation to which, in an historic sense, the Indian Ocean region has always remained exposed. Pakistan has consistently supported Sri Lanka's proposal for the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, which symbolizes the shared aspirations of the people of the region for progress in conditions of peace and security. In the regional as well as international context, we will co-operate with every initiative aimed at securing the elimination of any foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean region and the removal of threats, whether from within or from outside the area, to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region.

90. I am happy to note that seven countries of South Asia have initiated concrete measures to promote

regional co-operation aimed at the well-being and progress of their peoples: Joint studies have been undertaken and action programmes have been worked out to promote co-operation in important economic sectors for mutual benefit. The recently held meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of South Asian countries in Islamabad was the third in a series of such meetings establishing an auspicious tradition of co-operation and understanding among countries of South Asia which we are committed to strengthen in the future.

91. Apart from being a geo-political imperative, good-neighbourly relations between Pakistan and India are essential to the fulfilment of the aspirations and hopes of millions of people in the two countries to live in peace and to ensure for themselves and for succeeding generations a life of dignity, well-being and prosperity. In this spirit, Pakistan sincerely desires full normalization of relations with India which can be achieved with the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, the only outstanding problem between the two countries.

92. The Government of Pakistan has taken several initiatives, including the offer of a non-aggression pact, to foster an atmosphere of trust and confidence. We are gratified that last January, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries agreed that the conclusion of such a pact would make a positive contribution to peace and stability in the region. We also welcomed the suggestion of the Prime Minister of India for the establishment of a joint commission between the two countries. Already an exchange of views on the substance of the proposals has been initiated which augurs well for the future of Pakistan-India relations, on which the peace and tranquillity of the region largely depend.

93. Pakistan has consistently maintained a firm position of principle on issues which concern the sovereignty and freedom of nations, whether these pertain to our region, or regions far beyond it. Accordingly, Pakistan supports the right of the people of Kampuchea to shape their own future free from outside intervention and has joined the international call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that unfortunate land. Pakistan welcomes the formation of a coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk and hopes that this Government will facilitate the creation of conditions conducive to the full implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly on the Kampuchean question.

94. We feel equally concerned over the dangerous situation in the South Atlantic and hope that a negotiated solution to the problem will be found on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations.

95. The illegal occupation of Namibia and the abominable system of *apartheid* perpetrated against the black population of South Africa continue to be an affront to human morality and values. The hopes which had been raised for an early independence of Namibia by the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) proved short-lived. South Africa, having first accepted the United Nations plan for free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the Organization, balked at its implementation and even questioned the impartiality of the United

Nations. The authors of the United Nations plan, namely the members of the Western contact group, have a responsibility to ensure the implementation of the plan as the credibility of their commitment to this plan is at stake.

96. Pakistan joins the international community in its demand for the realization of the independence of Namibia without further delay, and reaffirms its total solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to bring the dark chapter of colonialism in their country to a close.

97. Pakistan shares the dismay and disappointment of the international community at the failure of the second special session on disarmament. It is clear that heightened international tensions prevented any progress on important disarmament issues, for which a modicum of détente in East-West relations and improvement in the global political situation have become a prerequisite. However, the failure of the special session should not lead to pessimism; nor should it be seen as the defeat of an ideal. The cause of disarmament concerns the very survival of mankind and must be pursued with a deep commitment, a positive outlook and a sense of destiny.

98. Pakistan believes in a comprehensive approach to disarmament and emphasizes the need to pursue it at every level since these are all organically linked to each other. Progress in one direction could stimulate movement in the other. Consequently, we welcome initiatives, at the bilateral, regional or global level, and measures, either interim in character or undertaken in a long-term perspective.

99. The prevention of a nuclear war is a primary challenge of our age and imposes a grave responsibility on all, especially the major nuclear Powers. We welcome the non-first-use declaration by the Soviet Union in the same manner as we had welcomed an earlier commitment by China to the same effect. We are also encouraged by the resumption of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of theatre and strategic nuclear forces and we hope that this dialogue produces meaningful results.

100. Without prejudice to the usefulness of unilateral or bilateral initiatives, we are convinced that the complex issues of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, can best be addressed in a multilateral context. The threat of nuclear weapons is pervasive and concerns equally every member of the international community. The United Nations, therefore, remains the most appropriate forum in which negotiations on disarmament could be effectively pursued.

101. Motivated by its commitment to the objective of general and complete disarmament and to nuclear non-proliferation, Pakistan had taken initiatives at the United Nations for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia and for effective assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use of nuclear weapons. Measures such as these could also strengthen the links in an overall comprehensive programme of disarmament.

102. The demands of security, disarmament and development are fundamentally interrelated. Progress

in disarmament could release the colossal resources, currently consumed by the insane arms race, for economic development and for combating deprivation and disease, which afflict vast sections of humanity. A common historical cause for a new world order must, therefore, motivate our efforts for strengthening international security and pursuing effective disarmament, and for alleviating injustices and disparities besetting the international economic situation.

103. Over the past few years we have passively witnessed a rapidly deteriorating crisis in the international economic system. A galloping cancer of stagnation, recession, inflation and mounting external debt have plunged the global economy to levels redolent of the Great Depression. This has led to the emergence of new attitudes and practices characterized by inward looking short-term solutions, elements contrary to the spirit of international economic co-operation and the principle of interdependence. Deflationary policies pursued by some developed countries have rapidly transferred the crisis to the developing countries because of the interdependent nature of the world economy.

104. While the contraction of the economies has been a universal phenomenon, the brunt of the crisis has fallen upon the developing countries. In 1981, for the first time since the 1950s, the per capita real income of the developing countries as a whole actually fell in absolute terms. The consequent deceleration in the process of development has led to record unemployment in both the developed and the developing countries, with resultant social unrest and growing political insecurity. The rapid deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, rising protectionism and reduced financial flows have led to an enormous increase in their external debts resulting in drastic reductions in development budgets and growth rates. At the same time, the debt burden of oil-importing developing countries increased during 1981 by \$50 billion over the 1978 level. This feeds into the recession by lowering their capacity to import.

105. The increasing current account deficits and the absence of properly designed international mechanisms to finance these deficits in the short run or to correct the fundamental structural imbalance in international payments in the long run is the central dilemma confronting us today. It should be a matter of concern for the international community that the burden of this extraordinary adjustment is being passed on to the developing countries, the most vulnerable members of the international community.

106. We believe that it is possible for the international community to find solutions to its problems. The glaring shortcomings in the existing economic system which are responsible for the present crisis also present a rare opportunity to rebuild the various components of the international economic order on a just and equitable basis. There is a need for massive and urgent structural changes, the parameters for which are so clearly outlined in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the establishment of the new international economic order. The basic malady is not the shortage of liquidity in the international system but its gross maldistribution.

107. It is indeed regrettable that global negotiations, proposed at the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly, have not yet been launched. The assurances sought by the industrialized countries are already provided for in the proposal submitted by the Group of 77 on the subject. Let us, therefore, abandon suspicions and apprehensions about each other's intentions and move forward to the substantive issues. However, what is alarming is the fact that lack of progress in the launching of global negotiations has been accompanied by a similar situation in sector-wise negotiations.

108. Another disturbing development is the alarming erosion of the spirit of international co-operation at a time when increasing multilateral economic co-operation could play a critical role in triggering the process of international economic recovery. Eight years ago, when the General Assembly at its sixth special session adopted resolution 3201 (S-VI), the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, it unequivocally emphasized the reality of interdependence, an interdependence between the developed and the developing countries. The Assembly also recognized the fact that the political, economic and social well-being of present and future generations depended more than ever on co-operation between all the members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of the disequilibrium that exists between them.

109. Global interdependence demands that the restoration and growth of the international economy must be undertaken on the basis of international co-operation. We can find answers to the present problems involving financial transfers, protectionist sentiments and changing attitudes towards policies of development assistance only through a compact of mutual help and assistance. What we are looking for is not short-term financial and trade concessions, although they are important in themselves, but long-term structural changes which would involve creating a framework for expansion of world trade, provision of development finance on a long-term basis and the progressive democratization of the present international financial system to enable it to function in an equitable and efficient manner.

110. There is no alternative to a dialogue and mutual co-operation to overcome the malaise which has afflicted the economies of the North and the South alike. Increased interdependence in the world economy has ensured that no country or group of countries can achieve genuine recovery merely through efficient domestic management of their economies. A consensus on the root of the current problems and a co-ordination of responses to solve them are indispensable for this purpose.

111. While calling for a global response to the present crisis, the developing countries are conscious of the need to promote economic co-operation among themselves. This is one area in which positive developments have taken place. We believe that expanding economic co-operation among developing countries is a dynamic and vital element in any effective restructuring of international economic relations. However, co-operation among developing countries can only complement, and cannot be a substitute for, a new international economic order based on equity and justice.

112. The present economic crisis calls for vision and imagination on the part of the leaders of the industrialized countries, and we look to the emergence of a new internationalism, the awakening of a new spirit of global co-operation and a recognition of the imperatives of interdependence, requiring a more equitable management of the international economic system. The world economy can be rebuilt only on a sound and permanent foundation of economic efficiency and economic justice with the full participation of developing countries in international decision-making, and not through their exclusion. This is an imperative which the world leaders can no longer afford to ignore in their search for reducing tension and promoting peace and harmony.

113. Sheikh ALHEGELAN (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish at the outset to convey to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. That election was indeed a wise decision and testifies to your great competence for this post. I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the outgoing President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Kittani, and to express to him my country's very great appreciation of his untiring efforts in presiding over the proceedings of the General Assembly. I also thank him sincerely for his successful presidency of that session. It gives me great pleasure, too, to express on behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia our sincere congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as Secretary-General. We wish to express to him our hopes for his success in strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization so that it can achieve the purposes and principles of the Charter.

114. The thirty-seventh session has opened in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety. International conflicts and crises are becoming all the more complex and interlinked, and the factors that divide nations outweigh those that bring them together. The agenda of the Assembly is replete with complex problems that involve a genuine danger to international peace and security. A careful consideration of the international situation reveals to us clearly that the gap between our aspirations to a peaceful world, where relations between peoples are based on right and justice, and the actual situation, dominated by criteria of force, the policies of hegemony and attempts to impose *faits accomplis*, still exists and has indeed probably widened.

115. International relations at present are characterized by grave indications of cold war. Polarization breeds instability in the world and détente, which marked relations between East and West in the last decade, has turned into confrontation, with unforeseeable consequences.

*Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

116. There is an escalation in the arms race. The use and threat of force and terrorism have become dominant characteristics in international relations. On the other hand, the continued stagnation of the North-South dialogue and the resultant widening of the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries have resulted in a further deterioration of

the international situation, which has dashed the hope of establishing a more stable world. In short, the world is sliding back to the old system based on zones of political and economic influence based on hegemony, domination and dependence. There is no doubt that this is a source of anxiety and fear. Hence we must muster all our resources to tackle this grave situation.

117. Is it not ironical that man, who in this age has been able to achieve incredible progress in science and technology, is unable to solve some of the problems that he himself has caused? Is that not enough to make us intensify our efforts to face these challenges and seek ways of ensuring stability, peace and security for the international community and of protecting the interests of peoples and nations? It is not enough simply to draw attention to international crises and problems. In order to solve and eliminate them it is necessary, after taking objective stock of the international situation, to put forward practical concepts and positive ideas which will enable the international community to face the dangers that confront it.

118. As pointed out by His Majesty King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz in his address to the Saudi people last August, we in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,

“... work on the comprehensive international scene within the framework of the United Nations, its agencies and organs. We abide by its Charter, support its efforts and fight any abnormal action aimed at weakening it and restricting the force of international law with a view to replacing it by the force of arms and the language of terrorism. Our actions have effectively reflected and will continue to reflect our sense of commitment to the international community, as one family, no matter what the difference in interests, and our belief in the principles of peace based on right and justice. We believe that international security and political stability are linked to economic justice.”

119. Proceeding from that premise, we believe that the following conditions must be fulfilled in order to erect a solid edifice of relations between States through which it will be possible to reduce international tension and overcome many of the dangers that threaten international peace and security.

120. First, we join those who insist on the need for reform of the present political system and believe that in this respect the following must be taken into account.

121. One of the main things that encourages nations to try to acquire zones of influence and to adopt a policy of force to solve problems is that they do not accept the rule of law or respect moral and ethical principles. Therefore if such States really want to maintain peace and stability in the world and ensure prosperity, progress, wealth and well-being for the peoples, they must scrupulously observe moral principles and be guided by them in the labyrinthine complexities of contemporary international relations. In this respect, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia offers its experience to the international community as its contribution to ensuring stability and peace and eliminating the problems that jeopardize the very existence and survival of nations.

122. As pointed out by His Majesty King Fahd,

“Saudi Arabia is one of the Islamic nations and was created so that the law of God would be respected and God has honoured it by allowing it to serve as His house of worship and the sanctuary of His Prophet. Thus its responsibility was increased, its policy became set and its duties expanded. It performs those duties on the international scene by respecting God's way of wisdom and morality. Islam is a religion of mercy, of mind and of strength; it fights terrorism and overcomes disorder, weakness and humiliation.”

123. The United Nations is the principal body for the promotion of freedom, peace, justice, security and international co-operation. Therefore we must make available to it all that it needs to face the challenges that confront it. It should become an effective instrument for promoting world peace and economic and social progress for all. If the Organization is to continue as an effective instrument of peace, the peoples of the world should place their trust in it, and our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter should be beyond discussion or doubt.

124. The arms race and the magnitude of the resulting expenditure has increased tension in the world, and that has forced many countries, and especially the least developed, to devote a great portion of their limited resources to defence, at the expense of their progress and economic and social development. We hope that the efforts which the international community expects the Organization to exert and the positive role that it can play in this respect will lead to concrete progress which will protect humanity from the dangers which threaten it and will spare the developing countries the conflicts and struggles for influence that have become a danger to humanity in general.

125. Secondly, one of the important goals of our contemporary world and for the future is the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order which will meet the aspirations of the peoples of the world to higher standards of living and a better life. In order to establish such a system we must grapple with the many important economic subjects that demand our attention.

126. The agenda includes many subjects and issues of extreme importance as regards international economic co-operation for development. Therefore we deem it important that the launching of a new round of global negotiations be accelerated in a serious attempt to improve the economic performance and increase the efficiency of international co-operation for development.

127. It is regrettable that the General Assembly's efforts aimed at the launching of a new round of global economic negotiations have been hampered by the existence of differences over certain procedural questions which we had earnestly hoped would be solved in the light of the conclusions of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún in 1981, for the establishment of confidence between developed and developing countries. We also maintain that real efforts should be exerted to achieve the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and to support in every way

FAO, WFC, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and WFP in their efforts to overcome world food problems in general and to increase food and agricultural aid to Africa.

128. I should also like to stress the importance of economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries. In Saudi Arabia we consider it to be complementary to but not a substitute for co-operation between developed and developing countries. The international community should pay careful attention to this.

129. Thirdly, world peace, security and stability are affected by a number of international problems at present afflicting the international community. If we really want to maintain international peace and security and to make progress, well-being and prosperity available to the countries and peoples of the world, we must, intensify international efforts and work tirelessly to find rapid and equitable solutions for those problems. These problems increase and worsen with the passing of time and increasingly threaten world peace and security.

130. In South Africa, the racist régime continues to enforce a policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* against the vast majority of that country's population. That violates the most elementary international norms and humanitarian principles. While we support the people of South Africa, we call on the international community to exert the necessary pressure on the States which support the racist South African régime in order to put an end to it and to force the régime to submit to the will of the international community. South Africa must cease its invidious practices, immediately halt launching attacks on neighbouring African countries, put an end to its occupation of Namibia and comply with relevant United Nations resolutions.

131. We further call on the international community to take a firm stand against the aggressive attitude manifested in the present co-operation between South Africa and Israel, especially in the nuclear field, and in their joint nuclear tests in particular. That poses a direct threat to the peoples of Africa, to the Arab nations and to the rest of the peoples of the world.

132. One of the most serious problems facing the international community and requiring an effective, urgent solution, is that of Afghanistan. The continued foreign military interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan constitutes a flagrant violation by a super-Power of the sovereignty and independence of a small, non-aligned country. Today, after almost three years of Soviet interference in Afghanistan—coupled with continuous acts of aggression against the Afghan people, against mosques and peaceful villages, bombardment with incendiary bombs, the use of chemical warfare, and violations of the most elementary principles of human rights—we once again urge the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan so that the fraternal Afghan people may regain its freedom and independence and have the final say in the choice of its leaders and representatives and so that it may exercise sovereignty over its own land.

133. The raging war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is another problem which troubles us. Saudi Arabia is pained by that war, because it is

being waged between two Islamic countries. In this regard, we wish to express our hope that the Iranian Government will respond to Iraq's offers and to the missions of good offices of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, so that a just settlement may be achieved, thus ending the bloodshed and destruction, establishing a good-neighbourly policy. That solution would be based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and international law.

134. One of the gravest problems threatening international peace and security, one which is prejudicing stability and prosperity, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world, stems from Israel's continuing aggression and its terrible racist settlements policy. Israel's continuing defiance and its aggression constitute a most dangerous factor in the Palestinian issue, which is an important issue for all those who believe in the right of every people to self-determination and the right to expression of free will. When we speak of Israeli aggression, we do not describe it merely as aggression against a secure people settled in its own homeland, or as usurpation of that people's territory and property, or as disregard for all human ideals, or as a flagrant violation of and challenge to the resolutions of the Organization. We describe it as aggression against the Charter of the United Nations and all the ethical and humanitarian principles enshrined therein.

135. I do not wish to go into the history of the Palestinian question, which stretches back over 34 years. We in Saudi Arabia consider this our primary cause, but it has rightly become the cause of the whole world. It has absorbed more of the efforts of the Organization than any other issue. Despite recognition by most of the countries and peoples of the world of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its own territory, and despite the fact that the international community has come increasingly to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, Israel persists in its aggressive policy and its imperialist settlement policy on the land of Palestine.

136. By means of its policy of physically liquidating the Palestinian people, and its attempts to distort the history of Palestine and destroy its religious and cultural institutions, as well as to bring about changes in the demographic pattern there, Israel is attempting to put an end to Palestinian identity, with no respect either for international public opinion or for the United Nations.

137. If Palestine is our primary cause, the Holy City of Jerusalem is its essence. In this connection, Saudi Arabia, on its own behalf and on behalf of the Islamic countries which are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, reaffirms its determination to preserve the Islamic Arab character of Jerusalem and to return the Holy City to Arab sovereignty, under which it was always a meeting place for all believers in the three revealed religions and a place of hope, tolerance and coexistence for the followers of the various religions.



138. Israel persists in following a policy of force and aggression, and it does not confine its aggression against the Palestinian people to occupied Palestine. It goes far beyond that territory to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab countries. The flagrant and barbaric act of aggression against the fraternal people of Lebanon, and all the consequent massacres, which constitute a source of shame for all of humanity, are a violation of the principles and norms of international law and signal a return to the law of the jungle. They are a setback for the principles and ideals which the international community has observed, enshrined and safeguarded.

139. Israel's use, in its barbaric aggression against Lebanon, of the most destructive and deadly weapons against civilians—women, children and the aged—does not merely reveal Israel's malicious, aggressive, terrorist and evil nature; it also lays responsibility at the door of the countries that supply Israel with weapons. Sophisticated weaponry flows to Israel under the fallacy, which has been spread throughout the Western world and of which Israel has been able to convince the highest-level politicians, that it is needed for Israel to secure its safety. But that is a very dangerous policy and Israel's arsenal and nuclear capability have become a direct threat to world peace and security.

140. Israel's theory of security is the most dangerous and aggressive that has been seen in our era. It is no less dangerous than the Nazi and Fascist theories which dragged the world into a destructive war. Today in the Middle East, the Zionists are trying to apply the same theories as the Nazis applied in Europe before the Second World War.

141. The barbaric acts committed by Israel in west Beirut, to which thousands of Palestinian refugees—women, children and the aged—have fallen victim in the Shatila and Sabra camps, are but further confirmation of Israel's aggressive nature and criminal character. These massacres of innocent and defenceless civilians were not only aimed at the Palestinian and Lebanese people, but are a shameful stigma for humanity itself. They have given the lie to Israel's calumny and its fallacious claims that Israeli troops entered west Beirut to maintain peace and security. For it has been proved beyond doubt that this flagrant act of aggression was aimed at liquidating the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

142. We call on the international community to support Lebanon, to assist it in regaining its sovereignty and securing the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli invading forces from its territory, and to take all necessary measures against Israel so that it will be unable to pursue the policy of hegemony and force that it has tried to impose in the Middle East. The international community should be no less courageous than the voices heard in Israel itself in denouncing Israel's aggressive practices in Lebanon and requesting that they leave. The absence of international deterrence and the abuse of the veto in the Security Council encouraged Israel to persist in its arrogance and to depend on force to achieve its expansionist aims and ambitions. We call on all countries, especially those which support the Zionist entity and provide it with political, military and economic help,

to stop that help forthwith so as to put an end to Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East.

143. Israel should not be allowed to continue its unlawful acts with impunity. It is time for the international community to go beyond the stage of condemnation and take effective measures to stop such conduct. Those who blatantly support the Zionist entity encourage the most hateful and dangerous theories against humanity and its rights and support aggression and expansion.

144. The Arab world is eager to maintain the principles of peace, stability, right and justice. We wish to live in peace on our territory and to have equal and proper relations in order to achieve those goals, and to choose our friends and enemies on these noble principles. Thus the Israeli aggression which seeks to impose hegemony in the area is met by a genuine trend in the Arab countries, seeking the consolidation of stability and peace in the Middle East and the world as a whole.

145. The Arab position is based on the principles adopted at the Arab summit conferences, especially the Twelfth Conference held in Fez last month, the resolutions of which have confirmed that the Arabs seek to achieve right, peace and justice and to exert every effort to maintain a peace which is just and comprehensive in the Middle East in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

146. The resolutions of the Fez Summit Conference reaffirmed the Arab will for peace based on justice because it took into account the true situation in the area and that involved the principles and bases which could be an objective starting point for establishing a just and lasting peace. Among those principles is the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its own territory and under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative. This is in accordance with the principles of right and justice and the resolutions of the United Nations. Thus at a time when the Arab countries reaffirm by resolutions adopted at Fez their will to establish peace based on justice, Israel proves, through its conduct, that it does not wish peace but rather seeks more expansion and more occupation of territory. It has become clear that Israel is not the party that seeks security. Those who look for security are the Arabs.

147. Peace will not be achieved as long as there is a people suffering oppression, occupation, humiliation, racism, imperialism and other forms of domination. History has taught us that the people who have been deprived of their basic rights have stood resolutely in defence of those rights. That resistance has taken different shapes and forms. Genuine peace in the Middle East will not be established unless there is a complete recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State, and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab occupied countries, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. There will not be genuine peace in the Middle East so long as Israel persists in violating the simplest principles of human rights in the occupied territories and in Lebanon. Peace will not be realized so long as Israel adheres to its expansionist designs and racist policy.

148. Last, but not least, finding a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian question will be a starting point for the solution of many international problems which pose a danger to international peace and security. If such a solution is not reached, then international tension and a deterioration of the situation in an unpredictable way will be a constant source of danger.

149. If we want to keep the world away from the edge of the abyss and from the policies of extremism, force and aggression, then wisdom and reason should prevail in all our conduct and we should also observe all the principles and bases that can lessen international tension and overcome many of the dangers to international peace and security to which I have referred. We should co-operate to find a solution for all international problems and conflicts, in order to establish an international community which enjoys stability, progress, peace and security.

150. Mr. AL-ALAWI ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to convey sincere congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and to express our best wishes to him and to the officers of the Assembly for success in directing the work of the Assembly towards the achievement of our goals. I should like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the great efforts made by the former President, Mr. Kitani, during the thirty-sixth session and of the skilful manner in which he conducted its work and that of the General Assembly throughout its successive sessions and meetings this year.

151. The election of the new Secretary-General has been a source of pleasure to us, considering his outstanding position and wide experience in the work of the Organization as well as the respect and appreciation he has enjoyed for the tasks he has performed. While expressing our congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election by acclamation to his post, we should like to express our conviction that he is worthy of this universal trust and to wish him success in his important work and in realizing the hope that he may achieve the important tasks entrusted to him.

152. In reviewing the international situation and events since the previous session, we must unfortunately conclude that the picture is gloomy. Most of the problems which we discussed are becoming increasingly complicated. The views and hopes which we expressed have to a great extent not been realized. Many resolutions have been neither respected nor implemented. Our hopes for establishing good international relations based on the principles of the Charter and international law are still far from being achieved, and the United Nations—as the Secretary-General indicated in his report on the work of the Organization—has not been able to play its effective and decisive role as envisaged in the Charter, thus frustrating the hope that the Organization would be capable of maintaining peace and security and serving as a forum for negotiations. We must endeavour to put an end to this deviation from the Charter, to adhere to it and to its principles, and to revive the concepts contained in it, which requires making a collective effort towards establishing peace, thereby strengthening the

ability of the United Nations to perform its basic function.

153. The list of problems before the Assembly at this session is, as usual, diverse, complicated and long, but we believe that such a list should not lead us to despair or make us give up endeavours towards the achievement of what we believe is right and fair. We have no alternative but to continue our efforts and co-operation towards achieving the objectives that we set ourselves, including in particular the establishment of peace based on justice.

154. As at previous sessions, the Middle East problem, whose central issue is the Palestinian question, is the most urgent problem before us. We all know that the main obstacle to the solution of this problem is not the lack of efforts exerted within and outside the United Nations to solve it, but, first and foremost, the continued Israeli defiance of the will of the international community, Israel's flouting of the very principles governing the Organization.

155. This defiance of international public opinion and flouting of the Charter and resolutions is a serious matter, and the time has come to deal with it. Otherwise, the law of the jungle will prevail in international relations, and the remnant of confidence and hope of finding a peaceful solution to this problem, based on the principles of international law and justice, will collapse. This will also weaken the Organization's ability to find peaceful and just solutions to the disputes brought before it, as the Secretary-General stressed in his report.

156. The Sultanate of Oman is an advocate of peace, and the people of our region, who have suffered war and instability for a long time, look forward to an era of security and stability. The peace that we seek is a peace based on justice and on the principles adopted by the Organization. We seek a just and lasting peace that would put an end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people and would realize their legitimate rights to return to their home and to self-determination. That is why we have supported, and continue to support, all the efforts aimed at establishing peace in the region. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, in which we participated, laid the basis and provided the guidelines for a peaceful and just solution to the Middle East problem. Furthermore, the eight principles representing the Arab framework for solving this problem do not depart, in general or in details, from the principles that have already been approved by the United Nations.

157. The recent initiative of Mr. Reagan, the President of the United States of America, directed to solving the Middle East problem contains positive points that might contribute to the efforts being made to settle this problem.

158. The peace initiative of the Arab States and President Reagan's initiative create together a climate conducive to finding a permanent and just settlement to the problem. We should take advantage of it and develop it, and the negative attitude of Israel should not be allowed to undermine our efforts. However, the Israeli persistence in frustrating all international efforts and rejecting all proposals put forward for solving the problem have led States to believe in the inevitability of the use of force in solving political

problems involving Member States. This is a very serious matter.

159. The Israeli aggression against the Arab sister State of Lebanon, resulting in the occupation of Lebanese territories and violation of Lebanon's sovereignty, demonstrates to the whole world that Israel believes only in the use of force, and not in peace. Therefore, the international community must once again censure these brutal actions and demand that Israel withdraw its forces from Lebanon immediately, and, further, that it assist the Lebanese people to realize their hopes of stability and security.

160. On 20 September 1982 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oman issued the following statement about the events in Lebanon:

"The Sultanate strongly denounces the barbaric massacres which have been committed and are being committed by Israel against unarmed Palestinian refugees, men, women and children, in the Sabra and Shatila camps in west Beirut.

"These genocidal massacres are a flagrant violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. They are a dangerous development, since they have contravened the spirit of peace and escalated tension and instability in the area. They recall the mass slaughter of Palestinians committed at Deir Yassin and Kafr Qasem by the Israeli authorities in 1948.

"Israel's invasion of west Beirut and its massacre of defenceless Palestinian refugees, old men, women and children, were part of a policy of aggression and expansion which the Israeli occupation authorities were implementing, with civilians as their victims. Their actions have defied all human values and international mores.

"Oman calls on the leaders of the world and the States which were responsible for the evacuation of the Palestinian fighters from west Beirut, as well as the international public and international and humanitarian organizations, to shoulder their responsibilities fully at this crucial stage so as to stop the inhuman slaughter of Palestinian refugees."

161. The withdrawal of Israel from the whole of Lebanon should be carried out immediately in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We express our hope that the return of the multinational peace-keeping force to Lebanon after supervising the departure of the Palestinian fighters will help the Lebanese Government exercise sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon.

162. The continuance of military conflict between the two neighbouring States of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is a source of concern and instability for the entire Gulf region and represents a threat to all the peoples there, and indeed to world peace and security, since it involves innumerable dangers and is exhausting the greater part of the natural and human resources of those two States, resources which could be channelled into economic and social development.

163. We cannot but associate ourselves with those who have called for an immediate end to such human and economic waste and urge that a peaceful settlement between the two sister States be brought about as quickly as possible.

164. We welcomed the declaration by Iraq, within the framework of the League of Arab States, that it would withdraw its forces from Iranian territory to the international boundaries and was ready to enter into negotiations to end the war. On the same principle and in the interest of peace and stability in the Gulf region, we urge the sister State of Iran to stop the war and move towards a peace which will take account of the legitimate rights of all the people.

165. Despite the numerous United Nations resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the reiteration of the same demand by the Islamic Conference and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi, and the insistence on respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, Soviet troops continue to occupy Moslem non-aligned Afghanistan in complete disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations concerned with this matter.

166. We call once again from this rostrum for a cessation of the Soviet aggression and the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops so as to enable the sister State of Afghanistan to regain control over its destiny and to choose its own political, economic and social system without any foreign interference or coercion.

167. In the context of the problem of western Asia we cannot ignore the deteriorating situation in the adjacent region of South-East Asia, namely, the continued occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops. In this connection, we hope that at this session the Assembly will stress the need to respect the Charter and the principles embodied in it and the need to find a speedy and peaceful political solution based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and the non-use of force, as well as the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, so that the Kampuchean people may determine their own destiny free from foreign interference and this region may enjoy peace.

168. Oman has a historical relationship with many of the countries and peoples of the African continent. We therefore share the aspirations of the peoples of the continent and their hope for a solution to the grave problems in southern Africa, particularly that of Namibia. We join the Africans in denouncing racial discrimination and we call for further efforts within and outside the United Nations to ensure that the aspirations of the African people to freedom and stability are fulfilled.

169. Because of its geographical position the Sultanate of Oman is directly concerned with events in the Horn of Africa. It regrets the continued attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the region. It condemns the acts of aggression against the Somali sister State and demands an end to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of that region lest it should fall victim to foreign expansionism and attempts to propagate social systems imported from abroad, foisting them upon the people of the area with a view to exploiting their resources.

170. Our concern with events in the Horn of Africa is closely associated with the security and safety of

the coastal States of the Indian Ocean. The Sultanate of Oman, as one of those countries, is concerned for the security of this area and is therefore in favour of declaring it a zone of peace. It calls for an end to the competition between the super-Powers to establish spheres of influence in the region. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, Oman is anxious to promote the efforts to arrange for the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which is scheduled to be held in Colombo in 1983, so that the goal of making the Indian Ocean region a demilitarized zone of peace may be achieved without further delay.

171. My delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the adoption by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*]. It hopes that this Declaration, which emphasizes respect for this important principle, will be complied with, thus guaranteeing the right of all peoples to shape their own destinies and choose their systems of government without any outside intervention, pressure or threat.

172. Oman, like other peaceful States, attached great hopes and importance to the second special session devoted to disarmament. We had entertained the hope that the negotiations and deliberations conducted during that session would be successful; but, as we all know, failure to reconcile the different points of view made it impossible to reach consensus on the major items on the agenda of that session, in spite of the preparatory meetings. We entertained the hope that the second special session would put into effect the Final Act of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was adopted by consensus in 1978. In paragraph 126 of the document the Members of the Organization reaffirmed:

“their determination to work for general and complete disarmament and to make further collective efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security; eliminating the threat of war, particularly nuclear war; implementing practical measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race; strengthening the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes; and reducing military expenses and utilizing the resources thus released in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries.”

173. The failure of the negotiations at the second special session and the subsequent disappointment to many parties are deplorable and regrettable. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that the responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is a basic one which emanates, as we indicated earlier, from its purposes and principles: to establish the bases of peace and to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations must urgently continue to assume this responsibility fully, without hesitation or despair. It is also imperative to mobilize the collective will to replace doubt with confidence, so that we can achieve positive results in this domain.

174. In this connection I should like to reiterate what the President of the second special session of the

Assembly said. We should be ignoring reality if we failed to observe that this session is being convened at a turning point of the greatest concern in the field of international relations. Doubt, conflict, an increasing sense of insecurity and a tendency to resort to force still prevail.

175. It is imperative that the international community now look seriously into the fabric of relations among States in order to restore the role of the principles of international law and respect for the Charter of the United Nations, for it will be impossible to achieve progress in the field of disarmament without the fundamental elements of confidence and respect.

176. Like many other countries of the world, my country is aware of the increasing importance of establishing a new international economic order based on a fair balance between the prices of raw materials and manufactured products, taking into account the needs of developing countries and the need to accelerate their development. That is why my country continues to support the decisions taken by the Group of 77 and the efforts made by the Group in this connection ever since the beginning of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session [*resolution 34/138*]. We should like to emphasize that it is not possible to find any solution to such problems except on the basis of a common, universally accepted approach to the current global economic problems involving all States, and through agreed solutions regarded as permanent and fair by all.

177. Since then, to our regret, my delegation has not seen any positive development in the global economic negotiations. On the contrary, it has witnessed a clear general deterioration in the economic situation in many countries of the world, and particularly in the developing countries. The obvious decline in the developing countries' terms of trade, the large increase in the cost of capital, inadequate demand for those countries' exports, frequent resort to the policy of protectionism, continued application of stringent and unfavourable terms for the transfer of technology to those countries—all this has weighed heavily on the economies of developing countries, disrupted their economic growth and led to a sharp increase in their balance-of-payments deficit and foreign indebtedness.

178. Like any other developing country, the Sultanate of Oman feels the need for such international economic co-operation and considers it imperative that the developed countries increase their aid to the developing countries in order to raise the level of development in those countries, relieve their foreign indebtedness, and demonstrate increased flexibility and seriousness in the negotiations on the subject. The Sultanate of Oman feels that the international community is more than ever in duty bound to find a solution to the present economic crisis by devoting every effort to achieving the objectives and goals set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. We hope that we shall soon witness positive results in this direction in response to the efforts of the Secretary-General.

179. Oman participated in the adoption of the final text of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, in New York on 30 April, in spite of the fact

that the final text did not include proposals and views put forward by Oman during the deliberations of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during the past few years. We did so out of our belief that the Convention, in general, is fair to all and would put an end to the chaotic situation with respect to the seas—particularly as to exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed—in a way that would serve the interests of humanity at large without prejudice to the basic rights of the coastal States.

180. We hope that the States which could not, for one reason or another, vote in favour of the Convention will reconsider their positions, because that Convention is the outcome of long and continuous efforts exerted over the last 10 years, and it would be a waste of these efforts not to adopt it. Otherwise, States will resort to their former practices without any binding legal restraint defining their rights and obligations under the law of the sea.

181. Finally, I should like, with reference to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization to express my appreciation of his account of the situation in the world in general, and at the United Nations in particular. It merits attention far beyond that given to previous reports. It clearly and realistically reflects our feelings, especially with respect to the developing countries which, more than all the others, need to see that the United Nations receives the necessary support to enable it to fulfil the effective and decisive role clearly envisaged for it in the Charter. We hope this report will receive the attention it deserves and that at the current session the Assembly will explore effective means of eliminating the points of weakness in the work of the Organization, particularly during the last years, so that it may regain the importance accorded it by the peoples of the world at its inception.

182. We renew the pledge we made in the Preamble to the Charter for a serious endeavour to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, reaffirm our belief in fundamental human rights, in the equality of the rights of men and women, as well as of nations, large and small, and we renew our commitment to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

183. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure to begin by extending to the President on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, our most heartfelt congratulations on his election at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to express our great satisfaction at seeing preside over this august Assembly, a distinguished representative of a socialist country, the People's Republic of Hungary, with which we maintain excellent relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation. We wish him every success in the exercise of his lofty responsibilities. May I also reaffirm to Mr. Kittani, our deep appreciation for the dignified and clear-sighted manner in which he acquitted himself of his mandate during the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly. May I further reiterate to the Secretary-General our most sincere appreciation for his tireless efforts in seeking the most appropriate solutions to the grave problems which the international community faces.

184. The thirty-seventh session is being held at a very critical time, since the international situation has deteriorated seriously to the point of gravely threatening the survival of a certain number of peoples.

185. Every year we all come to participate in the annual session of the General Assembly; a torrent of speeches is heard, support for the noble principles of freedom, peace, justice, democracy, solidarity, development and co-operation is reaffirmed by every one of us, but, unfortunately, the application of these ideas stops for some among us as soon as we leave the United Nations Headquarters.

186. Repeatedly, and from this very rostrum, we have expressed our profound concern because of the progressive deterioration in the international situation and because of its disastrous consequences for all of mankind. We cannot, nor should we conceal our great anguish at seeing the impotence, the resignation or the abdication of the competent international bodies when faced with the proliferation of hotbeds of tension, which are deliberately and dangerously kindled by imperialist Powers, and in particular by the present United States Administration.

187. No one here should ignore the causes and agents which are responsible for so sombre a picture. We wonder how long peoples and Governments which love peace and justice will have to wait for the adequate existing United Nations organs firmly to shoulder their responsibilities and take really effective measures—which are available to them—with respect to the Governments of certain Western Powers, in order to put an end to: the flagrant violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter; continuance of colonial wars, and the promoting of aggressions of every kind, directly or indirectly against States which adopt independent and progressive positions; the economic plundering of underdeveloped countries and the persistent prevention of a gradual reduction in the ever-widening gap between the rich developed countries, and the poor underdeveloped countries; the imposition of military bases in every corner of the world, generally maintained against the will of the peoples; the insistence on hampering the serious efforts made by the socialist countries and progressive and democratic forces to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament, the global prohibition of the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, including the neutron bomb; the accelerated rise of military budgets and expenditures stimulated by an escalation in the arms race, so that these astronomical amounts of money might be judiciously devoted to the economic and social development of the underdeveloped countries; and the systematic manoeuvres designed to counter the establishment of a new international economic order, as advocated by the movement of non-aligned countries.

188. Faced with this alarming situation, which obviously endangers the future of peoples, and faced with the growing tragedy endured by millions of human beings, who are still deprived of their freedom and the right to choose their own destiny, lacking in the ways and means to fight against servitude, humiliation, tyranny, wretchedness, famine, ignorance and disease, we feel compelled to repeat, who bears the grave responsibility, in the first place, for such a

deterioration in the international situation? As we see it, it is the present United States Administration, and certain of its allies and agents, or preferred instruments which bear this responsibility: the racist and Fascist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

189. We see it this way because of the firm conviction of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola that no country that was socialist, progressive or loved peace and justice has taken or will take initiatives to promote hotbeds of tension, to unleash a nuclear war or use other weapons of mass destruction, because the survival of mankind, international peace and security, the independence of peoples and peaceful coexistence are for them a primary principle and objective.

190. World problems which seriously affect peace, security, development, freedom and independence require considerable efforts from the international community as a whole and a global response that has due regard for the fact that each people has the right freely to choose its own political, economic, social and cultural system, without intimidation or pressures; that it is the right of every people to be in charge of its own national riches and to exploit them for its own benefit; that it is the right of every people to reject any form of subordination and dependence on any source, and any interference or pressure, political, economic or military.

191. There is no denying that in the present situation détente, general and complete disarmament, the nuclear threat and the arms race are the major concerns of countries that love peace and justice. In this respect, may we recall that the position of Angola has been clearly defined once again during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, so we need not repeat it here.

192. Since the People's Republic of Angola is a geopolitical component of the African continent, it is legitimate for the Government of Angola to give primary attention to African problems, in particular to those of southern Africa, in view of the grave implications for the region and for the world.

193. For some 20 years many relevant resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement, recognizing, on the one hand, the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and, on the other hand, denouncing or firmly condemning the illegal occupation of Namibia by the criminal South African régime.

194. Directly confronted with threats, aggression and armed invasion by the racist and terrorist Pretoria régime since 1975, the People's Republic of Angola expects from the international community a decisive commitment in line with the requirements of our time, so that the problem of Namibia may be finally settled and so that the people of Angola may, for its part, be able to expel the racist invaders, to respond to future aggression and to ensure the defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

195. What is the situation today? As we all know, the contact group submitted to SWAPO, the front-line States and to Nigeria in October 1981 a plan of action that includes three phases; first, the adoption

by the end of January of 1982 of the so-called constitutional principles by the concerned and interested parties, principles which are to be included in the future constitution of Namibia; secondly, approval by the end of March by the Security Council of the composition and size of the United Nations troop contingent, and resolution of the question of the United Nations "impartiality" raised by the Pretoria régime; thirdly, implementation, starting in April, of the United Nations plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), containing four fundamental aspects: a cease-fire; the gradual reduction of South African troops to 1,500 men; stationing of United Nations troops in Namibia; and free and fair elections.

196. Since the first meetings with the contact group—and quite outside its framework and mission—the United States delegation has asked for bilateral contacts with the Angolan authorities and has begun to try to link the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola to the negotiating process for the independence of Namibia. This has always been firmly rejected by the Government of Angola, in view of the absurdity of such a linkage which, in fact, ill conceals the obsession or paranoia of the United States Administration about the stationing of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola.

197. In view of the deadlock in the negotiations on the first phase, because of the electoral system proposed by the contact group, and since the presence of Cuban forces in the People's Republic of Angola has become the subject of a slanderous and hostile campaign by the United States Administration which is shamelessly seeking at all costs to link that presence to the process of the independence of Namibia—directly, or through the racist South African régime, which has become its sounding board—as an additional means of preventing the implementation of the resolutions which the United Nations has already adopted, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Cuba, on behalf of their respective Governments, prepared and signed a joint declaration on 4 February 1982, with which all the Members of this international body are fully familiar.

198. It is therefore fitting to recall that, at the end of the month of August 1981, at a lunch offered to the foreign press accredited in South Africa, and at the very moment when a large-scale aggression was being perpetrated against the People's Republic of Angola, the South African Prime Minister declared that the Cubans represent no threat to South Africa and that South Africa does not regard the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola as a prior condition to the peaceful solution of the Namibian question.

199. Nevertheless, it is surprising but significant that a certain number of those who express their concern about the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola show no such concern in respect of the illegal occupation for more than a year of a part of the territory of Angola by the racist and Fascist South African troops. What moral can be drawn from that?

200. And yet, in the course of these last nine months, the South African army has carried out 580 reconnaissance flights, 18 air bombardments, 96 landings of troops from helicopters and several sabotage and reprisal actions against the civilian population. The Angolan armed forces have suffered 31 dead, 65 wounded and 38 missing, while the enemy forces have suffered 39 dead. Seven South African aircraft and three helicopters have been shot down.

201. Thus we believe that the following positions of principle must be borne in mind.

202. First, the joint Angolan-Cuban declaration states solemnly and unambiguously that the intention is gradually to withdraw the Cuban internationalist forces stationed on Angolan territory.

203. Secondly, on 23 April 1976, a month after expelling the South African troops, the Angolan and Cuban Governments agreed on a programme progressively to reduce those forces and, in less than a year, the Cuban military contingent was reduced by more than one third. Towards the middle of 1979 the two Governments once again decided to implement another programme for the gradual reduction of the Cuban forces. Nevertheless, those two programmes had to be suspended at a certain point because of the growing number and scope of South African armed aggression against the provinces of Cunene and Huila. It should be emphasized that the Angolan and Cuban Governments spontaneously took the initiative to implement those programmes. No Government—including that of the United States of America—and no international organization dared to propose or demand that we do so. How is one then to understand the sickly insistence of the United States Administration on this subject and its inability to realize that such an attitude is a gross and inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country?

204. Thirdly, in that same joint declaration we stated that when the Governments of Angola and Cuba so decide, the withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed on Angolan territory will be carried out by a sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola when there is no further possibility of aggression or armed invasion and, in that connection, the Government of Cuba reiterated that it will unreservedly respect any decision taken by the sovereign Government of the People's Republic of Angola concerning the withdrawal of those forces. Once again we solemnly reaffirm before the Assembly what our intentions are.

205. Furthermore, in the course of these last three months, American representatives in the contact group have been making a very special effort to spread optimism about the results already achieved in the negotiations that have been going on in New York since the month of June. In fact that is a false and ill-intentioned optimism. It is false, because the electoral system has not yet been defined, the final composition of the United Nations forces has not yet been decided, and the cease-fire between SWAPO and the Pretoria régime, which will constitute the essential point of departure for the implementation of the United Nations plan, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), seem to us to be far from being anticipated

or applied. It is ill-intentioned in that the American Administration has started a manoeuvre to attribute to the People's Republic of Angola responsibility for the delay of, or even for preventing, a swift and adequate solution of the process of independence for Namibia owing to the position of the Government of Angola regarding linkage and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces. In point of fact, this manoeuvre constitutes an escape hatch for those who are or will be the ones really responsible for such a situation.

206. Thus, since the position of the Government of Angola is a legitimate one the heads of State and Government of the front-line States meeting at Lusaka on 4 September 1982:

“... noted with indignation that a new element has been introduced by the United States of America in seeking to link the negotiations for the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In this respect, the Summit emphasized without any ambiguity the importance of separating the decolonization process of Namibia from the stationing of Cuban forces in Angola. The insistence on maintaining this linkage is contrary to the spirit and the letter of [Security Council] resolution 435 (1978) and can only hamper the negotiating process. Furthermore, this insistence constitutes interference in Angola's internal affairs. In this context, they expressed their complete support for the Angolan position on the question, which is clearly defined in the joint declaration of the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Cuba, of 4 February 1982. Accordingly, they rejected any attempt to make the People's Republic of Angola responsible for any delay in the prompt conclusion of the negotiations on the independence of Namibia. They strongly condemned the aggression and invasion of Angola by South African forces and demanded that the Pretoria régime cease all acts of aggression and withdraw its troops from Angola.”

207. A similar position was taken during the Third Conference of Heads of State of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, which was held in the capital of Cape Verde on 21 and 22 September 1982.

208. May I be allowed to remind the Assembly of the enormous sacrifices which the heroic people of Angola has already made and the extremely high price it is paying in thousands of lost human lives and material damage amounting to more than \$7.5 billion.

*Mr. Traoré (Mali), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

209. I should like once again to remind the Assembly of the proposal made at the thirty-first session [84th meeting] by the Angolan Government for consideration by the General Assembly, that an international fund for the national reconstruction of Angola be established, amounting to approximately \$300 million. It is sad to note that so just a proposal has not received the least attention from this world body, despite the fact that in its resolution 475 (1980) the Security Council requested “Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's

Republic of Angola and the other front-line States," and called for "the payment by South Africa of full and adequate compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the damage to life and property resulting from these acts of aggression." May we renew our hopes that this bitter cry will be heard?

210. Everyone knows that in South Africa the internal situation is progressively deteriorating as the conflicts within the hideous *apartheid* régime and the ruling party grow worse, and the valiant fighters of the African National Congress [ANC] steadfastly and heroically carry out political and military actions; their efforts are recognized even by the Pretoria régime, and this has led to an escalation of threats and aggression, as well as an increasing use of mercenary forces and bandit groups—trained, financed, organized and commanded by South Africa—against the People's Republic of Mozambique. It has also led to acts of aggression perpetrated against the Republics of Zimbabwe and Zambia and the Kingdom of Lesotho. All States Members of the United Nations should firmly condemn these actions and should stand in active solidarity with the ANC and the front-line States.

211. With regard to Western Sahara, we reiterate our unflinching solidarity with the heroic Sahraoui people, which, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the POLISARIO Front, is victoriously pursuing its armed struggle against Moroccan occupation to recover full independence and territorial integrity. We welcome the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the OAU, and we reiterate our conviction that there must be direct negotiations between the two conflicting parties in the search for a political solution.

212. With regard to the temporary difficulties now being experienced by the OAU, we consider that any problems that might affect us should be discussed by us alone, within our continental organization, and without any interference from outside Africa, as has been noted. The fact that the thirty-eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa in February 1982, and the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at Tripoli, held in August 1982, were obstructed is a part of the strategy of American imperialism and some of its allies aimed at subjugating or paralyzing international bodies which play an active role in the struggle for the political and economic independence of peoples. We are absolutely convinced that this momentary crisis will soon be overcome.

213. We are deeply moved by the bloody events in Lebanon. The brutal armed invasion carried out by the racist and Fascist Tel Aviv régime, with the full and shameful connivance of the United States Administration and the inadmissible passivity of certain Arab States; the genocide of Palestinians and Lebanese in west Beirut; and the massacre, the carnage, at Sabra and Shatila: these can never be forgotten, and call for our strongest condemnation and an appropriate response in due course.

214. We are firmly convinced that the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, will resume the fight after having, by their heroic resistance during the fierce battles of those 75 historic

days, won the respect and admiration of all those who stand with the peoples struggling for their independence. We reaffirm our unswerving solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO as they carry on their struggle to recover their usurped homeland and to establish an independent State there.

215. After seven years of Indonesian military occupation, the people of East Timor, under the leadership of its vanguard organization and legitimate representative, the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN], continues its heroic resistance, in spite of the lack of solidarity on the part of some countries of the non-aligned movement. Those countries should identify themselves with the struggle of the people of East Timor, out of respect for the fundamental principles of non-alignment.

216. The inability of the Indonesian army to stamp out the armed liberation struggle of the people of East Timor clearly shows that people's rejection of integration into or annexation by Indonesia of its homeland. The 35,000 Indonesian soldiers present there, recourse to helicopter-borne forces to try to destroy the fighting forces of FRETILIN, which control 70 per cent of the national territory, the terror and famine imposed on the people of East Timor—will all fail to thwart the nationalist feelings of that people or its resolve to fight. Yet more than 200,000 persons have been massacred by the troops of a self-styled non-aligned country which never fought against the former administering Power, Portugal, during the colonial period.

217. The Indonesian troops, and thus the Indonesian Government, are today carrying out an appalling genocide, through physical liquidation, cultural repression, deportation, and repopulation with thousands of Javanese citizens. But there are the beginnings of resistance in the Indonesian army against participating in operations aimed at eliminating the patriots of East Timor. This is proved by the recent refusal to act of two battalions, which are today isolated on one of the islands of the country.

218. It only needed Portugal to shirk its responsibilities towards the people of East Timor by not proceeding to the transfer of power to the FRETILIN leaders for Indonesia to invade and militarily occupy part of East Timor and the outskirts of the capital, where its military contingents had established themselves.

219. Ever since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly the Organization has been expressing deep concern over the situation obtaining in East Timor as a result of the intervention of Indonesian armed forces and has been requesting the Indonesian Government to withdraw without delay its forces from the Territory in order to enable the people of East Timor freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, as provided in General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX). Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) once again call on the Indonesian Government to withdraw its forces from the Territory forthwith. Resolution 36/50, adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, reaffirms the same principles and makes the same requests. The Indonesian Government, however, shows no sign of willingness to respect United Nations decisions. It



is therefore imperative that States Members of the United Nations, in particular those which are members of the non-aligned movement, do not endorse the brutal annexation of East Timor to Indonesia, a country which does not even respect our resolutions.

220. Bearing in mind that the Government of Portugal seems to wish to resume its responsibilities as the former administering Power in order to bring the tragedy of the people of East Timor to the attention of the international community, we wish to express encouragement for the request of the Government of Portugal aimed at satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

221. With regard to developments in the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and in the Republic of Cyprus, we reaffirm our active solidarity with those peoples in their respective causes and our support for the positions of their Governments in the quest for just and appropriate solutions.

222. With regard to Latin America, we reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Salvadorian people and with its legitimate representatives, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in their just struggles against the present régime in El Salvador, and we heartily welcome the victories they have already won.

223. We wish to reaffirm our solidarity with the Cuban people in their revolution. We support their efforts to overcome the consequences of the criminal economic boycott imposed by American imperialism, in flagrant violation of human rights, and we denounce the aggression and the threats against the Cuban people. We welcome also the revolutionary process of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada and their determination to face the serious threats that hang over them. We also reaffirm our active solidarity with the Puerto Rican people and denounce the imperialist manoeuvres which, by means of despicable political and economic pressures, have prevented the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the agenda.

224. No one is unaware of the fact that the Security Council and General Assembly as well as the OAU have already adopted several resolutions on mercenarism, condemning the activities of mercenaries, their recruitment and their use for the purpose of destabilizing actions in underdeveloped countries, particularly on the African continent. While it is true that a Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa has already been adopted by the OAU—and the People's Republic of Angola, which has suffered and continues to suffer the misdeeds of mercenaries, is proud of the important contribution it made to that Convention—it is imperative, none the less, for the General Assembly to adopt as soon as possible an international convention prohibiting the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries and the provision of transit facilities to them. Indeed, we hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, established under General Assembly reso-

lution 35/48, will fulfil its mandate and that such a convention will finally be adopted.

225. Next month the Angolan people will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, under the dynamic and visionary leadership of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA-Labour Party and President of the Republic. Important results have already been achieved in consolidating the Angolan revolutionary process, in setting up the structures of the party, in strengthening national unity and defence and in laying the foundations for a socialist society in the People's Republic of Angola.

226. Unfortunately, however, the Angolan Government has had to devote most of its human and material resources to the defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, because of the continuous acts of aggression by the racist and Fascist régime of Pretoria. This has seriously affected the economic and social development we had planned, but if we are to attain that paramount goal the undeclared war against us must be brought to an end. We need peace, and we dare to hope that that peace so fervently desired by the Angolan people will be attained in the coming year.

227. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

228. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): I take great pleasure in congratulating, on behalf of my delegation, the President on his election to preside over this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that his qualities as an experienced diplomat and his deep faith in the principles and purposes of the Charter will enable him to direct the work of the Assembly successfully. I should also like to pay tribute to the President's predecessor, Mr. Kittani, of the fraternal country of Iraq, for the outstanding way in which he led the work of the last regular session as well as of the special sessions. I also take great pleasure in paying a particular tribute to the Secretary-General for his constant efforts to promote international peace and security. My delegation is pleased to express to him its appreciation of his struggle to preserve the principles of the Charter and to strengthen international solidarity for the progress and development of mankind.

229. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when the international situation is steadily deteriorating. The harmful world conditions that we are experiencing encourage the super-Powers to acquire zones of influence and make their rivalries ever sharper. The super-Powers are using their economic, scientific and technological advances to achieve their objectives and designs.

230. In this atmosphere of constant tension we remain concerned and alarmed at the escalation of tension which is creating several flashpoints in many parts of the world, especially in the third world.

231. In spite of the constant efforts of the international community in the quest for peace, we are every day confronted with increasingly sophisticated wars, wars of attrition and of the annihilation of nations. Never before in history have there been so many wars in third world countries, with such great human, financial and material losses. It is as if by some master

plan they are intended to exchange the natural resources of developing countries and prevent them achieving their economic take-off.

232. It is an act of treason towards that part of mankind living in wretched circumstances to tolerate the useless waste of incredible quantities of financial, scientific, technological and human resources, when two thirds of the world's population are doomed to live in dire poverty, suffering grave economic difficulties and social imbalance. Moreover, there are a large number of refugees on all the continents, half of them in Africa. Those refugees often come to an environment where they still have to struggle to satisfy their most basic needs—food, medical care and shelter.

233. What human wisdom can allow for such waste, whose only purpose is the destruction of all the best that world civilization has been producing for the good of mankind? We cannot separate acts leading to the waste of such immense human and material wealth from those which are delaying the establishment of a new international economic order.

234. International economic relations are experiencing in our time a grave crisis, which is becoming an obstacle in negotiations between the rich and poor countries, a number of which—the least developed countries—are living in precarious conditions. It is up to us to exchange new ideas and co-ordinate our efforts with a view to striving together towards a better life.

235. After eight years of hard work the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea achieved its objective. The adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea constitutes a landmark in the history of mankind. The success of the Conference has enhanced the prestige and credibility of the United Nations, which can be an effective framework for dealing with all questions of vital importance to all States and the international community.

236. The political climate and security in the Indian Ocean area has gravely deteriorated recently. The littoral and hinterland States are worried about the increase in tension in the area, as a result of the rivalries of the great Powers. There is an extremely urgent need to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, pursuant to resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 12 December 1971. The situation of insecurity and instability prevailing in the Indian Ocean requires the speedy holding of the relevant conference in Colombo.

237. Since its independence the Republic of Djibouti has expressed its devotion to international peace and security. The objectives that it has set itself are national unity, equality and peace.

238. In accordance with our foreign policy, based on dialogue and co-operation, we have chosen to live in peace with our neighbours, with absolutely no interference or intervention. Our neutrality is reflected by a policy of non-alignment, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence. We urge our neighbours to settle any disputes peacefully, for we remain convinced that peace and stability alone can guarantee the emancipation of peoples. Moreover, we urge all leaders in the Horn of Africa to struggle for the creation of the right

circumstances to foster tolerance, understanding and confidence among the peoples of the region.

239. We attach great importance to regional and interregional economic co-operation, and we are prepared to take an effective part in those efforts, in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Development of Africa<sup>1</sup> and the Charter of National Economic Action, adopted at Amman.

240. In spite of its economic difficulties and its meagre resources, the Republic of Djibouti takes in a considerable number of refugees. The situation has worsened because of the devastating consequences of a prolonged drought, which has displaced a third of our population who have lost all means of subsistence.

241. The Republic of Djibouti has embarked on comprehensive programmes of revitalization and modernization of existing sectors of the service economy as well as on the creation of a sound basis for a productive, diversified economy through the development of new sectors in industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries.

242. My Government, which has decided to use every means available to extricate itself from its socio-economic difficulties, appreciates the assistance and aid of friendly countries to help in achieving those objectives.

243. After 34 years of bloody wars, 34 years of sacrifices, 34 years of tireless and uninterrupted efforts, the international community has just reaffirmed its support for the Palestinian cause, by declaring that no just and lasting solution can be achieved without recognition of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It is with that in view that concrete proposals for an overall peaceful solution have been formulated.

244. Unfortunately these peace efforts are still pitted against the political ambitions of the Zionists, who wish to relegate the Palestinian cause to historical oblivion so as to promote their expansionist policy. The Zionists do not wish to accept or tolerate any talk of national rights for Palestinians; they wished to bury the natural aspirations of an entire people under the ruins of Beirut. In order to do that the Zionist war-lords unleashed the most devastating and the most bloody aggression against Lebanon, using the most sophisticated weaponry, with the avowed intention of annihilating the Palestinian people, of liquidating the PLO and destroying its organizational structure.

245. For more than two months Lebanon has been subjected to the most merciless destruction. Beirut, besieged, deprived of water, food, electricity and medicines, constantly bombarded from land, air and sea, has undergone an ordeal which no city has experienced since the Second World War.

246. During the first half of this century the Nazis, in their wanton campaign for racial superiority, arrogated to themselves the right to determine who should live and who should be deprived of life. They institutionalized terror and mass killing as means of achieving that goal.

247. In the second half of this century the Zionist neo-Nazis have espoused a similar concept, although

more limited in scope. They wish to eliminate the Palestinian people from the land where they have always lived. For the Zionists, Palestine was a land without any people awaiting the arrival of Jewish settlers to colonize it. History has been falsified; the physical characteristics, the demographic composition and the institutional structures of the occupied territories are being altered so as finally to leave no trace of the Palestinian heritage.

248. In spite of that and in defiance of the aims of the Zionist plan, the Palestinian reality asserts itself more each day, because the Palestinian people, under the aegis of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative, has shown its unshakable determination to struggle for the life of its cause.

249. Strengthened by that determination, Arab Kings, Sovereigns and heads of State were at one in making it crystal clear to the world that just and lasting peace has always been their objective, an objective that Israel has rejected and continues to reject, wishing to deprive an entire people of its existence and of its identity.

250. In Fez, the Arab leaders agreed on concrete and realistic proposals aimed at restoring a just and lasting peace in the region. These proposals, contained in what is now called the "Fez Charter", have created a legal framework which, without the slightest doubt, has aroused hope in the international community, which is determined to find a solution to this painful problem.

251. As usual, Begin's response was to order the massacre of children, women and old people. Once again, in defiance of international public opinion, Israel has revealed its true face. Once again Begin dashed the hopes of all peace-loving countries and peoples by organizing the genocide at Shatila and Sabra. These Zionists have unfortunately made us relive a tragedy which history wished to bury at Nuremburg and which we thought had been removed from our memories for ever.

252. In the face of this situation which threatens international peace and security, in the face of this genocide which definitely could not have been carried out without the consent and support of a great Power, in the face of this holocaust of which the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples are the victims, we reaffirm that a just peace cannot be established without the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, without the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the borders of Lebanon as well as from the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

253. Lebanon, whose only crime was to grant asylum to the Palestinians who, because of Zionist terrorism, had had to flee from their national land, must never again be the scene of these wars and massacres. The international community must help Lebanon to regain its sovereignty and its territorial integrity and in its reconstruction.

254. We note with deep concern the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war, in spite of the efforts made by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, by the non-aligned movement and by the United Nations.

255. We hail the positive initiative taken by the Iraqi Government in withdrawing its forces to the internationally recognized borders as a sign of a desire for peace and we appeal to these two countries to settle their dispute peacefully.

256. The situation in South Africa and in Namibia remains of concern. Tensions and confrontations will not be eliminated nor will peace be established in that region so long as *apartheid* is not dismantled and the black majority in South Africa is not liberated. *Apartheid* must be condemned without hesitation, and all political, diplomatic, moral and material means must be provided to the liberation fronts. The peoples of South Africa and of Namibia are entitled to use all means—including armed struggle—against the practices of segregation, racism and racial discrimination, genocide and exploitation.

257. We strongly denounce the policy of bantustanization being carried out by the Pretoria régime. We condemn also the criminal acts of terrorism and the acts of armed aggression against independent neighbouring countries. We state that the front-line countries have the legitimate right to protection against the repeated acts of intimidation and aggression perpetrated by the South African régime, whose sole purpose is to destabilize those States so as to weaken their moral and material efforts to assist the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements.

258. The Pretoria régime has clearly demonstrated its belligerence by accumulating armaments and other means of oppression, by acquiring a nuclear capability and by continuing its political, military, economic and cultural collaboration with Israel.

259. It is regrettable that South Africa, despite repeated appeals by the international community, continues to practise *apartheid* in defiance and flagrant violation of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

260. The question of Namibia remains unsolved because of the illegal occupation by the South African régime, which is denying the Namibian people the exercise of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence, in spite of United Nations resolutions. This gravely threatens international peace and security.

261. Through its political, economic and military activities the racist Pretoria régime is trying to delay Namibia's accession to independence. The policy of collaboration with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa can only harm and betray the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people to obtain its freedom.

262. It is up to the United Nations to ensure that its decisions are respected by South Africa. The United Nations must alert the international community to South African manoeuvres designed to upset the peaceful initiatives under way for Namibian independence.

263. We applaud the initiatives taken by SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, to facilitate the negotiations under way, as well as its constant readiness to take part in free and fair elections in Namibia in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

264. The Republic of Djibouti believes Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be the only acceptable basis for negotiations on Namibia's peaceful transition to freedom and independence. We sincerely hope that all the parties concerned will make a concerted co-operative effort to ensure implementation of that resolution.
265. As regards the issue of Western Sahara, my Government supports the efforts of the OAU to promote a just and lasting solution and also welcomes the measures taken to organize a referendum to enable the population of Western Sahara to express itself freely and democratically in the exercise of its right to self-determination.
266. Although we support the principle of self-determination for the Sahraoui people, we assert that the decision of the heads of State and Government of the OAU taken in Nairobi<sup>2</sup> is the only authentic one.
267. Without unity, Africa—beset as it is by economic difficulties and social instability—will remain a prey to foreign influences, political blackmail and economic exploitation. Lack of unity will lessen the ability of the independent countries of Africa to assist those which are still under the sway of colonization.
268. For a long time now Chad has continued to be the scene of fratricidal wars that have destroyed its human and material resources and endangered its unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We therefore urge all the forces concerned to enter into a constructive dialogue and to make a common endeavour. We believe that to be the only way that hostilities can be halted and order, peace and security restored. We hope that the United Nations and the OAU will work together to achieve that goal and will help in the reconstruction of Chad.
269. As regards Afghanistan, my Government expresses its great concern over the military occupation of that country despite the repeated appeals of the international community for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces. We reiterate our appeal for an immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan so as to enable its people to exercise its right to elect a government of its choice. We advocate an overall political solution based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.
270. The situation in Kampuchea is a problem of concern to my Government, which is firmly opposed to foreign armed intervention and to the presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. The presence of foreign troops makes it impossible for the Kampuchean people to express its will through free elections. We therefore reaffirm the imperative need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.
271. With reference to the question of Korea, my Government firmly believes that inter-Korean negotiations constitute the only political means of solving all the problems that have arisen out of the political division of that country. The earliest possible resumption of the dialogue is essential to deal with the urgent need to reduce the climate of tension, renew mutual confidence and establish lasting peace in the Korean peninsula, which might finally lead to a solution acceptable to the Korean people.
272. We are convinced that the United Nations remains the most appropriate forum for voicing our ideas, because all of us here share the same concern and undertake the same efforts to preserve the noble ideals of the Charter. Indeed, to defend the Charter of the United Nations is to defend the cause for which millions of people have perished; it is to defend the cultural and political expression of human dignity.
273. Unfortunately, at the present time the world is beset by grave crises which, if not solved, could threaten peace and security. The crises are especially dangerous because they seriously diminish the United Nations system's ability to act; moreover, they challenge the ideals on which the Charter was based.
274. We have in mind here the Shatila and Sabra massacres; *apartheid*, which has been made into a political alternative; and the occupation of countries by force. Is not threatening and shooting innocent people in camps and treating people as subhuman the sort of thing that prompted the creation of the Organization on the morrow of the last world war?
275. In conclusion, I wish the Assembly every success at the thirty-seventh session. Members may be assured of my delegation's positive contribution. For my part, I remain convinced that all the nations represented here will fulfil their responsibility by responding to the hopes of the millions of people who are looking to us.
276. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Guyana, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.
277. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The Foreign Minister of Venezuela, in his address last Monday [5th meeting], tried at length to justify the claim which his country maintains against four fifths of Guyana's territory. I have asked to speak tonight to exercise my right of reply because that statement was replete with misrepresentation, inaccuracies and distortions.
278. My delegation has noted the Foreign Minister's indication of Venezuela's commitment to a peaceful solution to the controversy and the desire "to maintain and develop with the Guyanese people the closest relations of friendship, co-operation and solidarity" [*ibid.*, para. 104]. We have also noted his proud assertion that in its 172 years of independence Venezuela "has never had a single war, not even an armed encounter, with any of its neighbours" [*ibid.*, para. 102].
279. We in Guyana do not judge Venezuela's peaceful intention by what Venezuelans say; we judge it by what they do. Even as I speak now, Venezuela is in military occupation of territory belonging to Guyana. That territory was seized by force of arms in 1966. That act of aggression took place, moreover, a mere few months after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement, which committed the parties, Venezuela included, to the search for a peaceful settlement. What is particularly significant is that that aggression did not take place while the British were still in the colony; the Venezuelans waited until after the British left in order to occupy part of our territory.

280. The Venezuela we know is the Venezuela whose armed units repeatedly violate Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity—already this year we have had cause on two occasions to bring such violations to the attention of the Secretary-General. The Venezuela we know is the Venezuela that has written the World Bank objecting to construction of and investment in a major development activity in Guyana—our hydroelectric project. All this is done as a means of pressuring us into giving in to their territorial demands.

281. Those are merely a few of the numerous instances of military, political and economic pressures we face from Venezuela. How do we reconcile the Minister's pronouncements of peaceful intent and friendly relations with these acts of aggression? Yet the Minister accuses Guyana of creating an image of Venezuela as an aggressor country indifferent to laws, to justice and to the solidarity which should exist between countries which are struggling to develop. We do not need to create such an image when Venezuela itself is doing it so well. By its behaviour since 1966 Venezuela has created not only an image but the reality of an aggressor country. Venezuela's covetousness and its territorial ambitions towards Guyana are no secret. They are common knowledge. Only last week they attracted the attention of *The New York Times* on two successive days.

282. We were told that Venezuela's land borders with Colombia and Brazil were established by peaceful means. Venezuela's borders with Guyana were also established by peaceful means. Venezuela freely entered into an agreement in 1897 with the United Kingdom to submit their territorial controversy to international arbitration and agreed, by the terms of that agreement, to accept the arbitral award as a "full, final and perfect settlement". That award was handed down by unanimous agreement in 1899. On the basis thereof, Venezuelan and British commissioners co-operated between 1901 and 1905 to ensure that the boundary on the ground corresponded in every relevant detail with the terms of the 1899 award. It is that boundary that has given Guyana its present geographic form. It is that boundary that Venezuela accepted for more than half a century until the reassertion of its claim in the 1960s. By sending its troops across that border in 1966, the Venezuelans signalled an intention to pressure Guyana by military means into redrawing that boundary.

283. The Venezuelan Minister persists in describing the arbitration process of 1899 as "an unprecedented legal farce", and repeats his argument about the absence of Venezuelan judges or lawyers. Venezuela's representative at the hearings of the tribunal was chosen by the Venezuelan President. He had an opportunity to select a Venezuelan judge or lawyer but he considered that Venezuela's interests would best be represented by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. No Venezuelan at the time complained about this arrangement. So that when the Venezuelan Minister tells us that there were no Venezuelan judges or lawyers present at the tribunal, he is making a comment on nothing but the sovereign decision of his President at the time.

284. At any rate, is it not significant that the Venezuelans should come to the General Assembly and try to assert that the award of 1899 is a legal farce, while at the same time refusing our proposal, which we made under the Geneva Agreement, to seek a peaceful settlement through the International Court of Justice? In fact the entire controversy arose the moment Venezuela advanced the contention that the award was without legal effect. Yet Venezuela does not want to go to the Court. It requires little effort of the imagination to see why.

285. Venezuela has called into question the good faith of Guyana to seek a negotiated, peaceful solution. The Minister stated:

"The obligation for Venezuela and Guyana to negotiate their differences is not only a moral imperative, not only a duty under international law, but, in this specific case, a commitment freely entered into in the Agreement signed at Geneva on 17 February 1966." [*Ibid.*, para. 105.]

286. It is a matter of historical record that Guyana has always been willing to engage in dialogue with Venezuela on all matters relating to the promotion of understanding, co-operation and peace between our two neighbouring countries. It was in that spirit that the President of my country accepted an invitation last year to visit Venezuela. But any such diplomatic discussions must be a separate and distinct matter from that of selecting one of the means of peaceful settlement as required by the Geneva Agreement which our two countries signed in 1966.

287. Venezuela proposed negotiations, as was its sovereign right under the Agreement. Guyana, after the most careful consideration, proposed judicial settlement in accordance with its equally sovereign right. The Geneva Agreement gives no primacy whatsoever to negotiation. The choice of means has to be agreeable to both parties; it is not the unilateral decision of one or the other. Guyana therefore rejects any insinuations of a reluctance to negotiate.

288. I reiterate Guyana's commitment to a peaceful settlement with Venezuela and to a régime of peaceful, harmonious, good-neighbourly relations with Venezuela. We are a small, poor, militarily weak country. But we will not be bullied by Venezuela. We demand respect for our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity.

289. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Venezuela.

290. Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have listened to the statement made by the representative of Guyana in exercise of his right of reply. We wish to reserve the right to speak in exercise of our right of reply at a later date.

*The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> A/S-11/14, annex I.

<sup>2</sup> See A/36/534, annex II.



**Annex 58**

U.N. General Assembly, 37th Session, *Agenda item 9*, U.N. Doc. A/37/PV.26 (11 Oct. 1982)





United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**  
 THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION



**26th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 11 October 1982,  
 at 3.20 p.m.

Official Records

NEW YORK

*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

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

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.

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, this time 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 Coëombo 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-

nomical 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 extra-continental 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 invidious 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 oftimes 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 1965. 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 Cooperation 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.

**Annex 59**

*Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (15 Oct. 1982)*



#3

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION (GUYANA)

Embassy of Venezuela

1-2/0/765

Caracas, 15th October, 1982.

His Excellency  
Rashleigh Jackson  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Co-operative Republic of Guyana  
GEORGETOWN

Mr. Minister,

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's note of October 8th, 1982 as well as to the proposals which you outlined in your address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 11th, 1982 and which were not communicated to us through normal diplomatic channels. The Government of Venezuela, through this note, wishes to reiterate its desire to keep open the channels of communication between the two parties for dealing with this issue at a bilateral level.

As I indicated to Your Excellency in my note of September 19, 1982, the Government of Venezuela is convinced that in order to comply with the provisions of Article IV (2) of the Geneva Agreement, the most appropriate international organ is the Secretary General of the United Nations.

.../2

-2-

The Government of Venezuela has taken note of the position of the Government of Guyana as expressed both in the latter's communication of October 8th, 1982 and in the proposals outlined in your address to the General Assembly.

Your Excellency has proposed three possibilities for the choice of an appropriate international organ which would select one of the means of peaceful settlement of controversies in conformity with Article IV (2) of the Geneva Agreement. According to your proposal, these are the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations.

After careful consideration of these alternatives, the Government of Venezuela wishes to reaffirm its conviction that it would be most practical and appropriate to entrust the task of choosing the means of settlement directly to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Since it is evident that no agreement exists between the parties in respect of the choice of an international organ to fulfil the functions provided for it in Article IV (2), it is obvious that this function now becomes the responsibility of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela.



## **Annex 60**

U.N. General Assembly, Sixth Committee, 37th Session, *Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes*, U.N. Doc A/RES/37/10 (15 Nov. 1982)



IX. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED ON THE REPORTS OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE<sup>1</sup>

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**37/10. Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes<sup>2</sup>**

*The General Assembly,*

*Having examined the item entitled "Peaceful settlement of disputes between States",*

*Recalling its resolutions 34/102 of 14 December 1979, 35/160 of 15 December 1980 and 36/110 of 10 December 1981,*

*Reaffirming the need to exert utmost efforts in order to settle any conflicts and disputes between States exclusively*

by peaceful means and to avoid any military action and hostilities, which can only make more difficult the solution of those conflicts and disputes,

*Considering that the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes should represent one of the central concerns for States and for the United Nations and that the efforts to strengthen the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes should be continued,*

*Convinced that the adoption of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes should enhance the observance of the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes in relations between States and contribute to the elimination of the danger of recourse to force or to the threat of force, to the relaxation of international tensions, to the promotion of a policy of co-operation and peace and*

<sup>1</sup> For the decisions adopted on the reports of the Sixth Committee, see sect. X.B.8.

<sup>2</sup> See also sect. X.B.8, decision 37/407.

of respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States, to the enhancing of the role of the United Nations in preventing conflicts and settling them peacefully and, consequently, to the strengthening of international peace and security,

Considering the need to ensure a wide dissemination of the text of the Declaration,

1. Approves the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution;

2. Expresses its appreciation to the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization for its important contribution to the elaboration of the text of the Declaration;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to inform the Governments of the States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice of the adoption of the Declaration;

4. Urges that all efforts be made so that the Declaration becomes generally known and fully observed and implemented.

68th plenary meeting  
15 November 1982

#### ANNEX

#### Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes

*The General Assembly,*

Reaffirming the principle of the Charter of the United Nations that all States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered,

Conscious that the Charter of the United Nations embodies the means and an essential framework for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recognizing the important role of the United Nations and the need to enhance its effectiveness in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the principle of the Charter of the United Nations that all States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Reiterating that no State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatsoever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State,

Reaffirming the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,<sup>3</sup>

Bearing in mind the importance of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security and the development of friendly relations among States, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems or levels of economic development,

Reaffirming the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Stressing the need for all States to desist from any forcible action which deprives peoples, particularly peoples under colonial and racist régimes or other forms of alien domination, of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Mindful of existing international instruments as well as respective principles and rules concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes, including the exhaustion of local remedies whenever applicable,

Determined to promote international co-operation in the political field and to encourage the progressive development of international law and its codification, particularly in relation to the peaceful settlement of international disputes,

Solemnly declares that:

1

1. All States shall act in good faith and in conformity with the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations with a view to avoiding disputes among themselves likely to affect friendly relations among States, thus contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security. They shall live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and strive for the adoption of meaningful measures for strengthening international peace and security.

2. Every State shall settle its international disputes exclusively by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

3. International disputes shall be settled on the basis of the sovereign equality of States and in accordance with the principle of free choice of means in conformity with obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and with the principles of justice and international law. Recourse to, or acceptance of, a settlement procedure freely agreed to by States with regard to existing or future disputes to which they are parties shall not be regarded as incompatible with the sovereign equality of States.

4. States parties to a dispute shall continue to observe in their mutual relations their obligations under the fundamental principles of international law concerning the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, as well as other generally recognized principles and rules of contemporary international law.

5. States shall seek in good faith and in a spirit of co-operation an early and equitable settlement of their international disputes by any of the following means: negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional arrangements or agencies or other peaceful means of their own choice, including good offices. In seeking such a settlement, the parties shall agree on such peaceful means as may be appropriate to the circumstances and the nature of their dispute.

6. States parties to regional arrangements or agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of their local disputes through such regional arrangements or agencies before referring them to the Security Council. This does not preclude States from bringing any dispute to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

7. In the event of failure of the parties to a dispute to reach an early solution by any of the above means of settlement, they shall continue to seek a peaceful solution and shall consult forthwith on mutually agreed means to settle the dispute peacefully. Should the parties fail to settle by any of the above means a dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, they shall refer it to the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and without prejudice to the functions and powers of the Council set forth in the relevant provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter.

8. States parties to an international dispute, as well as other States, shall refrain from any action whatsoever which may aggravate the situation so as to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and make more difficult or impede the peaceful settlement of the dispute, and shall act in this respect in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

9. States should consider concluding agreements for the peaceful settlement of disputes among them. They should also include in bilateral agreements and multilateral conventions to be concluded, as appropriate, effective provisions for the peaceful settlement of disputes arising from the interpretation or application thereof.

10. States should, without prejudice to the right of free choice of means, bear in mind that direct negotiations are a flexible and effective means of peaceful settlement of their disputes. When they choose to resort to direct negotiations, States should negotiate meaningfully, in order to arrive at an early settlement acceptable to the parties. States should be equally prepared to seek the settlement of their disputes by the other means mentioned in the present Declaration.

11. States shall in accordance with international law implement in good faith all the provisions of agreements concluded by them for the settlement of their disputes.

<sup>3</sup> Resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

12. In order to facilitate the exercise by the peoples concerned of the right to self-determination as referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the parties to a dispute may have the possibility, if they agree to do so and as appropriate, to have recourse to the relevant procedures mentioned in the present Declaration, for the peaceful settlement of the dispute.

13. Neither the existence of a dispute nor the failure of a procedure of peaceful settlement of disputes shall permit the use of force or threat of force by any of the States parties to the dispute.

## II

1. Member States should make full use of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including the procedures and means provided for therein, particularly Chapter VI, concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes.

2. Member States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. They should, in accordance with the Charter, as appropriate, duly take into account the recommendations of the Security Council relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes. They should also, in accordance with the Charter, as appropriate, duly take into account the recommendations adopted by the General Assembly, subject to Articles 11 and 12 of the Charter, in the field of peaceful settlement of disputes.

3. Member States reaffirm the important role conferred on the General Assembly by the Charter of the United Nations in the field of peaceful settlement of disputes and stress the need for it to discharge effectively its responsibilities. Accordingly, they should:

(a) Bear in mind that the General Assembly may discuss any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations and, subject to Article 12 of the Charter, recommend measures for its peaceful adjustment;

(b) Consider making use, when they deem it appropriate, of the possibility of bringing to the attention of the General Assembly any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute;

(c) Consider utilizing, for the peaceful settlement of their disputes, the subsidiary organs established by the General Assembly in the performance of its functions under the Charter;

(d) Consider, when they are parties to a dispute brought to the attention of the General Assembly, making use of consultations within the framework of the Assembly, with a view to facilitating an early settlement of their dispute.

4. Member States should strengthen the primary role of the Security Council so that it may fully and effectively discharge its responsibilities, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in the area of the settlement of disputes or of any situation the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end they should:

(a) Be fully aware of their obligation to refer to the Security Council such a dispute to which they are parties if they fail to settle it by the means indicated in Article 33 of the Charter;

(b) Make greater use of the possibility of bringing to the attention of the Security Council any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute;

(c) Encourage the Security Council to make wider use of the opportunities provided for by the Charter in order to review disputes or situations the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security;

(d) Consider making greater use of the fact-finding capacity of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter;

(e) Encourage the Security Council to make wider use, as a means to promote peaceful settlement of disputes, of the subsidiary organs established by it in the performance of its functions under the Charter;

(f) Bear in mind that the Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 of the Charter or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment;

(g) Encourage the Security Council to act without delay, in accordance with its functions and powers, particularly in cases where international disputes develop into armed conflicts.

5. States should be fully aware of the role of the International Court of Justice, which is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Their attention is drawn to the facilities offered by the International

Court of Justice for the settlement of legal disputes, especially since the revision of the Rules of the Court.

States may entrust the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

States should bear in mind:

(a) That legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice, in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court;

(b) That it is desirable that they:

(i) Consider the possibility of inserting in treaties, whenever appropriate, clauses providing for the submission to the International Court of Justice of disputes which may arise from the interpretation or application of such treaties;

(ii) Study the possibility of choosing, in the free exercise of their sovereignty, to recognize as compulsory the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in accordance with Article 36 of its Statute;

(iii) Review the possibility of identifying cases in which use may be made of the International Court of Justice.

The organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies should study the advisability of making use of the possibility of requesting advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities, provided that they are duly authorized to do so.

Recourse to judicial settlement of legal disputes, particularly referral to the International Court of Justice, should not be considered an unfriendly act between States.

6. The Secretary-General should make full use of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the responsibilities entrusted to him. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. He shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by the Security Council or by the General Assembly. Reports in this connection shall be made whenever requested to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

*Urges* all States to observe and promote in good faith the provisions of the present Declaration in the peaceful settlement of their international disputes;

*Declares* that nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as prejudicing in any manner the relevant provisions of the Charter or the rights and duties of States, or the scope of the functions and powers of the United Nations organs under the Charter, in particular those relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes;

*Declares* that nothing in the present Declaration could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right and referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, particularly peoples under colonial and racist régimes or other forms of alien domination; nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the above-mentioned Declaration;

*Stresses* the need, in accordance with the Charter, to continue efforts to strengthen the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes through progressive development and codification of international law, as appropriate, and through enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in this field.

### 37/11. United Nations Conference on Succession of States in respect of State Property, Archives and Debts

*The General Assembly,*

*Recalling* that, by its resolution 36/113 of 10 December 1981, it decided to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries in 1983 to consider the draft articles on succession of States in respect of State property, archives and debts, adopted by



**Annex 61**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela (28 Mar. 1983)





HL4  
Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 15, 1982, in which, alluding to certain proposals put forward by me in my address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Monday, October 11, 1982, you stated that, after careful consideration of them, the Government of Venezuela wished "to reaffirm its conviction", as previously intimated in your letter to me of September 19, 1982, "that it would be most practical and appropriate to entrust the task of choosing the means of settlement directly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations".

The Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana notes with regret this summary dismissal of my proposals by the Government of the Republic of Venezuela and the latter's conclusion that "no agreement exists between the parties" in respect of the choice of an appropriate international organ, more particularly in the light of the total failure of the Government of the Republic of Venezuela to propose a single international organ and of the possibility that the Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana might for its part, have had other proposals in this area to advance.

In these respects the Government of the Republic of Venezuela has not shifted materially from the wholly untenable position taken by it in your letter to me of September 19, 1982, in which it prematurely declared its intention to refer to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the decision as to the means of settlement even though at that stage, as pointed out in my letter to you of October 8, 1982, it had not as yet made any effort, as required by Article IV (2) of the Geneva Agreement, to reach agreement on an appropriate international organ by which such a decision could be made.

The Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana is ineluctably constrained to the view that, in the circumstances, the Government of the Republic of Venezuela never intended in good faith to endeavour to reach agreement with the Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana on an international organ before the matter is referred to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as is required by Article IV (2) of the Geneva Agreement, and has utterly failed to discharge its solemn treaty obligations in these respects.

Notwithstanding these palpable breaches of the Geneva Agreement by the Government of the Republic of Venezuela, the Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, for its part, wishes to demonstrate yet once again its consistently held intention to seek a solution to the controversy within the framework of the Agreement.

2/...

Consequently, while firmly reserving its position on the foregoing and other breaches, the Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, proceeding regretfully on the basis that the Government of the Republic of Venezuela is unwilling to seriously endeavour to reach agreement on any appropriate international organ whatsoever to choose the means of settlement, hereby agrees to proceed to the next stage and, accordingly, to refer the decision as to the means of settlement to Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Rashleigh E. Jackson  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
1983-03-28

**Annex 62**

Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Press Release* (30 Mar. 1983)



## PRESS RELEASE

The Government of Guyana has agreed to refer the decision as to the means of settlement of the controversy with Venezuela to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

On Monday, March 28, 1983, Venezuela's Ambassador to Guyana received a letter from Foreign Minister Rashleigh Jackson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, Dr. Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco, conveying Guyana's position.

The task of the Secretary-General, as envisaged in the Geneva Agreement, is to select a means of peaceful settlement and not to pronounce on the substance of the issue. His involvement represents a recourse to the final of the three stages detailed in the Geneva Agreement for such selection.

According to Article IV (2), the Governments of Guyana and Venezuela were first required to seek agreement between themselves on the choice of a means of settlement within a three month period. This proved impossible. Venezuela proposed negotiation as her choice, while Guyana opted for judicial settlement. The second stage required both Governments to agree on an appropriate international organ to make the selection. Guyana proposed three alternative bodies - The International Court of Justice, the General Assembly of the United Nations or the Security Council. Venezuela, for her part sought to bypass this second stage. On September 19, 1982, Foreign Minister Zambrano stated his Government's preference for the immediate involvement of the Secretary-General of the U.N., and on October 15, 1982 she repeated her preference after a summary dismissal of the proposals which Guyana made at the United Nations on October 11, 1982.

- 2 -

The letter of March 28 to Foreign Minister Zambrano draws attention to this Venezuelan action which is a breach of the Geneva Agreement. However, it expresses, once again, Guyana's commitment to the search for a solution of the controversy within the framework of the Geneva Agreement. Minister Jackson's letter explained that "on the basis that the Government of the Republic of Venezuela is unwilling seriously to endeavour to reach agreement on any appropriate international organ whatsoever to choose the means of settlement," The Government of Guyana agreed to proceed to the next stage which is to refer the issue to the U.N. Secretary-General.

On this matter of grave national concern, Guyana's decision was taken after extensive deliberations. There were widespread consultations in which the Parliamentary Committee on the Territorial Integrity of Guyana was involved. This Committee was established last year to monitor developments in the controversy, and is composed of members of each political party represented in the National Assembly.

Guyana has every confidence in the impartiality and integrity of the Secretary-General of the U.N. and will cooperate fully with him in the execution of his task as envisaged in the Geneva Agreement.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS - INFORMATION DIVISION

March 30, 1983.

**Annex 63**

*Letter* from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (31 Mar. 1983)





Folder  
G.#5 - partial.

31 MARCH, 1983.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE A COPY OF YOUR LETTER DATED 29 MARCH, 1983 ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF VENEZUELA, WHICH WAS FORWARDED TO ME BY THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA. I HAVE NOTED THAT, BY THAT LETTER, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA AGREES, WITH REFERENCE TO ARTICLE IV(2) OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT OF 17 FEBRUARY, 1966, TO PROCEED TO REFER THE DECISION AS TO THE MEANS OF SETTLEMENT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

IN YOUR LETTER, REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF VENEZUELA, IN HIS NOTE ADDRESSED TO YOUR EXCELLENCY ON 15 OCTOBER, 1982, THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WISHED "TO REAFFIRM ITS CONVICTION THAT IT WOULD BE MOST PRACTICAL AND APPROPRIATE TO ENTRUST THE TASK OF CHOOSING THE MEANS OF SETTLEMENT DIRECTLY TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS".

BEING NOW ASSURED THAT IT IS THE WISH OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF BOTH GUYANA AND VENEZUELA THAT I UNDERTAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY CONFERRED ON ME IN ARTICLE IV(2) OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT, I SHALL, AFTER DUE CONSIDERATION, COMMUNICATE TO YOU AND TO THE GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA THE CONCLUSION I HAVE REACHED IN THE DISCHARGE OF THAT RESPONSIBILITY.

JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR



**Annex 64**

*Telegram* from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (31 Aug. 1983)



(28)

11/13/83/2

The Secretary General of the United Nations in his letter to the Cde. Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 31, March 1983, undertook the responsibility of selecting the means of peaceful settlement to be employed by Guyana and Venezuela to resolve their outstanding controversy.

Pursuant to the discharge of that responsibility, the Secretary General sent a delegation comprising Mr. Diego Cordovez and a party of three to visit Guyana from 24 - 26 August to hold discussions on the controversy with the relevant Guyanese authorities. The United Nations team arrived in Guyana directly after a similar visit to Venezuela.

On August 31, 1981, a statement was issued by the Secretary General concerning the Guyana/Venezuela controversy in the light of the report made to him by Mr. Cordovez on the latter's visit to the two capitals.

The full text of the Secretary General's communication is attached.

COPY OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED TODAY, WEDNESDAY, 31 AUGUST 1983

ETAT PRIORITE  
HIS EXCELLENCY RASHLEIGH JACKSON  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
GEORGETOWN

EXCELLENCY,

MR CORDOVEZ HAS INFORMED ME OF HIS DISCUSSION IN CARACAS AND GEORGETOWN AND I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO YOUR GOVERNMENT MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE ASSISTANCE PROVIDED IN THE CONTEXT OF MY FUNCTIONS UNDER THE GENEVA AGREEMENT.

AS AGREED I HAVE TODAY ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING THE GUYANA/VENEZUELA CONTROVERSY:

IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE DISCHARGE OF HIS RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE TERMS OF ARTICLE IV (2) OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED AT GENEVA ON 17 FEBRUARY 1966 CONCERNING THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GUYANA AND VENEZUELA, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL REQUESTED DIEGO CORDOVEZ, UNDER SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS, TO VISIT CARACAS AND GEORGETOWN FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASCERTAINING THE POSITION WHICH THE PARTIES MIGHT WISH TO PROVIDE RELEVANT TO A CHOICE OF MEANS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

.../...

2.

MR CORDOVEZ HAS REPORTED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON HIS DISCUSSIONS HELD IN THE TWO CAPITALS FROM 21 TO 26 AUGUST, AND HAS CONVEYED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THE ASSURANCES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF GUYANA AND VENEZUELA THAT THEY ARE DETERMINED TO EXERT THE UTMOST EFFORTS TO SETTLE THEIR CONTROVERSY IN AN ENTIRELY PEACEFUL AND AMICABLE MANNER. ACCORDINGLY, THEY HAVE REAFFIRMED THEIR READINESS TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN THE DISCHARGE OF HIS RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE GENEVA AGREEMENT.

TO THAT END, CONSISTENT WITH THE GENERALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, THE GOVERNMENTS OF GUYANA AND VENEZUELA HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO ADOPT ALL THE MEASURES THAT MAY BE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO FOSTER AND MAINTAIN THE MOST FAVOURABLE CLIMATE FOR THE EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENT, AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHATSOEVER WHICH MIGHT MAKE MORE DIFFICULT OR IMPEDE THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY.

IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FOREGOING IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE RIGHTS, CLAIMS OR POSITION OF THE PARTIES.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL EXPRESSES HIS APPRECIATION TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF GUYANA AND VENEZUELA FOR THE ASSISTANCE THEY HAVE GIVEN IN PROVIDING A WIDE RANGE OF RELEVANT INFORMATION THAT WILL BE MOST CAREFULLY STUDIED WITH A VIEW OF ENSURING THAT THE CHOICE OF THE MEANS OF SETTLEMENT WILL FACILITATE A DEFINITIVE AND DURABLE RESOLUTION OF THE CONTROVERSY.

UNQUOTE

..!..

*for Venez file*

*J. King*

The Secretary General of the United Nations in his letter to the Cdo. Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 31, March 1983, undertook the responsibility of selecting the means of peaceful settlement to be employed by Guyana and Venezuela to resolve their outstanding controversy.

Pursuant to the discharge of that responsibility, the Secretary General sent a delegation comprising Mr. Diego Cordovez and a party of three to visit Guyana from 24 - 26 August to hold discussions on the controversy with the relevant Guyanese authorities. The United Nations team arrived in Guyana directly after a similar visit to Venezuela.

On August 31, 1981, a statement was issued by the Secretary General concerning the Guyana/Venezuela controversy in the light of the report made to him by Mr. Cordovez on the latter's visit to the two capitals.

The full text of the Secretary General's communication is attached.



3.

AS/I PROCEED TO STUDY THE INFORMATION THAT I HAVE RECEIVED I SHALL REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH YOU FOR ANY FURTHER CLARIFICATION OR ASSISTANCE THAT I MIGHT REQUIRE FOR THE FULFILMENT OF MY RESPONSIBILITY.

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, UNITED NATIONS

COPY OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED TODAY, WEDNESDAY, 31 AUGUST 1983

ETAT PRIORITE  
HIS EXCELLENCY RASHLEIGH JACKSON  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
GEORGETOWN

EXCELLENCY,

MR CORDOVEZ HAS INFORMED ME OF HIS DISCUSSION IN CARACAS AND GEORGETOWN AND I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO YOUR GOVERNMENT MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE ASSISTANCE PROVIDED IN THE CONTEXT OF MY FUNCTIONS UNDER THE GENEVA AGREEMENT.

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IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FOREGOING IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE RIGHTS, CLAIMS OR POSITION OF THE PARTIES.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL EXPRESSES HIS APPRECIATION TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF GUYANA AND VENEZUELA FOR THE ASSISTANCE THEY HAVE GIVEN IN PROVIDING A WIDE RANGE OF RELEVANT INFORMATION THAT WILL BE MOST CAREFULLY STUDIED WITH A VIEW OF ENSURING THAT THE CHOICE OF THE MEANS OF SETTLEMENT WILL FACILITATE A DEFINITIVE AND DURABLE RESOLUTION OF THE CONTROVERSY.

UNQUOTE

.../...

3.

AS/I PROCEED TO STUDY THE INFORMATION THAT I HAVE RECEIVED I SHALL REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH YOU FOR ANY FURTHER CLARIFICATION OR ASSISTANCE THAT I MIGHT REQUIRE FOR THE FULFILMENT OF MY RESPONSIBILITY.

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, UNITED NATIONS

## **Annex 65**

U.N. General Assembly, 38th Session, *Agenda item 9*, U.N. Doc. A/38/PV.20 (5 Oct. 1983)



United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



**20th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 5 October 1983,  
 at 3.25 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

*President:* Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. BIRD (Antigua and Barbuda): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. My delegation finds particular pleasure in your election since it testifies to the abundance of talent to be found in our region, Latin America and the Caribbean. Your vast experience of multilateral diplomacy within the United Nations will be much needed during a session which already promises to be of vital importance to the future of mankind as a whole. Beyond the policy statements which we have already heard from such a large number of heads of State is the crucial work which must take place behind the scenes to reconcile divergent views and turn dissension into discussion. Your well-known negotiating abilities will help to carry this session to a sensible resolution of the issues which lie before us.

2. I also wish to take this opportunity to welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Saint Christopher and Nevis. This is a small island State, a neighbour of my own country, which has demonstrated that although it is small it is prepared to play a role in international affairs.

3. Apart from Saint Christopher and Nevis, my country, Antigua and Barbuda, was the most recent State to become a Member of the United Nations. We are a small island State, a member of that group of States that is militarily weak and economically vulnerable. In the wide scheme of great-Power politics, we are ignored because we do not point a missile at some other country's capital; we are marginalized because we threaten none with weapons of mass destruction; we are disregarded because we have neither the economic strength nor the inclination to intimidate other nations in the world community.

4. In other words, in a world that has become progressively more susceptible to the threat of power, small countries such as mine are discovering with increasing frequency that the principles of justice, equality, universal peace and development for which this body was created are nothing short of illusions—illusions which now only scantily conceal the reality of naked power currently dictating the destiny of humanity as a whole.

5. Thus, in the drama of negotiation which is being enacted at Geneva on disarmament and arms limitation, the starring roles—indeed the only roles—are being played by the two countries whose arsenals have the capacity for total human obliteration. The rest of us—even though we represent the majority of mankind—have no voice, no say, not a single utterance in those discussions which may well decide whether we live or die.

6. My people find it difficult to place their fate in the hands of any whom they cannot bring to account. I

suspect the majority of the peoples of the world hold a similar position. We are dissatisfied with the tyranny of the minority. We are frustrated with being discarded by a handful of countries. We deeply resent the arrogance which leads some States to believe that they have a God-given right to make decisions for the rest of us without dialogue and without discussion. Unless this wanton and wilful disregard for the majority of the world's peoples is corrected, global peace will always elude us and global stability will remain a meaningless dream.

7. Of necessity, the principal characters in disarmament and arms limitation talks must be those who have so developed and stockpiled those weapons that their participation is mandatory. But the Assembly cannot abandon the task to them alone, for we are now all involved; we are now all consumed by the folly which threatens the extinction of the human race. We have an obligation to our own peoples and to humanity as a whole to bring an end to the madness of militarization.

8. In this context, Antigua and Barbuda calls for the fullest internationalization of the discussions on arms limitation and disarmament. At the very least the United Nations should have a presence at the Geneva talks. But this body should also establish practical mechanisms to sensitize the peoples of the world to the dangers of arms escalation and to alert them to the frightening military technology which now surrounds us. For it is only through such methods, it is only by educating world opinion, including the opinion of the people whose Governments are the principal participants in the arms race, that we can hope to recall this planet from the precipice of mass destruction.

9. My delegation supports the proposal of Canada that a working group on arms control and outer space be established by the Committee on Disarmament. In our view, the Prime Minister of Canada is fundamentally correct that we can wait no longer if we are to foreclose the prospects of wars from space. Already it appears that faceless men, in anonymous offices in a few of the world's capitals, are determined to make a reality of science fiction—to play space roulette with the lives of people as the stake and ultimate destruction as the purse.

10. My country resents the fact that we are simply a pawn in a series of global war games. We call upon this body, we urge all nations, large and small, and we summon all peoples, white and black, to resist the tyranny of the minority and to call to account those Governments whose philosophy of militarism threatens the survival of all.

11. The South Korean airline tragedy in which an aircraft carrying 269 civilians was shot down by the Soviet Union brought the human face of cold-war politics brutally and vividly to the world's attention. We looked at that face and it was ugly. We saw mothers weeping for children they would never see again and wives fatally wrenched from husbands. We looked upon that ugly human face that could so callously cause innocent life to be slaughtered, and anger raged within us. There, but for fortune, could have been your wife, my children, your mother. The time has come for the Assembly to demand

a halt to the madness which produces such tragedy. The time has come for sanity to be recalled to international relations and to be given pride of place.

12. It is not as if these Governments are incapable of negotiation; it is not as if they are unable to reach agreement. During this debate and in a meeting of the General Committee preceding it we heard several countries which are normally antagonists tell us how they are able to co-operate in their mutual interest. Two very large Powers told us in a meeting of the General Committee that in Antarctica they co-operate one with the other; they exchange information and conclude conventions on exploitation of marine resources. We were delighted to learn of this co-operation. We recognize that we had not heard about their co-operation before because for 22 years all the meetings of the Consultative Parties to the Antarctic Treaty<sup>1</sup> have been secret, held behind closed doors. Not only the rest of the world but their own people were denied any knowledge of the decisions reached or plans made by that small group of States.

13. It took an initiative before this body by my small country, Antigua and Barbuda, together with another small country, Malaysia, for the world publicly to learn that two super-Powers co-operate in Antarctica in a way they failed to do through the cold war, the Cuban missile crisis and the invasion of Afghanistan. Further, it took that same initiative for the world to learn from the mouths of the representatives of two other countries which last year were at war with each other that they, too, are able to co-operate with each other peacefully and constructively in Antarctica.

14. My country welcomes the news of such magnificent co-operation among the Contracting Parties, and we call upon each of them individually and all of them collectively to extend this capacity for co-operation from Antarctica to the other areas in which they are involved, including arms limitation, disarmament and territorial disputes. Were they able to do so, the world would become a safer place for this generation to inhabit and for succeeding generations to inherit. The quality of all our lives would improve and the prospects for sustained betterment would be assured.

15. My delegation joined the delegation of Malaysia in proposing the inscription of the question of Antarctica in the agenda of this thirty-eighth session [see A/38/193]. We are grateful that the General Committee saw merit in endorsing the inscription.

16. Antarctica covers one tenth of the Earth's surface. It is larger than Australia, larger than Europe, larger than the United States and Mexico combined and larger than India and China together. It is half as big again as the United States. It seems likely that Antarctica's continental shelves harbour vast reserves of oil and gas. It is known to have other minerals, and its marine life is abundant.

17. Since 1959 a handful of countries have arrogated to themselves the right to manage Antarctica under the Antarctic Treaty. They have thus far concluded a convention on marine resources and established a secretariat to service their activities under the convention. They are now in the process of negotiating a régime on minerals exploitation.

18. But there has been no consultation with other States; there has been no discussion with other countries. Of course, their response to this charge of lack of consultation will be that the Treaty is open for signature to all, but this ignores the reality that signature does not accord membership in the decision-making commission, nor does it take account of the fact that the presence of South Africa among the Contracting Parties makes it impossible

for any State which genuinely opposes the vileness of *apartheid* to sit in the council of the decision-making commission of the Antarctic Treaty.

19. Antarctica is not so unique as to render a universal leper any less leprous.

20. We have asked for a study of Antarctica in an effort to take into account all the concerns about the area. Not least among these concerns is the environment and the damage that could be done to it, with untold harm for all the nations of the world.

21. These are not decisions which should be confined to a handful of Governments meeting in secret sessions. The world as a whole, including the people in those States whose Governments are now Contracting Parties, should be given the democratic right to hold known officials accountable for activities undertaken in Antarctica.

22. My delegation does not discard the Antarctic Treaty, nor do we devalue the 24 years of experience gained by the Contracting Parties in Antarctica. That experience and the Treaty itself could well form the basis for a consensual approach to Antarctica satisfactory to everyone. It is my delegation's hope that the Contracting Parties will support our call for a study and will wed the wisdom of their experience to the freshness of new perceptions which other countries can bring to Antarctica.

23. The President of the United States made an eloquent plea in the Assembly last week [5th meeting] for all nations to uphold the original ideals of the United Nations. My delegation supports President Reagan in that call. Indeed, when my country was admitted to this body two years ago, I had the honour to state that in the Charter of the United Nations the peoples of the world had a sacred bond. I affirmed then and reaffirm now that my country places the greatest value and the highest importance on that bond, for, had we not, we would have chosen to remain outside this body.

24. Some States draw attention to the high level of their financial contributions to the Organization, as if an undesirable and heavy burden had been imposed upon them. We should all make it clear that we appreciate the contribution made by those States which pay the most. In this regard, the Assembly would be wanting if we did not take particular note of the very substantial contribution of the United States of America. But the financial contribution which my own small country makes to the Organization places an equally great burden, in comparative terms, upon us. We have no great industrial wealth, no massive population; we have no transnationals that bring home money from abroad; our resources are meagre and our revenues miniscule. Yet, despite great hardship, we make our financial contribution to the United Nations and do so gladly, for we agree with President Reagan's observation that the United Nations and its affiliates have made more important contributions to the life of this planet.

25. In our view, the United Nations should be accorded the role for which it was intended, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. In this context, it is a matter of grave concern to my country that yet another year has passed with Namibia still not independent. Indeed, social progress in Namibia has been further retarded and freedom hijacked by the heinous régime in South Africa.

26. South Africa's pre-condition that Cuban troops should be withdrawn from Angola before Namibia gains its independence challenges the very efficacy of the Organization. The tacit support given South Africa by some who sit in this chamber serves only to weaken the Organization which so many profess to value. And we should



not be deluded by South Africa's assertions that it is under siege from international communism and is the protector of Western influence. No Western interests can conceivably be served by the oppression of South Africa's people under *apartheid* or by the continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

27. The truth is that South Africa is not seeking to protect itself from the bogey of a communist threat, for a far more powerful spirit haunts it: the spirit, among South Africa's oppressed majority, which cries out for human freedom and dignity.

28. Violent abrogation of freedom and human dignity is not limited to Namibia. In Afghanistan, the Soviet Union continues to use military force to suppress the Afghan people. Resolutions by this body urging the Soviet Union to get out of Afghanistan have fallen upon deaf ears. My delegation deplores this continued occupation of Afghanistan, just as we condemn the Turkish Government for its occupation of Cyprus and its refusal to respond to the pleas of grieving families for information about their relatives missing from the Turkish-occupied sector of Cyprus since 1974.

29. The world would be in a sufficiently troubled state if the areas of military aggression were confined to those I have just mentioned. But in addition Kampuchea is still occupied by Vietnamese invaders. We welcome the efforts by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to seek a political settlement in Kampuchea, and we urge Viet Nam to join the search for a process which would leave Kampuchea in the hands of its own people.

30. The prospect of partition in Lebanon now looms large in the future of that agonized and war-torn land, where children are born into carnage with little hope of living a normal life. Last year, as the session began, the world mourned the massacre at Palestinian camps in Lebanon. This year, Lebanon's agony has known no surcease, its people no respite from the ravages of war. This country needs to solve its internal problems, but it will not do so while it is at the mercy of foreign troops. Lebanon would be well served by the international community if we collectively secured the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory and provided an opportunity for it to reassert its independence and sovereignty.

31. This body has been concerned for some time with the question of Korea. Peaceful reunification of this land best lies in direct negotiation between the two sides. The Republic of Korea has made definitive and reasonable proposals on this issue. If the North Koreans are genuinely interested in peaceful reunification, we urge them to respond positively to the proposals of the South.

32. Closer to my own home, foreign military intervention in Central America is helpful only in prolonging conflict. The cause of peace and stability in the region is retarded by those who seek military solutions to deep-seated social and economic ills. It is equally adversely affected by those who seek to exploit the difficult economic circumstances in order to impose an ideology, without the exercise of a free choice in a democratic process. My delegation welcomes the United States effort to look for other means of addressing the difficulties of Central America, through the work of a commission headed by former United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. We are not prepared to prejudice the commission; we shall give it a chance and hope it produces widely acceptable recommendations. Meanwhile, we support and endorse the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring peace to the area.

33. I began this address by drawing attention to the fact that naked power now dictates the destiny of mankind. Dialogue and discussion, consultation and communication are words without meaning, illusions without substance. Small countries protest this domination and inequality, but we know we protest in vain. We have witnessed the failure of too many efforts to convene meaningful convocations on the international economic condition to place any hope in the possibility that the rich countries will accord importance to our survival unless it coincides with their own national interest.

34. Fortunately for the poor, the economic condition of the world has reached the point where, in the words of India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, "Each country, however powerful, has more to gain by accommodation and co-operation than by withdrawal into individual isolation or adoption of policies to maintain the solidarity of the strong". [9th meeting, para. 14.] In other words, the global economy has now reached the point where for the strong to ignore the predicament of the weak would serve to court catastrophe for the strong themselves. Quite frankly, it is the reality that the rich are severely affected by the world's financial and trading system that provides my country with some glimmer of hope that at last we may be able to begin a series of discussions, however limited, leading to a change, however moderate, in the international economic order.

35. My delegation is impressed with a study recently undertaken by the Commonwealth Secretariat entitled "Towards a New Bretton Woods". Free of radical rhetoric and moralistic diatribe, it is a practical discussion of the means of creating greater multilateral co-operation within the framework of the existing institutions. This study is a positive contribution to solving the global economic crisis, for in our view only multilateral co-operation will extract the world from the economic morass in which it now languishes. It is now widely accepted that economic recovery in one or two countries, however strong they are, cannot provide the engine to pull the rest of the world to economic health.

36. Equally, it is time we dismissed the prescriptions of the medical economists in the North that the answer to the economic illnesses of the South lies in individual national efforts. Vulnerable to market forces amongst our major trading partners, dependent on the economic strength of the tourism market place, victims of high interest rates in the banking systems of the North, countries such as mine are at the mercy of the international system.

37. When we produce real growth, however small, in such adverse economic conditions, as we have managed to do in Antigua and Barbuda, it is a tribute to the resilience of our people. But as the Venezuelan Foreign Minister told the Assembly just a week ago, national efforts "cannot replace a global approach, with full and responsible participation by both developing and developed countries" [5th meeting, para. 171].

38. My country calls on the Assembly to take special note of the need for special measures of assistance to countries whose small size and isolation place them at a peculiar disadvantage which constrains their prospects for economic growth. Those who control IMF and the World Bank group should be particularly mindful of the need to modify the policies of these institutions towards small States.

39. What is obvious in the world today is that we are in an age of intolerance, an age of confrontation, acquisitiveness and narrow-mindedness. These are the symptoms of a world divided against itself, with nations more concerned to grab their own narrow benefits today than

to guard against global suffering tomorrow from which none, including the rich, can escape. That is a terrifying world—terrifying in the scope of the destruction it can bring itself and terrifying in the obstinacy which propels it towards such destruction.

40. Despite the fact that my country is small and excluded, disadvantaged and disregarded, isolated and ignored, we are determined to play a part in recalling the world from such a frightening fate and in rebuilding a vision of prosperity and peace for all mankind. We stand ready to work with any committed to such a task.

41. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):\* I should like first to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, sincere congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. In electing you to this important post, the General Assembly has demonstrated its confidence in and respect for you and your country, Panama, which has constantly opted for a policy of independence and the peaceful settlement of disputes in Central America. I am convinced that under your wise leadership the work of this session will be crowned with success.

42. I should like also to extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Imre Hollai, who successfully discharged his functions as President of the thirty-seventh session in spite of many difficulties.

43. It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate the Secretary-General on his relentless, tireless efforts for peace and international détente.

44. Since the last session of the General Assembly the international climate of détente, peace, security and co-operation has in no way improved; on the contrary the situation has become even more tense.

45. The Government of the United States has striven to increase its military budget and to step up the manufacture of nuclear and conventional weapons of mass destruction. Furthermore, it brought to bear its most eloquent rhetoric in the cause of pushing humanity closer to a nuclear catastrophe. To justify this new escalation in the arms race, it has not shrunk from intensifying the cold war and seeking in every way to sabotage the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva.

46. The recent case of the South Korean aircraft, which caused such distress because of the loss of lives of its passengers, clearly showed that the United States was knowingly implicated and took advantage of this pretext to pursue its policy of out and out warmongering and diverting opinion from the massive support that had been won by the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

47. To attain its objectives it has striven to develop its rapid deployment forces and to build and expand its military bases, particularly in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, to defend what it describes as its vital interests, to set up regional command centres and to engage in many kinds of military manoeuvres throughout the world, pursuing its policy of confrontation, threats, interference and aggression in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

48. The aggression against Lebanon and its occupation by the Israeli Zionists and the brutal crimes they have committed against the Palestinian Arab and Lebanese people were carried out with the avowed co-operation of American imperialism. Under the cover of the so-called multinational peace-keeping forces it has used its air and naval forces to interfere directly in Lebanon.

\*Mr. Sipraseuth spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

49. The Lao People's Democratic Republic strongly condemns these acts and reaffirms its unswerving support for the Palestinian people, struggling under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] for its fundamental rights, including its right to create an independent Palestinian State in its homeland, and it demands that Israel withdraw its troops from Lebanon and from the Arab territories, including the city of Jerusalem, which it has illegally occupied since 1967.

50. An equally unjustified and dangerous action is the American support for the South African racists in prolonging their occupation of Namibia and their continued acts of provocation and sabotage against the African front-line States, particularly Angola and Mozambique. The United States is also engaged in acts of provocation against Libya and shameless interference in the internal affairs of Chad.

51. In Latin America it has imposed a blockade and threatened aggression against Cuba and is seriously interfering in the internal affairs of El Salvador. It is involved in acts of armed provocation and threats of aggression against Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname, threatening their independence and thus creating a situation which could erupt at any moment.

52. The Lao People's Democratic Republic fully supports the efforts of national defence and socialist construction of the fraternal Cuban people and demands most energetically that the United States abandon its policy of blockade, interference and threats of aggression against the Republic of Cuba, unconditionally returning Guantánamo to it and respecting its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

53. We wholeheartedly support the heroic struggle of the governments and peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname to protect the fruits of their revolution. We wish to express our great appreciation for the six-point peace proposals made by the Sandinist Government.

54. The collusion between the United States and leading Chinese circles in the pursuit of an undeclared war and their sabotage of the tranquility and development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have constantly maintained tension in the region of southern Asia.

55. In the Far East, the United States maintains its troops in South Korea and is encouraging a revival of Japanese militarism and the creation of an American-Japanese-Korean alliance which would constitute a serious threat to the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

56. In the economic field the developed capitalist countries are seeking by every possible means to inflict upon the developing countries the fall-out of the economic crisis and are pursuing a policy of protectionism and discrimination in their relations with the poor countries, thus imposing upon them ever-growing difficulties. Global negotiations for international economic co-operation, so long awaited, are not taking place, and the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which met last June at Belgrade, yielded very scanty results because of the intransigent attitude of certain developed capitalist countries.

57. The situation I have described demonstrates that this session of the General Assembly is faced with very important and urgent problems on which rests the fate of the whole of mankind.

58. They are the problems of safeguarding international peace and security, the struggle against the arms race and the danger of a devastating nuclear war and, first and foremost, against the deployment by the United States of medium-range missiles in certain European countries by the end of this year.

59. They are also the problems of protecting the independence and sovereignty of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, zionism, expansionism and hegemonism.

60. They are also the problems of the development of international economic co-operation and the establishment of a new, just and reasonable international economic order based upon respect for the independence and sovereignty of peoples.

61. In this spirit the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is happy to note that in the past few years the movement of the struggle of the peoples for international peace and security, for the recovery and safeguarding of national independence and economic development has experienced a dynamic upsurge and has become a powerful force capable of averting war and thwarting the unjust policies of the warmongering imperialists and international reactionaries.

62. The just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, for freedom and social progress, has received full support from the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

63. We very much appreciate the proposals of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in January 1983 at Prague [see A/38/67 and Corr.1], reaffirmed by the meeting of the leaders of those countries last June in Moscow [see A/38/292], and the new proposals of Mr. Yuri Andropov, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on the banning of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth. These proposals, which demonstrate the high sense of responsibility of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries regarding international peace and security, have been widely welcomed and supported by peoples throughout the world that cherish peace and justice. In the interest of the whole of mankind, American imperialism and the warmongering forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] should examine these proposals in their entirety.

64. The Lao People's Democratic Republic warmly welcomed the success of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last March at New Delhi, the final declarations of which [see A/38/132 and Corrs.1 and 2] stressed once again the important role of our Movement. At the same time, we wish to express our great appreciation of the role played by India, under the leadership of its Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the new Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, works constantly in the common interest of the countries of the Movement.

65. We whole-heartedly support the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico, Chile and Guatemala in their valiant struggle against the interference of the United States and military dictatorships and for true independence and freedom.

66. As to the question of the sovereignty of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands, that country continues to enjoy the sympathy of our people.

67. We energetically support the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress [ANC], in their heroic struggle against the racists of South Africa for true independence and freedom. We condemn the attempts of the imperialists and racists of South

Africa to link the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban volunteers from Angola.

68. We stand shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the other front-line countries which are fighting against the acts of provocation and armed aggression of the Pretoria racists.

69. The armed provocation against Libya and the violations of its sovereignty by the United States and its tributary forces are energetically condemned by the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which demands, furthermore, that they cease their interference in the internal affairs of Chad and leave the people of that country to resolve their own internal problems.

70. The Lao delegation supports the struggle of the Saharan Arab people, under the leadership of POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> for the exercise of its right to self-determination.

71. The struggle of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to protect the gains of the April revolution and to follow the path of national construction it has chosen enjoys our whole-hearted support.

72. The Lao People's Democratic Republic's approval of the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace goes without saying. We demand that the United States cease to create obstacles to the holding of the international conference on this problem. We support the sovereignty of Mauritius over the island of Diego Garcia and call explicitly upon the United States to dismantle its base there.

73. We strongly support the proposals of the Mongolian People's Republic concerning the conclusion of an international convention on non-aggression and on the non-use of force in international relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

74. We whole-heartedly support the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification and independence of that country. The United States must withdraw all its troops from the southern part of Korea.

75. South-East Asia, which I would like to dwell on in particular, is by virtue of its geopolitical and strategic situation a part of the world which unfortunately has become the object of the greed of the imperialists and the Chinese expansionists. In spite of the failure of their policy of interference and aggression, the latter have not given up their machinations aimed at absorbing the three Indo-Chinese countries as part of their expansionist designs concerning the whole of South-East Asia. They strive constantly to maintain a constant state of tension along the Chinese-Lao and Chinese-Viet Nam frontiers, where their troops are stepping up their acts of armed provocation and sabotage of all kinds, and also along the Thai-Kampuchean frontier, where, in collusion with the American imperialists and Thai reactionary forces, they are using Thai territory as a base for feeding, arming and training the rump of the Pol Pot troops and a handful of Khmer reactionaries to undermine the process of the revival of the Kampuchean people. It thus becomes unmistakably clear that China is behind the deterioration of peace and security in South-East Asia and the hostility between the members of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China.

76. After having won victories in the national liberation struggle against the imperialists, and having thwarted the policy of interference, aggression and annexation of Chinese leading circles, the three Indo-Chinese countries have no other aspiration than to live in peace so as to staunch the wounds of war, reconstruct their countries, build a new life and establish relations of friendship with

all their neighbours, including the People's Republic of China. The people of Laos, like the people of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, have always cultivated an age-old friendship with the Chinese people and have spared no effort to promote such friendship. The three countries of Indo-China have repeatedly expressed their wish to sign treaties of peaceful coexistence with China and to normalize relations with that country.

77. As far as the ASEAN countries are concerned, the Lao delegation is happy to note a certain willingness to begin a dialogue. It is highly desirable that this willingness take concrete form. As for the three countries of Indo-China, they have spared no effort to promote such dialogue with a view to making South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation. Accordingly, at their first summit conference, held in February of this year at Vientiane, high-level representatives of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam reaffirmed that:

“relations of friendship and co-operation among the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries are an important factor for preserving peace and stability in South-East Asia. They should settle all differences through negotiation in a spirit of good neighbourliness, coexist in peace . . . They should not let outside countries interfere and divide them or use the territory of one against another.” [See A/38/98.]

As in the past, Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam remain and will remain resolutely faithful to this course.

78. Thus, the withdrawal of volunteers of the Vietnamese army from Kampuchea, which has already taken place on two occasions, is a token of the seriousness of our intent and demonstrates the consistent position of Viet Nam in respect of the independence and sovereignty of that country.

79. In the course of their seventh conference held last July at Phnom Penh, the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam once again repeated their proposals for the restoration of peace and co-operation in South-East Asia and invited the ASEAN countries and China to embark without delay on the process of dialogue and negotiation [see A/38/316], in accordance with the spirit and letter of the statement on South-East Asia of the seventh conference of the non-aligned countries, held last March at New Delhi. The three countries of Indo-China are ready, on the basis of this statement, to proceed with discussions with their neighbours without preconditions. To demonstrate their good will, they have even accepted the formula of the ASEAN countries for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, as a basis for dialogue.

80. As to the problem of the participation of these two groups of countries—Indo-China and ASEAN—in dialogue, as well as the agenda of the meeting, they should be the subject of an agreement between the two parties. In this regard, the People's Republic of Kampuchea made it explicitly known that it has no intention of making its participation a precondition or obstacle to the opening of the dialogue. The Lao delegation believes that this is an important new and very constructive factor which should give an impetus to dialogue between the two groups of countries.

81. Another new element is the statement on the problems of South-East Asia adopted by consensus at the conference of the non-aligned countries, including the problem of Kampuchea and its vacant seat.

82. The Lao People's Democratic Republic considers that the two resolutions constitute a good basis for making progress towards the settlement of the problems between the two groups of countries and for making South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability.

83. As for the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations, we regret that the Organization continues to allow it to be occupied by the architects of genocide, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, under the label of the so-called “Government of Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea”. On the other hand we wish to salute the good will shown by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, which has already stated that it does not intend immediately to occupy the seat when “Democratic Kampuchea” is expelled from the United Nations.

84. In consideration of the good will thus manifested by the countries of Indo-China, we hope that the United Nations will reconsider its position on the Kampuchean problem so that it can justify the confidence placed in it as the guardian of peace under the Charter and that it will give a positive impetus to dialogue on the problem.

85. The Lao people, a small people which loves peace, independence and liberty and whose wish is to live in peace and good-neighbourliness with all neighbouring countries so that it may devote itself entirely to the development of its country, does not constitute a threat to any one. It is, however, highly regrettable that certain neighbouring countries still consider my country as a target to be destroyed, so that our relations are affected and have deteriorated without any prospects of improvement. On the Chinese-Lao frontier, Chinese troops have massed and have undertaken military exercises, made arrests and executed our frontier guards, have sent spies into Laotian territory and have engaged in propaganda hostile to the policy of the Lao Government and in divisive manoeuvres among the population, and so forth. What is even more dangerous, the Peking leaders are currently maintaining, in Yunnan Province in southern China, a certain number of military training centres for Lao refugees, in particular the Hmong reactionaries, in order to send them into Lao territory to carry out acts of sabotage and disrupt public order.

86. These actions form part of the implementation of the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the Peking leaders with regard to Indo-China and South-East Asia as a whole.

87. In its relations with the Kingdom of Thailand, the Lao People's Democratic Republic signed the joint Lao-Thailand communiqué in 1979 to strengthen bilateral relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and to transform the Mekong, in the section that forms the frontier between the two countries, into a river of friendship, peace and co-operation. Over the last few years, not only has the Thai administration failed to abide by its commitments in good faith, but some of its leaders who support the American imperialists and the Chinese expansionists have been using Thai territory as a sanctuary to train Lao reactionaries in their work of sabotage against the development of Laos, thus impairing the traditional relations of friendship between the two peoples of Thailand and Laos and working against the interests of the two countries. In the interests of the Thai people and in the interests of friendship between the people of Thailand and Laos, those holding power in Thailand should scrupulously implement the joint communiqué issued by the two countries and seek a settlement of their differences with Laos by means of negotiation.

88. As regards the United States, it continues, always in collusion with the Chinese expansionists and other reactionary forces, to aid and abet the Lao reactionaries in exile in Thailand, to carry out acts of provocation, to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos and to utter slanderous accusations against its Government about the use of chemical weapons against these bandits, charges

which are renewed each year in the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the Lao Government, anxious to respect friendly relations with the American people and with the worthy aim of normalizing Lao-American relations, has during the year authorized a certain number of American official missions to visit Laos, but to our regret these have led to no concrete results.

89. Faced with the situation I have described, we believe that the international community should do everything in its power to help make South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

90. The Lao delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express from this rostrum the profound gratitude of the Government and people of Laos for the sympathy and support which friendly countries and international organizations in the world have given to the defence and construction of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

91. The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has opened in a climate of international tension, a matter of some concern to progressive mankind.

92. Never has the fight to halt the arms race and promote disarmament, to fight the danger of nuclear war and to promote détente and peace, been such a categorical imperative as it is at present.

93. Never has the fight to overcome imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, domination and exploitation, and to promote independence, freedom and national sovereignty been waged so fiercely and energetically as now.

94. Never have the tasks of economic development and the struggle to establish a new international economic order, more just and equitable, become such urgent and important topics in international life as they are now.

95. Never have the struggles for peace, independence and economic development been so intimately linked, so much the main concerns of the international community, as now. It is quite clear that the deepest aspirations of mankind today centre on peace, national independence, social progress, prosperity, friendship and international co-operation.

96. I wish to issue an appeal from this rostrum to all Members of the Organization, to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General to spare no effort to ensure that this session lives up to the profound hopes of the peoples of the world for international peace and security.

97. For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic will do everything in its power, together with other Member States, to co-operate in that endeavour.

98. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, you have been entrusted with the enormous responsibility of directing the proceedings of this thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which is taking place under exceptionally complex conditions. The fact that we know you and that you come from the beloved sister land of Panama, whose long tradition of struggle for the salvation of national sovereignty, along with its contribution to the search for peace and negotiating formulas for the long-suffering Central American region, are very well known, allows my delegation, after extending our warmest greetings to you, to express our full confidence in the success of your mission and, at the same time, to assure you that you will always be able to count on the assistance of the Cuban delegation for the success of this session.

99. We also extend greetings to our friend Mr. Imre Hollai, President of the General Assembly during its thirty-seventh session.

100. We welcome the admission to the United Nations of another Latin American and Caribbean State, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

101. In a review of the long list of very important matters to be discussed at this session and which command our attention, the imperative necessity of avoiding the eruption of a confrontation that could bring to an end the very existence of mankind must be given the highest priority.

102. Never since the end of the Second World War has the international situation shown signs of such extreme peril, nor has mankind been so close to nuclear apocalypse. For this reason, I believe we all agree that once again, but with greater courage and dedication, we must endeavour to ensure that our deliberations and subsequent decisions lead to progress in the complicated and difficult process of disarmament and to the strengthening of the peace and security which our peoples demand in order to devote themselves to the noble effort of economic and social development.

103. Imperialist intransigence and the Reagan Administration's zest for supremacy and power, which is expressed on a daily basis in its obsolete cold-war rhetoric and gunboat policies, constitute the major obstacle faced by the international community in eliminating the dangerous climate in which we currently live.

104. For our part, we are fully aware of the fact that, notwithstanding the decisive role played by the international community and the peace movement throughout the world, the greatest responsibility for adopting disarmament measures ultimately rests with the nuclear Powers. Essentially, however, the main responsibility rests with the two mightiest Powers—and we all know exactly who complicates the dangerous present situation and prevents its being overcome.

105. The Government of the United States, dragging along its allies in NATO, considerably increases its war budget, extending the arms race to new horizons. It unilaterally interrupts important negotiations on specific questions, while blocking others it cannot stop because of the high political price attached to them; and at the same time it does everything possible to stifle the work of the international organ of negotiation, the Committee on Disarmament.

106. We must add that besides dashing the hopes embodied in the SALT II agreements, an attempt is now being made to destroy the limited legal order thus far achieved on the question of disarmament by alleging false violations or breaches of promise or the fallacious intention of strengthening them with new provisions regarding verification.

107. It is not enough for Mr. Reagan and his advisers to enjoy the destructive potential of the United States with all its weapons—nuclear or other—nor is it enough for them to extend the threatening language of weapons to other areas of our natural habitat. They are not at all interested in considering the wishes of other peoples when they station nuclear weapons and delivery systems in their territories to launch attacks on neighbouring borders, thus exposing them to a devastating riposte.

108. The United States Government refuses to commit itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; it does not accept the offer of a mutual freeze of existing nuclear arsenals, nor of their qualitative and quantitative development; it turns a deaf ear to the establishment of a moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests; it develops and produces lethal binary chemical weapons; it develops the neutron bomb; it reinforces old silos to deploy the aggressive strategic MX missiles—all of which is done without

abandoning the continuous buildup of its submarines, ships, aircraft, tanks, guns and other instruments of aggression and destruction.

109. NATO'S United States-inspired plans to install 572 medium-range missiles in Europe are particularly serious. This decision constitutes an extremely dangerous, adventurist and grave step which threatens to bring the world to the brink of war.

110. Those of us who follow attentively and anxiously the development of negotiations being conducted on that subject at Geneva clearly assess the delaying tactics on the part of the United States, which, juggling deceitful options for propaganda purposes, vainly pursues unilateral concessions which would enable it to obtain advantages and establish its military superiority, thus upsetting the present balance. The international community represented at the United Nations must, as a matter of urgency, demand seriously and responsibly the results it expects from Geneva and save the old continent of Europe from the serious threat that hovers over it.

111. The ground on which we stand and the seas that surround us are no longer enough for the United States. It is now dangerously aiming at outer space, sending up space weaponry with which it dreams of imposing its supremacy, power and law on the whole world.

112. We must pool our efforts to defend the first right of mankind: the right to live.

113. It is necessary to strive to ease the present climate of tension and not to despair in the search for ways and means leading to agreements which, on the basis of parity and equal security, would contribute to the limitation and subsequent reduction of the levels of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons.

114. The States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting recently at New Delhi at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government, firmly reiterated the demand of the entire international community that the arms race be halted and that disarmament agreements aimed at establishing a climate of peace embracing all regions and benefiting all peoples be adopted.

115. The will for peace of the socialist countries is an unquestionable fact, made evident by various initiatives and at times by unilateral arms limitation measures, which, as everyone knows, are only rejected by the United States, when they are not simply ignored.

116. While the world yearns for peace, the United States is moving towards war. The tragic incident of the South Korean aircraft which was sent off without any qualms to commit an act of indescribable provocation falls within the framework of the attempts to exacerbate tensions.

117. The international community is faced with the tragic case of an aircraft which violated Soviet airspace and remained for a long time over Soviet territory, ignoring the warnings issued in accordance with international guidelines, and for that reason was brought down, with the regrettable loss of 269 lives. It became known later that this was a civilian aircraft which had strayed from its normal course. We are certain that Soviet military aviation would never have fired on that aircraft, even if it was on an espionage mission, had they realized that it was a civilian aeroplane carrying passengers. There is no doubt that it was mistaken for one of those spy-planes which are constantly probing the borders of the Soviet Union in that zone.

118. This tragedy, about which no one can think without grief and sorrow, has been used by President Reagan

and his Administration as a means of fanning international hatred and enmity and justifying the arms race and their aggressive war-mongering policies.

119. Those who are against solving the problems of Central America through negotiated non-military solutions and whose brutal international policy supports the Salvadorian régime which has caused tens of thousands of deaths among the civilian population of El Salvador in recent years; those who see fit to disrupt the process of social change in Nicaragua, even if to do this they must carry out direct or indirect military intervention against that country; those who trained, instigated and supported the individuals who then committed a barbarous act of sabotage against a Cuban civilian aircraft over Barbados; those who stood by in silent complicity when, in February 1973, Israel shot down a Libyan passenger aircraft, causing 108 deaths, over Egyptian territory occupied by force; those who encouraged the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and must share responsibility for the genocidal acts which, a little over a year ago, left thousands dead in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila; those who support the South African racists in their illegal occupation of Namibia and their aggression against Angola and the front-line States, which have cost tens of thousands of lives; those whose spy-planes have been flying over Cuban territory for many years, shamelessly and openly violating our airspace, using first the U-2 aircraft and now the more sophisticated SR-71, flying provocatively over the whole island and trying in vain to frighten our people; those who do not even reply to the notes of protest sent by our Government, the most recent of which was in September this year—those it is who now hypocritically rend their garments and accuse the Soviet Union of an act whose roots lie in the international tension which they themselves create and in an act of provocation in which a commercial aircraft was used without any qualms and innocent people were sacrificed.

120. We believe that collective international measures should be taken to prevent tragedies such as this. We are all duty-bound to adopt codes of conduct forbidding the employment of civil aircraft in espionage activities. The use of incidents of this kind further to foment international hatred, justify armament and aggression and create a climate conducive to war rather than peace is wholly unacceptable.

121. The latest in the long list of provocative actions undertaken by the United States Government against the Soviet Union, using the South Korean aircraft incident as a pretext, is the preventing of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union from participating in this session of the General Assembly. To this act of provocation against the respected representative of one of the permanent members of the Security Council they have added proof of their disregard of their obligations as the United Nations host country.

122. If peaceful existence on our planet is to be achieved it is of paramount importance that the international situation be improved by eliminating current insecurities and restoring a climate of trust and détente in international relations.

123. The peoples demand an end to the arms race and the abandonment of the philosophy of military supremacy and the endless accumulation of weapons, which can lead only to the peace of the graveyard.

124. Today, perhaps more than ever before, mankind demands that decisions be made and agreements adopted which will pave the way to security, peace and development.

125. As part of these efforts we include support for the United Nations and for the activities of the Secretary-General. It is well known that those who work against peace do not conceal their contempt for the Organization. We believe that the highest priority should be given to continuing action to attain the principles and objectives of the Charter and to strengthen the broadest international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations.

126. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is striving for peace and development and for the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, zionism, racism, *apartheid* and every form of exploitation and domination. Its successful seventh summit conference was a new step forward in terms of unity and cohesion and made a contribution through its decisions to the achievement of those goals.

127. On the other hand, the economic crisis which in recent years has severely affected the economies of the capitalist world continues to make its effects felt increasingly in the countries of the so-called third world. The reduction in real terms of the transfer of resources for development; the unprecedented and increasing foreign debt, for which there seems to be no likelihood of a reasonable short-term remedy; the even greater deterioration in the terms of trade; monetary instability; the transnational corporations' activities and plundering; and the growing difficulties faced by underdeveloped countries in gaining access to sources of funds, food and technology continue to characterize the present state of international economic relations. Only the genuine restructuring of these relations, without unnecessary delay and through a comprehensive process of co-operation, can provide a true long-term solution of these serious and potentially dangerous problems facing the world today.

128. The proceedings and results of the important international meetings held this year have shown the determination of the underdeveloped countries to find solutions likely to reactivate the international process of economic co-operation. Regrettably, the reactions of the industrialized capitalist countries to their proposals have not permitted the resumption of a truly significant process of international economic negotiations aimed at restructuring international economic relations to provide for the effective establishment of a new international economic order, or, in the shorter term, taking measures immediately for the solution of the most urgent economic problems of the so-called third world. In short, we are witnessing the lowest point in international co-operation: economic co-operation is deteriorating daily, as are the prices of the main exports of our underdeveloped countries. For this reason, just as we must devote ourselves to the search for solutions to the world economic crisis, we must also devote all of our efforts towards rapidly overcoming the crisis in international economic co-operation.

129. The global negotiations continue to be the most important question before the General Assembly in the sphere of international economic negotiations. Consequently, the talks designed to lead to their speedy implementation must be given momentum and direction so that they can begin in 1984 in a comprehensive, interrelated and coherent manner, in keeping with the proposals of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

130. Cuba's positions of principle on the most urgent, serious and important problems of international relations are known. On every occasion the voice of our people has been clear in one way or another. Fighters for freedom and independence in any part of the world have

never lacked our word of encouragement. Those who face oppression, discrimination and exploitation have never lacked our most active solidarity. Those who uphold the highest ideals of their peoples have never lacked the ready warmth of the Cuban revolution. Our word of encouragement, our friendly hand, our active solidarity, our fraternal warmth will never be lacking for all those, whether in Government or in opposition, whether in power or in the struggle against oppression, who confront the joint forces of reaction, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism—including zionism—*apartheid* and imperialism.

131. From this forum of nations the Cuban people salute the Sandinist soldiers who defend with honour the sacred soil of their land; the Salvadoran fighters who with exemplary courage confront imperialist Power, displaying an extraordinary fighting capacity; the Guatemalan patriots struggling for more than 20 years against the genocidal régime imposed by the United States since 1954; the heroic and brave people of Grenada who face with determination all imperialist attempts to subvert their internal order and halt the powerful development of their revolutionary process. We also ratify our solidarity with Suriname, which is still being subjected to many destabilizing acts of aggression by the United States to frustrate the process of social change and national liberation that has begun in that country.

132. The Cuban delegation reiterates its unflagging support for the inalienable right of the fraternal people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence. On some not-too-distant day, Puerto Rico, freed from colonial ties, will join the group of independent and sovereign countries and, as such, will occupy its proper seat in this world Organization.

133. We also support the aspirations of the Government and people of Panama in their struggle for the fulfilment of the Canal treaties. We support the historic and just demand of Bolivia to regain access to the sea. We support the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Belize. In accordance with its position of support for a negotiated solution of conflicts, and within that framework, Cuba is in favour of a peaceful solution of the border disputes between Guyana and Venezuela. Similarly, we hope that, in conformity with the General Assembly's resolutions, negotiations can be started immediately between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Argentine Republic to restore the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands to Argentina. We also express our deep concern over the British Government's decision to build a military base in the Malvinas, which not only hinders negotiations on the decolonization of the islands but also adds unnecessary tensions to the region. We salute the valiant Chilean people who are today unanimously rising up against fascist tyranny. We also salute all the peoples of the southern part of the Americas who are struggling for democratic freedom and for an end to repression and oppression in their countries.

134. We salute the efforts to guarantee peace and stability in South-East Asia, and we urge continued efforts to achieve that important goal. A spirit of mutual understanding and respect conducive to a climate of security must prevail in the region of South-West Asia also, and efforts to pursue a constructive dialogue between the parties in conflict must also be continued.

135. The Cuban delegation renews its support for the just cause of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea in its search for the peaceful reunification of that country and calls for an end to interference in its internal affairs and the withdrawal of the interventionist United States forces from the south of the Korean peninsula.

136. We support the aspiration of the Comoros to recover its sovereignty over Mayotte. We support the restitution to Madagascar of its rights over the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, and the just demand of Mauritius to recover the island of Diego Garcia. We support the sustained efforts of the people of Cyprus to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in a united and non-aligned republic.

137. Cuba wishes to repeat once again its appeal to the Governments of Iraq and Iran to end the war that for more than three years has been inflicting enormous loss of life and of all kinds of resources on their peoples and that constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

138. We salute all peoples who, in other continents, are also struggling for their independence against imperialism and reaction. We salute the brave Saharan fighters for their legitimate right to live in peace and to occupy their rightful place among the independent States. We salute our dear Palestinian friends who, rallying around the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative, firmly hold high the banner of their just struggle. We salute the brave patriots of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative. We salute the stoic and dauntless fighters of South Africa led by the ANC. We salute all the front-line States, which are resisting with determination the pressures, threats and attacks of the racists and imperialists. We salute the Arab States, permanent victims of imperialism and Zionist aggression. We salute the determined people of Libya, who face the threats and provocations of imperialism with serenity and resolve.

139. The current state of affairs in Central America has mobilized broad sectors of world public opinion. The ever-increasing concern over an irreversible escalation on the part of the United States is fully grounded.

140. The countries of the Contadora Group have made enormous efforts in the quest for a negotiated settlement of the explosive situation in that region. At its summit meeting at Cancún last July, the Contadora Group—made up of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama—appealed to the Central American countries, as well as to the United States and Cuba, for co-operation and support in the quest for a political solution.

141. Nicaragua immediately responded to that appeal with a six-point programme, which includes its readiness to initiate multilateral negotiations in the presence of the Contadora Group and to sign a non-aggression pact with Honduras, and its willingness to reach an agreement regarding El Salvador that would include the cessation of all arms supplies to both sides.

142. The Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation—Revolutionary Democratic Front [FMLN-FDR] reiterated its readiness to seek, through dialogue, channels of negotiation which would lead to peace in El Salvador. At the beginning of September it proposed the installation of a new Government, representative of all forces, which would be responsible for bringing about the conditions required to advance a comprehensive process of political solutions to the Salvadorian conflict.

143. Cuba also promptly and clearly responded to the summons by the presidents of the Contadora Group and let it be known that it unhesitatingly supports the efforts to bring about a just and negotiated settlement of the problems in Central America.

144. The United States, for its part, continued its brutal escalation clearly designed to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution, dismember the Salvadorian revolutionary

movement and safeguard its full imperialist domination in the region. Under the pretext of joint military manoeuvres with other countries of the area, the duration of which has no parallel in history, the United States Government is attempting to create an intimidating situation which constitutes a real and dangerous intervention in the area and irrefutable proof of its aggressive militarist policy. Such an interventionist step taken by the United States under the pretext of military manoeuvres reminds us of the criminal actions of the military forces of that Power in the Lebanese conflict.

145. Nicaragua finds itself virtually blockaded, surrounded by military bases, troops, ships—including aircraft carriers from the Mediterranean—and fighter planes.

146. At this moment an unabashed and virulent aggression is being launched against Nicaragua from bases in Honduran territory. Thousands of former Somozist guards, drilled, trained and advised by American officers, are harassing the sacred soil of Sandino's land, cruelly assassinating the civilian population. Time and again they penetrate Nicaraguan territory and are repeatedly beaten back by the armed forces and Sandinist militias, fleeing terrified to the sanctuary provided by the immunity of the Honduran border. The Sandinist combatants have not allowed themselves to be dragged into a provocation and have respected the borders of their neighbours with the conscientiousness and zeal with which they would want their own respected.

147. Honduras finds itself under virtual United States military occupation, illustrated by the adoption of decisions on the entry and presence of United States troops in that country, without the so-called Honduran President or Congress being informed. The Green Berets are running a Honduran army infantry centre under construction in the Pacific port of San Lorenzo. In addition, 600 members of the Corps of Engineers and Marines are engaged in the construction of new facilities, including a landing strip near the Nicaraguan border. In mid-September 1,000 new Salvadorian soldiers reached Tegucigalpa en route to the United States base at Puerto Castilla on the Honduran Atlantic coast. Previously 1,200 were trained at the Regional Military Training and Security Centre. Furthermore, the United States has more than a thousand experts in Honduras, of whom 950 form the logistical support contingent of Palmerola Air Base at Comayagua, in the centre of the country.

148. In the same way, Guatemala is becoming a possible springboard for Yankee military intervention in the area. United States and Israeli military aid to Guatemala is destined to strengthen the army in its effort to annihilate the Guatemalan revolutionary movement and to prepare it for the eventual intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

149. American Government circles are obsessed with the idea that the imposition of a military solution to the conflict in Central America is possible and advisable. Under the feeble pretext of preserving the "third border", they are sliding down a slope that will plunge them into a quagmire, but what else can be expected of those who still think in terms of "spheres of influence" and endorse the feasibility of a "limited nuclear war"? Obsessed with creating a climate of terror and insecurity in Nicaragua in order to destroy the revolution and attack the national liberation movement in the area, the Reagan Administration may reproduce a new Viet Nam in America itself.

150. Peace-loving governments, the peoples of the world and those forces that struggle for international security and peaceful coexistence are called upon to make



every effort to prevent the intensification and spread of this conflagration.

151. A war of larger dimensions in Central America would only add pain to pain and misery to poverty, but it will never mean victory for the imperialists. We therefore support the request that the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session devote special attention to "the question of Central America—threats to peace, sovereignty and the exercise by the Central American peoples of the right to self-determination and peace initiatives", as stated by the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, commander of the revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, in his address to the Assembly [7th meeting, para. 134].

152. History shows us that in the long run force has never been able to prevent the triumph of freedom, social justice and sovereignty of the peoples. Our President, Fidel Castro, was unquestionably right when he recently said that "A truly revolutionary and patriotic people may be physically wiped from the face of the earth, but it can never be conquered".

153. History has also shown that fire will be met with fire, violence with violence, and that nothing and no one will be able to retard the progress of peoples towards their legitimate and true independence. Nevertheless, this is not the only road that our people are obliged to travel, nor is this always the price that they must necessarily pay for their freedom.

154. I wish to avail myself of the opportunity offered by my presence at this important international forum to reiterate on behalf of our Government and people Cuba's positions with respect to the Central American situation. Cuba advocates a proper and honourable solution based on mutual commitments. Neither intimidation, force of arms, blackmail, pressure, nor a vain hope of surrender and concessions will pave the way to a lasting and stable solution. A solution based on the bludgeon and on contempt for the most fundamental principles cannot be imposed on Nicaragua, nor can an unfavourable outcome of the conflict be imposed on the Salvadorian revolutionaries. Methods which ignore, evade or damage the primary interests of the Salvadorian revolutionary movement cannot be applied, nor can Nicaraguan interests be ignored.

155. Peace cannot be achieved or coexistence and security in the region activated on the basis of forcing one of the parties to suffer humiliation.

156. We support the spirit and proposals of the Contadora Group to find a political solution based on respect for the sovereignty of peoples and on non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. Indeed, we wish to draw attention to the fact that a political solution in Central America cannot be achieved unless a peaceful solution is found to the existing situation in El Salvador.

157. The problem in El Salvador today constitutes the crux of the regional conflict. The present state of insurgency in El Salvador is rooted in the centuries-old exploitation by colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. Under the able leadership of their legitimate representative, the FMLN-FDR, the people are waging a tenacious fight against the genocidal régime already marked by infamy and ignominy.

158. The situation in El Salvador cannot be even remotely compared with that in Nicaragua, which from land, sea and air is being subjected to various forms of joint aggression by Yankee imperialism and its lackeys. A dirty "secret war" is being waged against Nicaragua which, although becoming dirtier every day, is each day becoming less secret. There is no internal conflict or civil

war in Nicaragua, but external aggression aimed at destabilizing the process of national reconstruction and preventing the consolidation of the Sandinist revolution.

159. Cuba, I repeat, supports the Contadora Group's efforts and is prepared to co-operate in every way it can in the quest for an equitable and proper political solution.

160. With that in mind, I should like to quote the following words of Fidel Castro from an informal talk with a group of American journalists:

"I agree with Contadora's proposal to seek a political solution based on respect for the sovereignty of States and on non-intervention in the internal affairs of States."

He added:

"It is not precisely a question of concessions; it is a question of seeking an agreement involving commitments by all parties, and in that sense we are sincerely prepared to assume such commitments. We cannot dictate a formula. I think that those who are directly involved in the conflicts are the ones that have to define a formula to reach an agreement. We would then support such a formula."

161. That is Cuba's position. The path to a peaceful solution of the Central American conflict is still open.

162. Negotiation based on mutual commitments is still possible. The search for a formula that would involve neither capitulation nor unilateral concessions is still feasible. Cuba is quite willing to contribute to progress along that path, to undertake such commitments and to support a formula for solution whereby the parties directly involved in the conflicts may reach an agreement.

163. In its dangerous attempt to reverse the course of history, Ronald Reagan's Administration stubbornly maintains a policy aimed at destabilizing the Cuban revolution.

164. This United States policy against Cuba combines diplomatic, economic and military measures which violate both the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the most elementary internationally recognized and accepted norms of coexistence between States.

165. The continuous militarization process that the United States carries out in the area of Central America and the Caribbean is also aimed at military encirclement of our country. This process includes moving additional military units towards the southern coast of the United States and strengthening those already there to unprecedented levels, in addition to the increase in United States permanent military personnel in the area, the forced militarization of the countries of the region and threatening and provocative military manoeuvres and exercises.

166. On the other hand, the self-styled defenders of air navigation safety systematically violate Cuba's airspace with flights by their SR-71 spy planes.

167. The United States also illegally occupies part of the territory of the Republic of Cuba, where against the sovereign will of our people it maintains the Guantánamo naval base.

168. The strengthening of the criminal economic and trade blockade of our country, the efforts and pressures of all kinds exerted on third countries to make them end their trade and financial relations with Cuba constitute not only a form of aggression against our people but also an insult to the sovereignty and national dignity of those countries.

169. The United States has adopted as an unchanging official policy systematic attempts to obstruct and block Cuba's participation in international organizations and

forums and unceasingly carries out covert and overt campaigns to harm the diplomatic relations of our country with other sovereign States.

170. In this obstinate determination to defeat the Cuban revolution, Reagan has worked hard to set up a radio broadcasting station with the aim of destabilizing our country through slander and the dissemination of false news to the Cuban people on facts about their own country. For this purpose he has used the illustrious name of José Martí—an affront to our apostle, who was the first Latin American to discover that the country which in 1776 the fathers of United States independence wanted to be an example of freedom had become an imperialist monster whose decaying entrails he denounced and fought. This effort is laughable but offensive. Neither the defects nor the difficulties of building socialism are ever concealed from the Cuban people, who face them with determination and enthusiasm. But that does not make Reagan's interventionism any less reprehensible nor does it diminish our resolve to reject it.

171. During the Reagan Administration the plans for blatant armed aggression against Cuba have been publicly discussed in an unprecedented manner.

172. These and other threats and measures of imperialism aimed at deviating us from our course, diverting our path and hindering our development will culminate in the most absolute and shameful defeat.

173. Our people are firm in their decision to fight off any attempt and any imperialist aggression, and nothing nor anyone will be able to prevent the impetuous progress of our socialist revolution.

174. The situation in southern Africa continues to deteriorate owing to the actions of the South African racist régime, which persists in its policy of subjecting the black South African people to the most ferocious oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination that history has ever known.

175. The contemptible régime of *apartheid* increases repression and terror as the patriotic and democratic movement becomes stronger and the opposition to that unjust system and the struggle for its eradication grow. The incarceration for more than 21 years of Nelson Mandela, a combatant of the ANC who has become a symbol of the struggle against racial discrimination on a world scale, is outrageous. The shameless disregard of the South African racists for General Assembly and Security Council resolutions is outrageous. They continue the tortures, massacres, executions and false suicides in South African gaols. But even more outrageous is the fact that, despite repeated resolutions of the General Assembly opposing aid to the racists of Pretoria, the IMF continues to grant astronomical loans, while denying them or attempting to impose in exchange for those funds conditions detrimental to the sovereignty of Governments which struggle for a better life for their citizens. No one can deny that responsibility for this rests mainly with the Government of the United States.

176. The Government of Ronald Reagan has proclaimed the legitimacy of its strategic alliance with the racists of Pretoria, and that is the fundamental reason for the perilous situation which persists in southern Africa. We are all aware that only that alliance, accompanied by sordid delaying tactics and brutal pressures, has prevented the peaceful negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem.

177. That is why it has not yet been possible to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The United States Government is primarily responsible for dashing

the hopes that many had placed in the efforts of the so-called Western contact group.

178. For more than two years South African troops have been illegally occupying parts of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, a sovereign Member State of this Organization. The international community has demanded on numerous occasions the withdrawal of the invading South African forces from Angolan territory. The international community has also repeatedly demanded that the illegal occupation of Namibia be ended. But the response from Washington and Pretoria has been the so-called theory of linkage between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola. There is no record in history of such arrogance, cynicism or total disregard of the decisions of the Organization, which has unequivocally rejected this manoeuvre intended to perpetuate and extend the racist régime in the African continent. Cuba's position on the withdrawal of its internationalist forces from Angola is widely known and shared. The rejection of such a linkage has been reiterated by the front-line States, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations.

179. In these circumstances there is only one valid alternative: to increase our support for SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people; to demand with increasing force the unconditional withdrawal of the racist forces from Angolan territory and the unrestricted implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); to demand the cessation of all terrorist acts against the front-line countries, all acts of aggression against Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and other independent African countries, which have resisted in an exemplary manner aggression of all kinds, in extremely difficult circumstances, in order to prevent the expansion of the racist dominion on the African continent.

180. Time and again the United States has impeded with its veto in the Security Council the imposition against the South African régime of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. That is why now we must demand more strongly than ever that the United States Government end its policy of blackmail and deceit regarding the African peoples and fulfil the commitments it has made.

181. The Arab peoples of the Middle East are living in a very critical situation. Israel, thanks to the support it receives from the United States, has become a military Power and has unleashed a bestial policy of expansion and domination against all Arab peoples in general and of annihilation of the Palestinian people in particular.

182. Today the danger posed by lack of a solution to the complex situation prevailing in the Middle East has increased, owing to the fact that the American forces stationed on Lebanese soil under the cover provided by the so-called multinational forces have taken an active part in the fighting in Lebanon, thus making a reality of the old dream of American imperialists of penetrating and dominating the Middle East.

183. Lebanon, which was the target of aggression by the Israeli hordes that are still present in its territory, is now also the target of direct aggression by the United States. The combined forces of zionism and Yankee imperialism will not be able to crush the independent spirit of the Lebanese patriots who are now defending their soil from external aggression. Some day, sooner rather than later, Lebanon will be able to exercise its full rights as a free and sovereign nation.

184. We do not doubt that the Assembly will try to set in motion the machinery necessary for reaching a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem. This cannot happen, of course, until the Palestinian people are fully able to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence and to create their own sovereign State in Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

185. This is indeed a suitable occasion on which to support the right of the PLO to occupy a seat in this great assembly of the United Nations.

186. It is not possible to conclude our statement in the Assembly without directing our thoughts and recollections to the immortal figure of Simón Bolívar on the bicentenary of his birth. His revolutionary action, his efforts on behalf of independence, his dreams of unity for the peoples of America are neither forgotten nor consigned to history; they live in the life blood and the daily struggle of our peoples for a future of peace and development.

187. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, the Assembly convenes at a time when international relations are increasingly characterized by tensions and turmoils, fear of nuclear disaster and widespread concern about troubled economies. In view of this grave situation, it is not inappropriate for me to recall the circumstances which led to the creation of the United Nations and the expectations which this engendered.

188. The outcome of the 1939-1945 war reinforced the convictions of peoples of the victor nations and others that military conquests, colonial exploitation and economic deprivation were irreversibly in retreat and would be ended for all time. People therefore looked upon this Organization as a repository of their hopes and their aspirations to live in peace as free peoples, able to determine their own political, economic and social goals, free from external interference and intervention. They also expected that, so that the Organization could be fully effective, those States which violated the purposes and principles of the Charter would be subject to the full force of its provisions.

189. In fashioning that framework for harmonious relations among States, the States of our region, Latin America and the Caribbean, made a most significant contribution. Our States played a vanguard role in the elaboration of the Charter of the United Nations and in the promotion of peace based upon the rule of law and the principles of equity. That is why, Sir, it is matter of especial pride for Guyana that you, Jorge Illueca, an eminent son of our region, a distinguished scholar and diplomat of Panama, are presiding over the deliberations of this session. May I, with your permission, on a more personal note advert to the deep and abiding friendship which you and I have developed over the years as we have worked together, here and elsewhere, in the cause of freedom and independence. I pledge to you Guyana's full and unstinted co-operation, particularly in our capacity as one of your Vice-Presidents. You succeed Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who guided the affairs of the thirty-seventh session with calm, skill and efficiency. We wish you every success.

190. It is a fortunate circumstance that at this time the Secretary-General also hails from our region. Since his assumption of office Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar has demonstrated qualities of fair play and diplomatic finesse which I have already experienced. His commitment to peace and his rigorous employ of the patient ways of diplomacy are attributes which command universal admiration. Indeed, this commitment to peace has found expression in his profound concern for the effectiveness of the Organization.

191. The perceptive analyses in the Secretary-General's reports last year and this year have highlighted the need for new operational arrangements and modalities which will free the institution from the constraints imposed by an earlier bipolar world and make it more responsive to today's realities. The Secretary-General's overriding concern is to make the Organization function properly as an instrument of peace and development.

192. In the face of the deteriorating world situation, the Secretary-General has called for a recommitment of all States to the principles of the Charter and has sought to enhance the Organization's ability to discharge its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and for the strengthening of international co-operation. His expressions of concern are so timely and telling that support for them should require no prompting, for they deal in essence with the survival of humanity. Regrettably, however, the collective response to the Secretary-General's observations has not matched the gravity of the situation which his concern reflects. We owe it to him and to ourselves to give greater attention to his proposals during this session. The Secretary-General knows that he can rely on Guyana's support.

193. There have been vast and fundamental changes in the international system since the creation of the Organization. The quantitative expansion of its membership has given rise to qualitative changes and has rendered more complex the harmonization of relations between States and between regions, complexities also manifested in the relations between competing social systems. Despite these changes—or perhaps because of them—after 38 years the dreams, hopes and aspirations of people have remained essentially unchanged.

194. Yet crises in international relations proliferate; in fact, there is an air that can be described as crisis-mongering. While new flash-points erupt, old situations continue to defy solutions.

195. Too often, countries which espouse non-intervention practise intervention in one form or another. Too often, countries which proclaim adherence to the principle of territorial integrity are themselves in breach of that very principle. Too often, countries which profess commitment to development are acting to the detriment of the poor. Too often, countries which portray themselves as advocates of disarmament are escalating the arms race, thereby raising the threshold of fear. Too often, countries while preaching peace are stoking the fires of war, and the language of reasoned discourse becomes consumed in the process.

196. In sum, there is a widening and alarming gap between rhetoric and action. The result is that the fabric of peace is imperilled.

197. Nothing so dramatically symbolizes the fragile nature of peace as the parlous nature of the international economic situation. But this need not be so. A few years ago the prospects for international economic co-operation seemed brighter, and this was contemporaneous with the growing realization of the interdependence of economies—in trade, money and finance, and commodities. Today, unfortunately, there is a marked tendency for some major Powers to eschew the imperatives of multilateral co-operation. Instead, there are increasing attempts to place multilateral institutions at the service of narrower national interests and to frustrate their role. Some may ask if these attempts do not subvert the very objectives of those institutions.

198. The developing countries, whether acting individually or in concert, have been staunch advocates of equitable and mutually beneficial economic relations.

We demonstrated both at the recent Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi, and in the Buenos Aires Platform adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77<sup>3</sup> our willingness to advance new strategies for enhancing international co-operation. Serious attention was given to the problems which beset the international economy, more particularly the burgeoning debt problems, the burning question of money and finance and the protectionist measures against the exports of developing countries. Regrettably, these reasonable positions did not stimulate appropriate responses on the part of the industrialized countries.

199. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which focused on some of these issues, was noteworthy for the lack of convergence of views. It therefore stands as a sad testimony to the constraints imposed upon international economic co-operation.

200. The capacity of the developing countries to promote their development is thus considerably restricted. The continuation of this condition could accentuate social pressures. It could also give rise to upheavals to an extent that adversely affects domestic and regional peace and renders more difficult the recovery of the economies of the industrialized countries themselves.

201. Those considerations apart, it is difficult to reconcile human need with human waste and foolhardiness. How do we justify expenditures in excess of 600 billion dollars each year on instruments of death and destruction while there is incessant argument every year over the allocation of a few billion for multilateral financing for development? Is that not more than enough for legitimate defence needs?

202. The utilization of vast resources for the acquisition of massive amounts of armaments has direct and far-reaching consequences for the development of the developing countries. Continued global and regional tensions have led States to divert resources from urgent developmental activity to military expenditure. It is thus imperative that collectively we seek to reduce such tensions and, more specifically, to work resolutely for the achievement of disarmament.

203. There are other situations in respect of which the Organization's efforts have not yet led to durable solutions. The Middle East situation festers dangerously. Instability and tension in the region have grown worse since Israel's invasion of Lebanon last year. The Palestinian people, led by the PLO, still suffer the nightmare of being a nation without a State, with the restoration of their national rights unfulfilled.

204. The tragedy of some divided countries remains. In Cyprus foreign occupation continues despite initiatives by the Secretary-General undertaken on the basis of the decisions of the Organization. We should persevere with our efforts to restore the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Likewise, the people of Korea remain divided notwithstanding the communiqué of 4 July 1972<sup>4</sup> and the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

205. No one can deny the Organization's most helpful role in its support for peoples that have struggled against colonialism and *apartheid*. Our achievements have been remarkable; we should be proud of that record. We must now therefore intensify the struggle against the racists of South Africa. How much longer, I ask, must the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, and those in the international community who support their valiant struggle be subjected to the prevarications and machinations

of the Pretoria régime? How much longer can the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa place their faith in words of support uttered by some Members of this Organization when their very deeds buttress their oppressors?

206. Even as we bring to bear our collective strength to tackle those old problems, we are confronted by new situations of turbulence, situations the causes of which can lead, if not properly understood, to new tensions creating instability beyond the narrow focus of their origins. Central America is a most poignant case.

207. When they met at Port of Spain in July this year, the heads of Government of the Caribbean Community expressed deep concern over the situation in Central America. They observed that "the crisis faced by the peoples of this region was rooted not in East-West ideological rivalry but in deep-seated social and economic ills". They "appealed to the contending parties to engage in direct dialogue and expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring peace to the area". That position should, I suggest, be endorsed by this Organization.

208. The independence and territorial integrity of Belize are still threatened by neighbouring Guatemala. Guyana reaffirms its solidarity with and total support for the people of Belize and for the preservation of their national patrimony and their right to build their society within existing frontiers.

209. Elsewhere new regional conflicts, some internal in origin and others arising from rivalries between outside States, are proving intractable. Guyana adds its voice to the call for an early end to the costly war between Iraq and Iran, and we urge all States, large and small, never to abandon the methods of the peaceful settlement of disputes and controversies.

210. In assessing the state of international relations today and the prospects for the future, a tribute must be paid to the contribution of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. From its inception the Movement has placed in the forefront of its activities the pursuit of policies which could mitigate conflicts, promote independence and facilitate the building of a lasting infrastructure for peace. The Movement has since attracted more States to its principles and policies. It has been an influential factor in international relations. The important role of the Movement is now so widely acknowledged that States which for one reason or another cannot be direct participants in its activities assiduously seek to influence the outcome of its deliberations, sometimes malevolently.

211. Our Movement has always assigned a central role to the United Nations as a harmonizer of competing interests and has consistently maintained that there is a viable alternative to a system of international relations based on bloc politics, on hegemony and on spheres of influence. The political and economic programmes of action which the Movement articulated at its conference at New Delhi [see A/33/132 and Corr.1 and 2] provide a coherent and internally consistent strategy for making the peaceful coexistence of States and social systems a real possibility.

212. I suggest that, equally, in charting the way forward we should take cognizance of the role of regional and subregional organizations. Such organizations are to be found everywhere, and the dynamism which the people of their member States ascribe to them attests to the constructive role which multilateralism can play in international relations. That is why we can only regret the studied efforts of some major Powers to bypass these

organizations by advancing so-called theological positions. At the same time we need to recognize that regional efforts can be maximized when they are supportive of our Organization, for the Organization is based on the principle of universality, not of exclusivity. Let me therefore here and now whole-heartedly welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis as our newest Member State.

213. Let me also express the hope that those regional organizations and arrangements which still maintain exclusionary provisions in their charters and in their operations will make the necessary accommodations. One example which springs to mind relates to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, the Treaty of Tlatelolco.<sup>5</sup> The States parties to that Treaty gave an undertaking to the Assembly to remove impediments. Guyana still awaits definitive action in this regard.

214. Another development for peace has been the movement among countries of the South to develop co-operation among themselves. This is a development which should be encouraged by the international community.

215. Critical to our quest for peace is the overwhelming need for the removal of ideological concerns from the international economic agenda, for such concerns serve to spread the tensions of super-Power rivalry to the areas of development and international economic co-operation. We must all—all of us—respect chosen developmental paths and refrain from waging ideological warfare in economic terms. Pluralism of development strategies is and must be respected as a concomitant of ideological pluralism.

216. The intrusion of ideological concerns into international economic co-operation is made more unpalatable by increasing resort to discriminatory measures. The incidence of vetoing funds from multilateral institutions must be discouraged and deplored.

217. I have sought to construct my statement on what I perceive to be a universal search for truth, understanding and peace. I have eschewed detailed references to some situations of conflict, actual and potential. However, certain unfortunate distortions of substance and of interpretation concerning my country and the historical course of relations between Guyana and Venezuela made by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela in his statement at the 5th meeting oblige me to respond and to set the record straight.

218. The struggle to preserve Guyana's territorial integrity never ceases to engage the energies and the attention of its Government and people because of the untenable claim to over two thirds of the country which Venezuela has been actively pursuing. We desire most ardently to free ourselves of this burden which we bore even before our independence and to remove this canker from relations between ourselves and our western neighbour. We wish to rid ourselves and our region of the potential for conflict which is inherent in this Venezuelan claim and the manner in which it has often been pursued.

219. Contrary to what the Foreign Minister of Venezuela sought to imply in his address to the Assembly, Guyana, which has made no claims to Venezuelan territory, continues the search for a solution which would bring to an end the controversy that has arisen as a result of Venezuela's unilateral and inexplicable decision to declare null and void an internationally binding agreement. This agreement is the Arbitral Award of 1899, on the basis of which our boundary with Venezuela was settled.

220. When the Prime Minister of my country addressed the Assembly during the thirty-sixth session [12th meeting]

and when I did so at the last session [26th meeting], the facts of this issue were adequately presented. Those facts remain a matter of historical and public record, and they cannot be altered by wishful thinking. Realities are not created by whims and fancies.

221. Last year I made certain proposals before the Assembly, proposals fully in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1966,<sup>6</sup> for the involvement of the International Court of Justice, the Security Council or the Assembly in the search for a peaceful settlement of the controversy. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela rejected my proposals summarily. I am glad to say, however, that another stage of the Geneva Agreement has been reached. In accordance with article IV of that Agreement, the Secretary-General has been requested to choose a means of peaceful settlement from among the various procedures set out under Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

222. To facilitate the more effective discharge of his duties and responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement, the Secretary-General has sought certain assurances from Venezuela and from Guyana. These were the subject of a communiqué which the Secretary-General issued following a visit of his emissary to the two countries in August last. The communiqué recorded, *inter alia*, the assurance that both parties would adopt all measures that might be necessary in order to foster and maintain the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement. Significant also was the assurance that both parties would refrain from any action whatsoever which might make more difficult or impede the peaceful settlement of the controversy.

223. While the Secretary-General pursues his initiatives, Guyana believes that these assurances, if fully honoured, can themselves also contribute to the creation of a régime of peaceful relations between Guyana and Venezuela.

224. In the past, Guyana has always been unswerving in its commitment to achieving the goal of a peaceful settlement of the controversy and has honoured every agreement relating to our border with Venezuela. I wish to assure the Assembly that Guyana intends to continue so doing. Regrettably, we have had cause, time and again, to draw the attention of the Assembly and the Security Council to violations by Venezuela of the letter and spirit of agreements solemnly subscribed to by both our countries. We sincerely hope that Venezuela will respect the undertaking it gave to the Secretary-General last August.

225. It is my hope that in this year, when the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar is being celebrated, we will all be guided by Bolívar's essential political credo on international relations and act in the belief that international problems must find their solution in a "league of free peoples which will resist aggression with armed might and settle controversies between its members through a court of equity".

226. As I said at the outset, the desire for peace has not altered over the years. In retrospect, the peace which the Organization was created to safeguard and maintain was narrow in scope. Today, the constituent elements, which together can secure peace, are generally recognized as being more manifold. They embrace much more than the avoidance of armed conflict. But we cannot widen the basis for lasting peace unless we free ourselves of the constraints. We must not merely pay lip service to peaceful coexistence; we must demonstrate our belief in it. Nor should we allow ourselves—no one of us—to be entrapped within a perimeter in which ideas and thoughts remain untouched by the developments which have taken place since the creation of the Organization. What is needed, if today's requirements are to be fulfilled, is a

new design for peace, one which is pervasive and which encompasses the interests of all mankind.

227. This Organization is well placed to facilitate the realization of that peace. It remains for us Member States to utilize it accordingly.

228. Mr. BELLO (Nigeria): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to join the preceding speakers in extending to you, on behalf of the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, my warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. You have assumed the presidency of this august Assembly at a particularly difficult time when the international situation is under considerable strain, with the eruption of conflicts and tensions in virtually all regions of the world and the apparent collapse of détente between the two super-Powers. Your outstanding diplomatic skills, patience and wisdom will be severely tested in the months ahead. But we are confident that under your able leadership and wise guidance, the General Assembly will make substantial progress towards the attainment of an enduring global peace and security.

229. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, our deep appreciation and gratitude for the able and effective manner in which he guided the General Assembly in its deliberations in the past year. We were deeply impressed by his exertions in promoting the cause of peace throughout the world. He proved extremely adroit in his handling of very delicate and sensitive issues. The failures of this Assembly, however, particularly in reaching agreement on several critical issues, such as the launching of the global economic negotiations, cannot be blamed on him. Collectively, we bear responsibility for those failures.

230. I should also like, on behalf of my Government and the people of Nigeria, to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership in the United Nations and to express our conviction that it will make a positive contribution to the search for global peace and security.

231. Since the last session of this body there has been a steady and disturbing deterioration of the international situation. It has reached such crisis proportions that there is now universal concern that the world is now tottering on the brink of war.

232. The global eruption of crises, conflicts and tensions has been further aggravated by the massive buildup of arms, especially nuclear weapons, which now represent the gravest danger to international peace and security and to the very survival of mankind itself. Ignoring mankind's pleas and appeals for sanity, the super-Powers in particular have embarked not only upon a massive accumulation of weaponry, but also a qualitative improvement of such weapons. Negotiations on arms reduction and disarmament at the various forums have continued to founder on the rock of rivalry and deep mistrust between the two super-Powers. Instead of making a steady and progressive effort towards achieving nuclear disarmament, the two Powers are hell-bent on achieving nuclear deterrence through a further expansion of their already awesome arsenals.

*Mr. Abdalla (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

233. Doomsday may well be on our doorstep now. That is why it is absolutely essential for the two super-Powers to seek détente and peace through co-operation, instead of adopting confrontation as a substitute for negotiation. In a futile attempt to achieve global hegemony and world domination for themselves, they have resorted to proxy wars in all regions of the world where the clearly expressed

will of the people for peace, prosperity and stability is being subverted and steadily undermined through the threat and use of force. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, all of which are entitled to the protection of the United Nations, are being daily undermined in Chad, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Kampuchea and Afghanistan under one pretext or another and in defence of highly questionable and dubious principles and values. The most sophisticated weapons are being rapidly deployed in what is clearly an unbridled and disconcerting arrogation of power. Direct and indirect interference by the super-Powers in the internal and external affairs of small and weak States are now in the ascendancy in every region of the world.

234. Nigeria is deeply concerned about these trends, which are clearly detrimental to peaceful coexistence among all States. The situation calls urgently for concerted global action to ensure the security of weak and small States, as well as their freedom from external interference in their internal affairs. The relaxation of tensions has become the urgent priority of the international community, but this essential goal cannot be attained through such negative concepts as the balance of terror, spheres of influence, deterrence and alien domination. Small and weak States have as much right as the big Powers to develop along their own freely chosen paths without any external interference or pressure. Efforts should be intensified at the international level actively to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence and self-determination through the conclusion of the process of decolonization.

235. Let me now refer particularly to the situation in southern Africa, which also continues to be a matter of utmost concern to my Government. For nearly four decades now, the racist policies of the South African white minority régime have been roundly condemned in this Hall as well as in the Security Council. Our concern is not merely that racial discrimination exists in South Africa, but that it has been institutionalized, enshrined in law and made all-pervasive. All attempts at a peaceful change through necessary reforms have failed. Frustration among the blacks has made them resort to armed struggle to eradicate the *apartheid* system. Unless there is a fundamental change in South Africa through recognition of the inherent right of the 20 million blacks to participate fully and equally with the whites in South Africa's political and economic processes, there is a grave danger of a catastrophic racial conflict that will have serious ramifications throughout the world.

236. If South Africa continues to spurn all appeals for a change and fails to deal justly and effectively with its racial problem, that failure will impose heavy economic, military and political penalties on its allies in the Western countries. The response and attitude of most of the Western countries to the racial problem in South Africa is not only most disappointing, but also self-defeating. Publicly they routinely join in the world-wide condemnation of South Africa's racist doctrines, but privately they continue to pursue policies which only encourage the racist régime in its intransigence. They do not support the application of the necessary economic and political pressures on South Africa to compel it to embark on the necessary eradication of its obnoxious racist doctrines. When we call for sanctions, we are told by the Western allies of racist South Africa either that the imposition of sanctions will not work or that it is incompatible with their fundamental belief in the principle of global free trade. Yet these powerful countries are quick and eager to resort to economic sanctions in less compelling situations. There is no question but that the racist régime of

South Africa has enjoyed the encouragement, support and approval of these Western States in its arrogant rejection of all peaceful efforts to bring about the urgently desired changes in the country. Not only have the major Western Powers failed to take action against the *apartheid* régime in accordance with their commitments and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, but they have directly, openly and covertly assured the racist régime of its survival and prosperity through vastly increased economic co-operation. At the recent Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva, the duplicity of the Western Powers was once again unmasked when they failed to join the consensus in the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference [resolution 38/14, annex] against the *apartheid* régime and its Israeli collaborators.

237. The so-called policy of constructive engagement with the *apartheid* régime is deeply offensive and repugnant to Africa and to decent men and women throughout the world. It is nothing but a cover for the sinister motives of the United States and others for continuing their policy of support for the *apartheid* régime in southern Africa, and we reject it completely since it is open encouragement to the racist régime. Contrary to the claim of the present United States Administration, it is not a balanced policy. Within the framework of this policy we have seen increased diplomatic, political, economic and military co-operation between the racist régime of South Africa and its Western allies. At the United Nations the United States has assured the racist régime of South Africa of diplomatic cover by vetoing all efforts to impose punitive measures on that régime for its repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours as well as for its refusal to withdraw from Namibia. It would not even permit a condemnation of racist South Africa for its invasion and continued occupation of Angola. How can such a policy which supports the aggressor be regarded as balanced or constructive?

238. The recent approval by the Government of the United States of the request by seven United States corporations to provide technical and maintenance services to a nuclear power installation in racist South Africa is in violation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980). This approval is being granted despite the well-known objections of Africa and the international community to any form of nuclear co-operation or collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

239. It is particularly regrettable that this approval was granted despite the persistent refusal of *apartheid* South Africa to allow inspection and verification of its nuclear installation by IAEA. We hope that in view of the objections raised not only by the whole of Africa but also by the international community, the United States authorities will cancel this contract, which is clearly detrimental to the cause of peace and freedom in Africa.

240. Recently, authoritative statements were made by Washington to the effect that peace and security in southern Africa could be restored only if the so-called security concerns of the *apartheid* régime were met. Let me make it abundantly clear that we are unable to accept the notion that the racist régime of South Africa has any legitimate security concerns which have to be met by African States. Equally, the proposition that the African States in the region should seek peaceful coexistence with the racist régime of South Africa is most objectionable, and we reject it completely. It is *apartheid* South Africa that has consistently sought to undermine the peace, security and stability of the region by its incessant and unprovoked aggression against its neighbours. Collectively and separately, African States in the region have never posed, and

could not now pose, any threat to the security of racist South Africa. None of them has ever attacked South Africa. In contrast, troops from the racist régime of South Africa now occupy much of southern Angola. It is the security concerns of the front-line States and not those of the *apartheid* régime that should be met.

241. The *apartheid* régime stands universally condemned for its persistent, unjustified and unprovoked aggression and acts of destabilization against the front-line States. Recently the racist régime closed its borders with Lesotho in order to force that country to deny political refuge to those fleeing from Pretoria's persecution. When Lesotho turned to the Western allies of the racist régime, it met with a stony silence from them. Lesotho's independence and sovereignty mean nothing to them. Yet these countries which continue to collaborate with the *apartheid* régime would have the world believe that they are the defenders of freedom throughout the world. Africa is not and cannot be deceived by the duplicity of these Powers.

242. With regard to the situation in Namibia, my Government would like to express its deep appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring about the independence of that Territory. As he discovered during his recent mission to South Africa, all outstanding constitutional issues within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had in fact been resolved during proximity talks with the contact group last year. South Africa's insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibia's independence is merely a red herring, a pretext for pursuing other sinister objectives in Angola. Neither Angola itself, nor the presence of Cuban forces there at the invitation of the Angolan Government, can conceivably be represented as a threat to the security of South Africa, which now occupies one third of Angola's territory. Without the withdrawal of South Africa's forces from Angola, the cessation of support for the UNITA<sup>7</sup> bandits and reasonable assurances and guarantees about Angola's security, Angola cannot reasonably be expected to terminate its security arrangements with Cuba.

243. It is the view of my Government that nothing short of the application of economic and other sanctions will bring racist South Africa to its senses. For decades all international appeals to *apartheid* South Africa have fallen on deaf ears. There is no longer any valid excuse or explanation for South Africa's continued intransigence except that it hopes and, indeed, believes that those Western countries that profit from the *apartheid* system will continue to thwart all efforts to impose sanctions on that régime.

244. Clearly, the situation in southern Africa, particularly the persistent refusal of the racist régime to withdraw from Namibia, now calls for the invoking of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Those provisions, including recourse to sanctions as a punitive measure, were intended to deal with precisely the kind of situation we now have in southern Africa. Those permanent members of the Security Council which continue to prevent the Council from discharging its full responsibility by protecting the racist régime from sanctions bear a very heavy moral and historical responsibility for their reprehensible policy. They have left the people of South Africa and Namibia with no choice other than to seek redress through armed struggle. The Government and people of Nigeria will continue to provide them with all necessary support to enable them to wage their war of liberation against the racists. We have a moral obligation to do so, for our own independence and freedom

will remain incomplete as long as these unhappy people continue to be held in bondage.

245. My Government is equally concerned about the increasingly dangerous interventionist policy being pursued in Africa by some external Powers in Western Sahara, in the Horn of Africa and, more recently, in Chad. Localized disputes in these areas have been aggravated by foreign intervention, thus making it increasingly difficult for our continental organization, the OAU, to exercise fully its functions and responsibilities for resolving those disputes. We strongly condemn all external Powers that have intervened in Chad. Their intervention has added to the suffering and misery of the people of Chad. We therefore join in the call for the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad. The people of Chad must be allowed to resolve their differences without any external intervention. Africa must not be turned into an arena for proxy wars waged by the super-Powers.

246. The Middle East has continued to be a major centre of conflicts and tensions because of Israel's expansionist policy and aggression. My Government strongly deplores Israel's refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981), which, we believe, provides the basis for a resolution of the Middle East problem. Israel's attempt to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, the invasion of Lebanon and the outrage of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila are an ample demonstration of Israel's complete disregard of international opinion and of the decisions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. Nigeria is strongly opposed to those policies and will continue to support the people of Palestine in their just and legitimate demand for a homeland of their own. It is our firm conviction that a durable settlement of the problem of the Middle East can be achieved only with the active participation of all the interested parties, particularly the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO. Any unilateral effort towards a settlement can only be partial and is therefore doomed to failure. The recent eruption of fighting in Lebanon is sufficient evidence of the inadequacy of the settlement plan being pursued so vigorously by certain Powers. That plan will fail because it does not take fully into account the interests of the Palestinian people and their legitimate demand for a homeland of their own. In this regard, Nigeria fully supports the conclusions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held recently at Geneva. We deeply regret the failure of certain Western Powers to attend that Conference.

247. My Government is also deeply concerned about the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields. This collaboration is inimical to the security of the whole of Africa and represents a threat to that security which Africa cannot ignore. As long as Israel persists in this policy it cannot hope for amity in its relations with Africa.

248. Recent developments in Central America are also a matter of concern to my Government. My Government strongly deplores direct intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other Central American States by a certain Power. Regardless of our views about the direction in which those States are moving, it is morally wrong and contrary to the provisions of the Charter for any external Power to force a change in their political and economic systems through the use or threat of force. We would urge this external Power to respect the inherent right of Nicaragua and other Central American States to develop along their freely chosen path. We fully endorse and support the efforts of the Contadora Group to ease

the tension in the region and to secure a negotiated settlement which will take full account of the right of all the people of the region to national self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

249. With regard to the situations in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Korea, my Government is firmly convinced that only a reaffirmation and recognition of the right of the peoples of those countries to determine their own destinies, free from foreign interference, subversion, coercion or occupation and through the process of negotiations, will lead to a durable settlement. We therefore join in the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those countries so as to provide a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement. The presence of foreign troops can only continue to impede the process of securing a durable peace.

250. In addition to the profound anxieties raised by the prevailing global instability and tension, there is an equally widespread concern about the economic crisis which has confronted the world for some time now. Indifference to this crisis is a luxury which no country, no matter how strong economically, is able to afford in these circumstances, not only because of the scale of the crisis, but also because of its devastating impact on all groups of countries. It is indeed every country that suffers when world output and international trade contract in the manner already witnessed, particularly when the world economy drifts from bad to worse because of persisting maladjustments. To put it in a nutshell, international commodity markets are in a most sorry state, and the multilateral trading system is undergoing a serious erosion, while the international monetary and financial system is anything but orderly.

251. My Government is equally concerned about the ever-widening economic gap between the developed and developing countries. This is an important point, not just because it underscores the inherent structural imbalance in the global economy, but also because the burden of adjustment in the current crisis has fallen disproportionately on the developing countries. The grim economic picture in most of the developing countries is all too familiar: high foreign debts, continued erosion of terms of trade, an unacceptably high level of inflation—most of it exported to them—sharp increases in the cost of capital and international credit, further restrictions on lending by the commercial banks and the continued decline in the flows of official development assistance. These formidable negative trends have led to a deep recession in the economies of the developing nations, resulting in a further decline in 1982 of the per capita gross domestic product of those countries. The development process has virtually come to a halt in most developing countries, as many of us have been forced by the deteriorating external environment in particular to curtail essential imports and national development programmes.

252. The critical economic situation in the African continent should indeed be underlined at this juncture because our countries are much worse off than those of any other region of the world. At a time of global improvement in food supply, acute shortages persist in Africa and have serious consequences in terms not only of increasing famine and hunger but also of the constraining influence on development of mounting food import bills. Owing to over-dependence on the export of one or two primary commodities, the continuing decline and uncertainty in commodity prices have taken their heaviest toll on African economies. The calamitous fall of export earnings has been compounded by a contraction of the external flow of resources. Obviously, one of the major



prerequisites for economic recovery in Africa is to ensure a substantial flow of external finance to the region.

253. Although the universal impact of the current economic crisis obviously calls for concerted efforts by the entire international community, regrettably the multilateral spirit is on the wane. We have in the past few years continued to witness a growing reliance by the developed countries on a bilateral rather than a multilateral approach to settling the crisis confronting the world economy, particularly the economic problems of the developing countries. But we know full well that the results have been most disappointing. It is indeed widely acknowledged that the acute resource problem currently facing such leading development organizations as, for example, UNDP is attributable principally to the stagnation in the overall flow of official development assistance and the decline in the proportion committed through multilateral channels. Aside from this we see little advantage in undue recourse to bilateralism, which has indeed heightened the tendency to determine and allocate assistance on the basis of strategic East-West considerations that are completely irrelevant to the dire needs of the developing nations. The half-hearted approach which now seems to characterize international economic negotiation is probably the worst feature of the present crisis of multilateralism.

254. A word about the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, is appropriate at this stage, since it was the most important negotiating conference held this year. We had hoped that the opportunity of the Belgrade meeting would be fully seized to deal decisively, effectively and in an integrated and global manner with the various problems of global trade and development, particularly the adverse situation facing the developing countries. Along with other members of the Group of 77, we went to Belgrade determined to be constructive and conciliatory, but we discovered to our utter dismay and disappointment that our partners in the North were in no mood for reciprocity. In the end what emerged from the Conference was a rehash of the results of previous sessions, with the addition of just a few half-measures, which did not amount to the serious package of urgent remedial and long-term measures that had been sought.

255. It is clear that we have all missed yet another golden opportunity to take appropriate measures to revitalize the world economy and, in particular, the accelerated and sustained development of developing countries. The international community has delayed taking the necessary vital steps, however, and this has worsened the plight of both the strong and the weak. We therefore wonder how long our partners in the North, particularly the developed market economies, will continue to drag their feet with regard to the restructuring of international economic relations. Greater progress could undoubtedly be made in this regard through a better appreciation by the developed countries of the reality of interdependence and the fact that the developing countries as a group have become a significant partner in the international economy.

256. The foregoing remarks are pertinent since they underscore the caution with which many have been inclined to receive reports about the economic upturn in certain developed countries. To us this is not a time for raising false expectations. Nor do we think that any trickle-down from the so-called recovery is the panacea for the grave economic problems facing the developing world. The deepening global crisis makes it ever more clear that we are dealing not with a mere cyclical phenomenon but with problems of structural maladjustments

in various areas of international economic relations that require global and integrated solution.

257. Unless the structural imbalance that lies at the heart of the current global economic crisis is redressed urgently through a major and concerted international effort, it not only will remain a source of friction in relations among nations but will also undermine the steady growth of the world economy. Four years ago it appeared that there was a recognition of the necessity for an international effort when the Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 34/138, on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. Unfortunately, nothing positive has happened since to permit the launching of the global negotiations. Rather, consultations on the matter have simply petered out, and the situation now is one of total impasse and deadlock.

258. Responsibility for the failure to launch the global negotiations must rest with those countries which remain adamantly opposed to the idea. Now that this item is inscribed on the agenda of this session, all may not be lost yet. Together with other developing countries, we remain ready to engage in a constructive dialogue with the developed countries on this matter, in the belief that there is a mutuality of interests in seeking necessary reforms in the existing international economic order. We would therefore urge them to show the necessary political will in support of all efforts to facilitate progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

259. Stability and peaceful coexistence cannot be achieved in a world where the overwhelming majority of mankind lives in abject poverty and penury, nor can sustained global economic growth be attained without the active participation of the developing nations. Since, therefore, everyone stands to benefit from an enduring recovery of the world economy, and knowing the catastrophe to which inaction or feeble efforts can lead, the international community must take swift action in putting together a package of measures, short-term and long-term, which respond to the needs of developing nations in particular. Commodity markets must be significantly strengthened through accelerated implementation of the integrated programme for commodities, including the early coming into force of the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities,<sup>8</sup> which my Government ratified recently. The rising tide of protectionism in the developed countries must be brought under control in the interest of world trade. There is also the imperative need to inject substantial and additional liquidity which responds to the needs of the world economy, particularly the accelerated growth of developing countries.

260. Before concluding my statement, I should like to declare the total support of my Government and the people of Nigeria for the peace movement, whose members are now clamouring throughout the world for an end to the arms race. The deployment of an ever-increasing number of nuclear warheads and the militarization of outer space make the spectre of a global holocaust a real possibility. This sword of Damocles has become an intolerable burden on mankind. The recent Korean jet incident shows how easily the world could be plunged into a nuclear holocaust through a sheer military blunder.

261. We must never allow a nuclear holocaust to happen. Collectively, we all have a responsibility to ensure that it does not, for the greatest tragedies have occurred not so much because of what was finally done as because of what had earlier foolishly been left undone.

262. Mrs. de AMORIM (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): When will the peoples of the third world emerge into the dawn of peace, security and

well-being from the endless night of hunger, interference, wars and massacres?

263. The exacerbation of the principal world problems and the reappearance of tension in relations among States have led the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to follow with particular attention and great disquiet the escalation of the use of force as a preferred means of settling global conflicts and determining the future of mankind.

264. Furthermore, how can one not be sceptical of the statements of good intention made by those whose very actions gave rise to and maintain the hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world?

265. An analysis of the agenda for our deliberations reaffirms that view. Negotiated and definitive solutions through peaceful means of problems of extreme seriousness which are disturbing the international community are deferred in spite of the numerous relevant resolutions which have been adopted.

266. One wonders whether the United Nations is the dupe or victim of the rivalry of some of its Members.

267. Preserving the United Nations means preventing this forum, a chosen meeting place, from giving way to insincerity, ambiguity and cynicism in the discussion of the grave questions of the present. Preserving the United Nations also means respecting the hopes of the peoples, ensuring that its resolutions are implemented and using all our strength to overcome the symptoms of paralysis that threaten it.

268. If this is done Africa will no longer be a continent torn apart by deadly wars that turn it into a battlefield for external forces, by wars which cause famine, poverty, terror and desolation, by wars exported to shackle the firm determination of the African peoples to attain total liberation, the consolidation of their independence and their economic emancipation.

269. In the grim attempt to inflame Africa, the OAU has not been spared. On the contrary, every pretext has been used to make it ineffective.

270. The difficulties encountered in arranging the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity amply demonstrated the scope of the web of intrigues being woven around the OAU and the need for all its members to work to defend it while faithfully respecting the principles set forth in its charter. We note with deep concern the growing tendency to wish to neutralize in conflicts the beneficial role of the OAU in order to allow foreign Powers to act as they wish.

271. In central Africa, interference and the presence of foreign forces in Chad have hampered the praiseworthy efforts of the OAU and have delayed the attainment of the ideals of the people of Chad for peace and concord. We should like to reiterate here our appeal to the parties to the conflict for national reconciliation, which is the only way to end the calvary of the people of Chad, in order to allow them to get down to the work of national reconstruction with determination.

272. The People's Republic of Angola has been the victim of a three-year illegal occupation of part of its territory by the racist troops of Pretoria. The people of Angola are the target of criminal and constant bombings, the most recent results of which have to be added to the already long list of crimes denounced by that country in the "White Book of Aggression by the Racist Régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola".

273. Given these barbarous actions, how can one describe the obstinacy of some countries in trying to gain

acceptance for the unacceptable, namely, the establishment of a link between the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)? The growing impunity of South Africa allows it to finance a group of stateless bandits, blood-thirsty mercenaries whose sole mission is to serve and safeguard neo-colonialist and imperialist interests in southern Africa. It is time for the international community to take more drastic measures to get rid of *apartheid*, which, in its daily repression, deprives man of the human dimension of his existence.

274. Our delegation highly appreciates the efforts made by the Secretary-General to carry out the mandate entrusted to him under Security Council resolution 532 (1983). The independence of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, is irreversible.

275. That same irreversibility is characteristic of the valiant struggle of the Saharan people. During the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, at Addis Ababa, the participants adopted a resolution calling by name on the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> to engage in direct negotiations with a view to finding a definitive solution to this conflict [see A/38/312]. The failure of the meeting of the Implementation Committee illustrates Morocco's contempt for the sovereign decision of the heads of States and Government and constitutes yet another proof of its refusal to work to strengthen African unity and to promote the honour, dignity and freedom of the African peoples.

276. Last February in the historic and hospitable homeland of Gandhi and Nehru, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held. Conscious of the manoeuvres to weaken the cohesion of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, more than 100 countries reaffirmed at New Delhi their faith and their commitment to the principles of non-alignment. In this world where prospects are so bleak for the future of the peoples of the third world, the Non-Aligned Movement remains a force for peace, justice and hope.

277. In Latin America, interference in internal affairs and acts of aggression and provocation have become the reprehensible practices of reactionary forces which are unable to accept the choice of peoples, in particular those of the central part of that region, to live in freedom and dignity.

278. The fate reserved by Indonesia for the people of East Timor must command the attention of the United Nations. The hope born of the meeting between the Indonesian authorities and FRETILIN,<sup>3</sup> which augured a new and encouraging stage in the struggle for the liberation of the Maubere people, seems to be fading. The Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe denounces the threats to land Indonesian troops and reaffirms its constant support for the fraternal people of East Timor.

279. Our support also goes to the people of Korea who have declared to the world their determination to reunify Korea without foreign interference.

280. What can be said about the question of Palestine which has not been said before? Those who think that through massacre and dispersion of the Palestinian people, by the breaking up of the PLO and by the disappearance of its heroic fighters they will succeed in striking from the annals of history the demonstration of one of the great injustices of our century are gravely mistaken.

The Palestinian people will be victorious, and with their own hands they will build their sacred homeland, Palestine.

281. The danger looming over the people of Lebanon, that of seeing their national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity flouted, is in contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and furthermore is a threat to peace and security in that region.

282. I must add to this alarming picture the situation of the international economy, characterized by a sharp deterioration in the present economic system. The third world, dispossessed of its wealth, can only record failures in its attempts to establish a North-South dialogue. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development ended its work on a note of disappointment and uncertainty.

283. Given the hesitation of the industrialized countries to develop healthy co-operation with underdeveloped countries, it gives us great pleasure to note that South-South co-operation is intensifying, thus opening new prospects in relations between our States. The refusal of the industrialized countries to change the machinery of international trade has dramatically increased the indebtedness of the third world and has put off the establishment of a new international economic order.

284. There can no longer be any doubt that human speech has become one of the most ineffective tools of diplomacy, and this Organization should know this better than anyone. Lengthy monologues and dialogues aimed at diversion are multiplying and inevitably lead to a fear that the aspirations and sufferings of peoples will come up against the silence of words. How can we make words speak so that they awaken in the consciences of some a determination to halt, through constructive action, the machinery for devastation of the world?

285. The insanity and egoism of some are threatening the peaceful existence of millions of human beings. Is the sick desire to dominate so mindless that it can lead them to make bombs to destroy hunger and lead to the peace of graveyards? What can speeches do against bombs and the ills of underdevelopment?

286. On the other hand, the solidarity and commitment of the international community are capable of preserving the sacred rights of peoples to build their own progress in a climate of respect, understanding and human fraternity. Is this no more than a dream?

287. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

288. Mr. KURODA (Japan): In his statement in the general debate on 4 October, the Soviet representative referred to Japan and said, *inter alia*, that my country's "accelerated militarization" was adding to tensions in the Far East [18th meeting, para. 129]. It is extremely regrettable that the Soviet representative made such a groundless remark in this United Nations forum.

289. It is a well known fact that ever since the Second World War Japan has been steadfast in its efforts to contribute to world peace and prosperity. Those efforts reflect Japan's fundamental position that it will never become a military Power but will pursue peace resolutely. The self-defence forces which Japan maintains are strictly for defensive purposes.

290. We must point out that it is rather the Soviet Union itself which has aroused anxiety and concern not only among its Asian neighbours but also in countries throughout the world. I am referring to the strengthening of the Soviet military presence in the area surrounding Japan, as exemplified both in its military buildup in Japan's northern islands and in its deployment of SS-20s in the Far East. The Soviet Union has pursued such a course despite Japan's repeated protestations.

291. In his statement the Soviet representative also implied that there are nuclear weapons in Okinawa. It is truly regrettable that the Soviet Union has made yet another totally unfounded remark, with full knowledge of the fact that Japan—the only nation which has suffered the disasters of nuclear weapons—strictly maintains its three non-nuclear principles. We strongly urge the Soviet Union to reconsider its gravely mistaken view of Japan.

*The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup>*Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

<sup>4</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

<sup>5</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

<sup>6</sup>Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 651, No. 8192, p. 323).

<sup>7</sup>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

<sup>8</sup>United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

<sup>9</sup>Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.



**Annex 66**

U.N. General Assembly, 39th Session, *Agenda item 9*, U.N. Doc. A/39/PV.19 (3 Oct. 1984)



*United Nations*  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

*Official Records*



**19th  
PLENARY MEETING**

*Wednesday, 3 October 1984,  
at 3.20 p.m.*

**NEW YORK**

*President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

*General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. HLAING (Burma): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you the very warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on your unanimous election to the high office which you hold. Your vast experience in the activities of the United Nations and your diplomatic skill and perception are certainly well known to all of us, and it is most fitting that you should preside over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your able guidance the deliberations of this session will help further to develop and consolidate moves towards a more peaceful world.
2. The delegation of Burma also takes this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, whose distinguished services have contributed in no small measure to the successful conclusion of the session of the Assembly that has recently ended.
3. We should also like to say how glad we are to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the family of the United Nations. We offer our warm felicitations and friendly greetings to its delegation, whose presence in our midst will surely give added strength and be a positive contribution to the Organization.
4. We meet in the Assembly once again to examine collectively the problems of our time and, it is to be hoped, exercise our influence for the betterment of world conditions. We are gathered here together in the belief that all Member States, be they big or small, powerful or weak, rich or poor, have a shared responsibility to make their contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. The fact that 159 Member States, irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems, gather here each year is proof enough of the interest of Governments in seeing the continuance of the United Nations system as a pervasive force in maintaining world peace. Hope is therefore kindled anew that with the development of mutual understanding and co-operation and the fostering of a spirit of compromise, which are essential for the success of the Charter, the welter of conflicting interests of many nations and peoples may find a degree of order and harmony.
5. Many are aware of these requirements, but the irony is that we have so far failed to translate this awareness into practice. The effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling its role is also largely determined by the political and power realities of the world environment in which we live. Unhappily, factors in the international climate have not helped the Organization to measure up to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks.
6. The delegation of Burma would therefore venture to think aloud and suggest that, when the Assembly considers many of the items on its agenda, it is of vital importance to take note of the global perspective and search deeply for the root causes, instead of the mere surface symptoms. Nor is it enough to reiterate the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter, which embody the hopes and dreams of mankind and especially of the small nations, for which they represent a safe haven in the stormy seas of fast and far-reaching changes. The Charter, often quoted, is all too readily ignored, misinterpreted or even brushed aside when it seems to stand in the way of some nations all too obsessed with self-interest or emboldened by their strength and power.
7. If we are to see the United Nations develop into a really effective instrument for the performance of the functions outlined in the Charter, it is our duty as Member States to endeavour to be more worthy of the principles and more loyal to the purposes of the Charter. No organization with aims so sublime can hope to fulfil its promise without the whole-hearted support and commitment of its membership.
8. The General Assembly embarks on its thirty-ninth session at grips with a whole range of problems and issues that transcend geographical and ideological borders and call for a new dimension in international co-operation.
9. The increasing crisis in international, political and economic relations reflects the slow and painful progress of nations and mankind. Of particular concern is the political tension and growing incidence of aggression in many areas of the world. Equally upsetting are the unremedied economic disparities between the rich and the poor nations and the growing inequality of international economic relations.
10. As at past sessions, once again the General Assembly is exposed to the same unresolved issues which have been on the agenda for several years. The pattern of difficulties faced by the United Nations in resolving them stems largely from the seriously deteriorating state of relations between the super-Powers, which are the leading Members of the world Organization. The essential co-operation between them has given way to confrontation, which has retarded the work of the General Assembly. The inter-bloc politics which they personify have also hampered the normal functioning of international relations. The prospects of an early solution to the many questions on the Assembly's agenda will not be

bright so long as this climate prevails. Surely, it is in the genuine interest not only of the super-Powers but of the entire world community that they should re-establish a working relationship.

11. It is in this spirit that the delegation of Burma welcomes the recent resumption of the high-level talks in Washington between the Soviet Union and the United States. These talks may or may not have any immediate palpable or dramatic impact on the scope and direction of the deliberations which the Assembly is about to embark upon. It must also be recognized that the assessments of such possible impact could well be quite varied and naturally far from identical. Notwithstanding these facts, the fact that these regular talks should once again have become feasible after a lapse of a considerable number of years should in itself be a source of gratification for us all. It is to be hoped that they will prove to be a harbinger of a new era marked by more intensified co-operation, better understanding and a spirit of mutual accommodation not only between the two super-Powers but between all nations of the world. The delegation of Burma therefore considers the holding of the high-level talks as a step in the right direction which will surely help to place the present state of affairs in the world on a more even keel.

12. It is not enough to content ourselves with merely passing resolutions. The time has come, we believe, for a more conceptually clear and operatively more effective response to the numerous challenges and dilemmas of contemporary world problems. The time has also come for the two super-Powers to ponder the possibility of placing their relations upon a new basis so that they might be put on a more stable and constructive footing.

13. Seen in this perspective, the Secretary-General's call for holding a meeting of the Security Council at the highest level is both timely and important for the development of an effective common approach to contemporary world problems. It would be a tremendous boost to the United Nations processes if the permanent members of the Security Council were forthcoming in support of the Secretary-General.

14. Need we recall that the United Nations was founded on the assumption that the permanent members would remain united, beyond their wartime coalition and, with the United Nations as the instrument, strive in mutual efforts to ensure world peace and contribute to a system of universal collective security. So far, this assumption has proved illusory.

15. We live in a dangerous era. The most important and pressing problem of our times—the achievement of nuclear disarmament—does not appear to be receiving the attention it deserves. The world community is unhappy about this situation. The negotiating processes between the two super-Powers have been at a standstill ever since the breakdown of their nuclear disarmament talks in November last year. Not only is the essential element of mutual trust completely absent; it has been replaced by complete mistrust. It is a distressing paradox of the world today that all these years, in spite of the endless flow of talks, of conferences and well-meaning sentiment in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament, we are no further removed from the threat of nuclear war and no nearer towards promise of its solution. We are now well through the fourth nuclear decade and the

world community has yet to arrange its affairs in such a way as to shackle the nuclear threat forever.

16. From day to day, we witness the growing intensity of the arms race, which increasingly reduces world stability and endangers the survival of mankind. The world bristles with a whole range of armaments as each side seeks to match the other in keeping up the military balance of power. The awful danger of the present approach to military balance is that it goes on prodding each side to arm themselves. Each party is bent on outdoing the other in the invention of ever newer types of virulent weapons and systems. As we see it, this posture cannot lead us anywhere except into a hopeless maze of arming and counter-arming out of which it will be very difficult to emerge. It may well condemn both sides to an arms race in perpetuity.

17. The lesson of balance, as commonly perceived, carries with it a demand for co-ordination, for interrelationships and intercommunication between various domains, if meaningful equilibrium and stabilization are to be achieved. We see no alternative to negotiations between the super-Powers, and their alliances, so as to arrive at just such a mutual achievement if world peace and security are to be assured.

18. An increasingly acute problem is the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The delegation of Burma joins others in expressing deep concern over the dangers connected with the militarization of outer space. Space-borne systems have a two-sided function, for either benign or offensive operations. It is extremely difficult to make a clear distinction between their military and civilian uses. As such, the extent to which the world community stands to benefit or be endangered by rapidly developing space technology depends very much on whether the foremost space Powers are co-operative or antagonistic in their use of space. Concern for the welfare of mankind dictates that they co-operate.

19. Let me now turn very briefly to some of the problems which preoccupy the Assembly at successive sessions. These include the Middle East and Palestinian problems, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and the unresolved question of independence for Namibia.

20. It is difficult to foresee just how these many specific problems can be resolved effectively without the co-ordination of joint political action on the part of the principal opponents. Each situation tends to become entrenched in their positions with the passage of time and compounded by ever-new developments adding to their complexity. The more they become protracted the more they become vulnerable to the diplomatic gambits and stratagems in the interplay of world politics. While the contestants involved contend, and we, here in the Assembly, hopefully debate and draft our texts carefully, the victims of the situations continue to suffer. To them, the desperate need is to survive and live in peace.

21. The present difficulties between various States are to a large extent due to the failure to uphold the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Both are cardinal norms of international conduct. We must recognize that if States fail to tolerate and respect the rights of other States to ways of life they



cannot and do not share, then we shall be no nearer to realizing the high hopes and ideals of mutual co-operation and mutual endeavour envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

22. The search for a Middle East peace settlement remains a vital concern of the world community. However, the Assembly must face up to the fact that there is as yet no solution in sight. The prospects for a settlement continue to be elusive, owing to the complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the uncertain path of developments in Lebanon.

23. The most important aspects of any settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict are the right of every State in the Middle East, including Israel, to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. No progress can be made without an agreement which guarantees to both the Israelis and the Palestinians the right to security and the right to exist in their own State.

24. A related question is the control of territories. While Israel's central concern is for the attainment of security, the primary concern of the Arabs is the return of the lost territories. As it stands, essential steps for progress require that Israel withdraw its forces from territories occupied in 1967, change its policies of incorporating Palestinian lands into its State and halt the establishment of new settlements in these territories. Equally, it would be up to the Palestinians to state explicitly and clearly their willingness to recognize the right of Israel to a secure existence. The reality of the situation calls for the possibility of such an accommodation. Unhappily, the present attitude of both sides does not hold any promise of development along these lines.

25. As regards the situation in Lebanon, the overriding concern is to restore to the country its full sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. The factor of internal sectarian strife must somehow be overcome by a process of national reconciliation so as to help to extend the authority of the legitimate Government and ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from the country.

26. At present we face stagnation in the entire Middle East situation. The recent visits of the Secretary-General to the region in pursuit of a framework for a renewed Middle East peace conference are a welcome initiative in the right direction. The problems of the Middle East have been with the Assembly for the past 36 years. To our mind, the question of convening an international conference for peace in the Middle East cannot be excluded for all time if we are to work for the goal of a comprehensive and lasting settlement.

27. The delegation of Burma shares the concern of the world community over the escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has dragged on for the past four years. The recent attacks by both sides on neutral ships in an international waterway show how potentially dangerous the situation has become. It threatens to bring an international dimension to the conflict and clearly points to the urgency of halting the hostilities by peaceful means before the pressure of events leads to a wider confrontation.

28. For six years the General Assembly has been concerned with the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both situations continue to cause tensions and threaten regional peace and stability. Like the rest of the members of the Assembly, we are anxious to see improvements in the prospects for

peace and a negotiated political solution of the two problems. Despite diplomatic initiatives from time to time to secure movement by all parties concerned, no formula has emerged to bring about a process of negotiation.

29. The position of the delegation of Burma is simple. Our wish is to see a political settlement in Afghanistan and Kampuchea on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of both States. Our wish is to see a process of reconciliation and the restoration of unity to the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the return of conditions in which they can work out their own destiny free from all external interference and pressures. It is a sad state of affairs when the people of both States are being uprooted and continue to suffer from deprivation and hardship. We are therefore very much distressed at the protracted conflict and unresolved nature of the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

30. Again this year, there is no immediate prospect of Namibia achieving independent statehood. Over the past several years, the Assembly has repeatedly given expression to the Namibian people's inalienable right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides a United Nations framework for Namibia's independence, has been accepted in principle by all the relevant parties as a basis for settlement. However, South Africa has not shown the least inclination to change course, but insists on broadening the question by injecting extraneous issues as a prerequisite for Namibia's independence. This linkage is incompatible with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978) and constitutes an impediment to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Furthermore, no breakthrough has been achieved in the direct talks which took place this year between South Africa and the parties seeking independence for Namibia. We see no progress likely until South Africa reverses its position and forgoes its repeated assertion that Cuban troops must be removed from Angola before it withdraws from Namibia.

31. In South Africa today, the Government's *apartheid* policy continues to exclude the majority black population from constitutional reform with a view to creating the so-called independent homelands. As such, there is as yet no sign of South Africa turning away from its basic policy of *apartheid*, which is institutionalized racial discrimination and universally condemned. South Africa's contemptuous defiance of the world's moral indignation is a matter of increasing concern to all nations of good will which believe in the essential worth and dignity of the human person. The world would be happy if South Africa conformed with reality, abandoned its policy of *apartheid* and worked for a more constructive relationship with its neighbours.

32. Permit me to make a few brief remarks on the world economic situation. There is no doubt that, to the greater majority of the world's people, the main issue that interests them is the economic situation, and not so much the political. The ends for which people strive are food, work, security and housing, which taken together mean freedom from want and the right to survive. To a certain extent, the present

processes in the economic sphere are somewhat a paradox. After 30 years of development-related international conferences, of summits, strategies and economic expansion, the results so far achieved have been minimal for the majority of the world's people, principally those living in the developing countries. There is today no unity, but disorder, in the world economic situation. Nations compete against nations and man competes against man, in a desperate effort to establish economic stability and security.

33. Since the start of the 1970s, the world economy has struggled from crisis to crisis and has spared no nation or region from the consequences of economic turbulence. The energy crisis, the collapse of the world monetary-financial system, and the serious structural disturbances arising therefrom, have led to the emergence of recessions, which have culminated in the present world economic crisis.

34. Having experienced two major recessions in the past 10 years, the world economy is now considered to have registered a measure of recovery. This may be visible in the economies of the major developed countries but does not sufficiently hold true for the rest of the world, the developing world. We understand that even in the economically more advanced countries there is widespread doubt about the stability of the current trend. The prospects for a sustained recovery remain precarious because of the high interest rates pursued in the domestic policies of the world's strongest economic power. This has reduced the scope for and increased the cost of investments in the economies of both developed and developing countries. Without an increase in productive investments it would be difficult to overcome the present economic crisis.

35. The world-wide recessions have had a damaging impact on almost all developing countries. The issue before the Assembly is how to reduce the developing world's predicament. To our mind, the current image of the world economy is not encouraging at all for them. Their economies are still marked by low growth, adverse external factors and problems in attaining a satisfactory balance-of-payments situation. Falling prices of primary commodities, together with declining export volumes and adverse terms of trade, have all compounded their external imbalance. Having to curb their essential imports for the familiar reason of balance of payments, their development efforts have undergone serious set-backs. They face difficulties in obtaining investment for development and in providing employment for their growing labour force.

36. The central problem in the world economy today is the international debt situation of the developing countries. Many countries are just unable to repay their debts in the face of high interest rates and reduced export earnings, the only source from which debts can be serviced internationally. Massive debt rescheduling is also increasing accumulated debts. International lending, once perceived as a principal instrument for the stimulation of economic growth, has become today the factor causing a reverse flow of capital and retarding the growth prospects of developing countries.

37. As we see it, there can be no lasting world economic recovery without a solution to the international debt problem. And the problem of debt cannot be resolved without structural adjustments for a

more balanced financial and monetary system and the revival of world trade.

38. We believe that the world economy is at an acute phase of a changing process in international economic relations. The economic upheavals faced by the world community in the last several years have enabled us to understand the interdependence which inextricably links all nations, both developed and developing. The dimension of mutual dependence has been discovered and come to be accepted as a reality. We live in an interdependent world of problems which require mutual accommodation. We would hope that this mutual interdependence can be transformed into active solidarity and collective response to a world which is badly in need of restructuring of the pattern of international economic co-operation.

39. In concluding, the delegation of Burma wishes to place on record its appreciation, surely shared by others, of the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at the achievement of a constructive course in world affairs. His recent visit, on a personal mission, to the Middle East, his talks with the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, his successful initiative concerning the halting of attacks on civilian targets in the Iran-Iraq war, and his ongoing efforts to solve the Cyprus problem are praiseworthy moves which have not gone unnoticed. He has brought new confidence to the office he occupies. We venture to express the hope that the Secretary-General's earnest endeavours will be rewarded with concrete results.

40. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has by the unanimous decision of its members, Sir, elected you President of its thirty-ninth session. That outstanding election had been expected, since Africa's continental organization, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], adopted two resolutions recommending your candidacy for that office, at Nairobi in June 1981 and at Addis Ababa in June 1983. Your country's many friends throughout the world supported that recommendation, thus reaffirming their confidence in and friendship for Africa, Zambia and you, personally—confidence and friendship of which we are justly proud. We ask you, therefore, to accept our warm fraternal congratulations. As President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, you have shown discreetly and effectively your eminent qualities as diplomat, statesman and champion of the right of peoples to independence. I had the honour of presiding at your side over the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April 1983, and I am therefore in a position to say how great was your positive contribution to the success of that gathering. There is no doubt that, with such qualifications, you will be able to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to a most successful conclusion.

41. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who, as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session and at a particularly difficult time in world affairs, worked with courage and clear-mindedness to reaffirm the mission of the United Nations: to promote peace and harmony among nations.

42. In this connection, I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose broadmindedness, analytical abilities, independence of judgement and

loyalty to the ideals of the United Nations we were able to appreciate yet again when he visited Senegal in January 1984. His journey to the furthest corners of our continent was an act of faith which provided further proof that, with goodwill and using the right means, the plight and the hopes of a great part of mankind can be calmly identified, and that solutions can be sought and found if we are imbued with a spirit of international solidarity and praiseworthy generosity and brotherhood.

43. I wish finally to welcome the sister country of Brunei Darussalam—like Senegal, a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference—to membership of the United Nations. Its devotion to the ideals of peace, justice and harmony as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations are the best guarantee that Brunei Darussalam will be able to contribute with determination and effectiveness to the promotion of the United Nations and to the achievement of its purposes.

44. Once again we, the representatives of the world's peoples, States and Governments, have come together to consider the situation and future of mankind, and to do so despite the differences in our ideological choices, political systems, spheres of culture, traditions and customs, aware that the civilizations of which we are the products and the authors are complementary, aware also that 159 nations cannot in a meeting lasting only a few weeks together work out exactly what action must be taken to improve the lot of mankind without first being convinced that common interest must prevail over the obstacles to dialogue and solidarity.

45. Rich countries and poor, wealthy peoples and those stricken with the despair and pessimism which result from the world crisis, are we not all assailed by the same anxieties and obliged, if we are not to be destroyed, to stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of the many dangers threatening man and his environment?

46. It was in the spirit of the need for such reflection by the international community that the head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, called on me to come here to address the Assembly.

47. I shall begin by referring to the political problems with which the United Nations is once again confronted, together with the economic issues with which the third world in general and Africa in particular are constantly concerned, in the ever-diminishing hope that peoples and individuals will unite to prevent an apocalypse which, if it were to occur, would certainly spare no people and no country.

48. Given that risk, are we capable of taking the leap forward which the nations of the world expect of us and which we must take if we are to put to good use the immense potential of the human mind and the wealth of imagination granted to us by nature?

49. For nearly 40 years, a *modus vivendi* seems to have been established among the industrial nations, in particular those of the northern hemisphere. Those nations have thus achieved technological progress and economic stability, guaranteed and protected by a system of relations which safeguard the essential element: the continuance of that technological progress and the maintenance of the economic stability which, despite the ups and downs of our times, we see today.

50. At the same time, we note in various parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East numerous hotbeds of tension and conflict which rend the peoples asunder and set against each other neighbour countries which reason dictates should cooperate in trust and friendship. Sometimes, even within a single population, civil war breaks out, costing the lives of children, the elderly and people in the prime of life, sowing death and destruction in the name of opposing ideologies, and heightened and exacerbated by a conflict of interests often alien to that country.

51. In this tense situation, is it not time for the nations of the world, both rich and poor, industrialized and developing, to agree to overcome their rivalries and tensions, through joint efforts and constructive dialogue, in order to guarantee to all the free command of their common destiny?

52. Today, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally, despite the relevant United Nations resolutions designed to enable the brother people of Namibia to recover, without any hindrance, its full right to freedom, independence and dignity. In this regard, my country, Senegal, solemnly reaffirms its complete solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the glorious people of Namibia, and we support Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Namibian question is a decolonization problem, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which recognizes that those countries and peoples have the inalienable right to self-determination and national sovereignty.

53. The countries members of the contact group should, to that end, bring direct pressure to bear on the Pretoria Government, in pursuance of the efforts that they are now undertaking and that, in all honesty and objectivity, we must emphasize. Since contact has been established, we feel it is appropriate to continue and even increase it so that South Africa will be brought to accept the United Nations settlement plan.

54. I cannot conclude this section of my address without welcoming, on behalf of my Government, the praiseworthy initiatives repeatedly undertaken by the Secretary-General. Thanks to him, the technical aspects of this matter, involving the composition, status and deployment of the military element of UNTAG and the choice of the electoral system provided for in the settlement plan, have already been agreed upon.

55. Notwithstanding the slow pace of the talks and the acknowledged limits of the progress recently made at Lusaka, Zambia, and Sal, Cape Verde, on the way towards negotiations between the parties involved, Senegal encourages those efforts and advocates a cease-fire conducive to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) as a whole.

56. South Africa, because of the abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which the Pretoria régime persists in further refining by successive reforms, such as the recent bogus constitutional reform, deserves to be once again unreservedly condemned by the international community. My country, Senegal, denounces this inhuman policy of racial segregation and expresses again its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and its legitimate representatives, the African National Congress of South Africa and the

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We also energetically repudiate the infringements repeatedly committed against the territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of the front-line countries, and particularly the constant threats made by South Africa against Angola and Mozambique, whose Governments and brother peoples aspire only to peace and development.

57. In west Africa, the question of Western Sahara continues to be the subject of the international community's attention. My country, Senegal, wishes to see a peaceful settlement of that dispute, in accordance with resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983,<sup>1</sup> and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/40.

58. With regard to the question of Chad, we can only hope that the recent developments emanating from the Franco-Libyan disengagement agreement of September 1984 may lead to national reconciliation in Chad and to scrupulous respect for the integrity and sovereignty of that country, under the leadership of its legitimate Government—now recognized by the OAU and by the international community—without any outside interference. It is truly high time for that martyred country, rent by internal conflicts and assorted kinds of intervention for the past 20 years, to be able finally to enjoy the peace, national unity and stability so essential to the flourishing of its people and the development of its economy.

59. Just as in Africa, the racist Pretoria Government continues to trample the Charter of the United Nations under foot by oppressing peoples aspiring to peace, so in the Middle East, Israel has been maintaining an atmosphere of tension through its aggressive and annexationist policy against the Arab peoples of the area in general, and the Palestinian people in particular. Israel's systematic recourse to force has inevitably blocked all the peace initiatives undertaken in recent years. The long list of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly is, in this regard, highly indicative of the indifference and cavalier disregard shown by the Tel Aviv Government for the international community's decisions.

60. Now, more than ever before, we must reaffirm the inalienable right of the brother people of Palestine, regrouped within the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole and legitimate representative, to dignity, self-determination and independence, and to the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State on the land of Palestine, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We must, by all legal means, induce the international community to compel Israel to put an end to the settlements. We must actively support the Lebanese people, which is now gravely divided, to achieve its unity and territorial integrity and regain its stability, free from the acts of aggression perpetrated daily against its sovereignty. We must spare no effort to obtain total withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied by Israel by force since 1967. We must, finally, foster the conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, with due respect for the right of all the peoples of the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

61. My country, Senegal, had the great honour, thanks to the confidence placed in it by the international community, to preside over the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983. We know that since then the Secretary-General, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as the Al-Quds Committee, presided over by King Hassan II, of Morocco, have made repeated efforts to ensure progress on this question. Those efforts should be encouraged and continued, because my country, which presides over the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, believes that an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the full participation of the PLO, should be able to bring about a definitive solution to the Middle East question.

62. As is well known, for four years now there has been a fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq that has taken the lives of thousands of innocent persons; huge material losses have occurred and vast resources have been wrested from the development of the two countries in a deadlocked conflict, and all this has been to no avail. Given this sorry state of affairs, all the initiatives that have been undertaken have proved fruitless. Senegal, which is a member of the Islamic Peace Committee seeking peace between those two countries, takes this opportunity to repeat to the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference that it has always supported and will continue to support them in actions designed to obtain a rapid and definitive cease-fire between Teheran and Baghdad and peace negotiations on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law and the stability of the countries of the region.

63. On the Asian continent, Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue, as is known, to be subjected to the laws and domination of foreign Powers. It is therefore only proper to hold that the people of Afghanistan and the people of Kampuchea are entitled to just recognition of their legitimate aspiration to the free choice of their political system and their leaders. In this connection, Senegal will continue to press actively for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those two countries and for just respect for the Charter of the United Nations with regard to them, through the peaceful application of the good offices machinery of the Secretary-General and the quest for a negotiated solution between the parties concerned. So far as Senegal is concerned, in both cases the main objective is to enable the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to exercise their right to decide, in all sovereignty, their own destiny.

64. In Kampuchea, more particularly, after three years of praiseworthy and sustained diplomatic efforts, the implementation of the relevant resolutions on this question is still encountering certain obstacles, but they should not deter us from our goal, which is the restoration of peace to Kampuchea and the region. To that end, it should be emphasized that the work of the United Nations, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, presided over by Senegal, far from being directed against this or that State is, rather, designed to secure conditions necessary for a constructive dialogue between all the parties concerned. In this connection, certain States should reconsider their attitude and join the international consensus on the

question of Kampuchea, particularly as that consensus takes into account the concerns of all the interested parties. Experience has shown that the use of force is not the way to solve this dispute. It is through constructive and responsible dialogue that all the parties concerned can put an end to this conflict, which has lasted far too long.

65. In the Korean peninsula, we keep coming back to the idea of the peaceful reunification of the two sides within the framework of a sincere and fraternal quest for common ground. Our country will therefore continue to support any idea designed to secure this objective and based on the free will of the entire Korean people.

66. Finally, in Central America, if the principle of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination is observed by all, in the sub-continent and elsewhere, there is some hope of seeing the peoples of the region co-operate effectively in easing the many tensions and eliminating the hotbeds of conflict that prevail there. It is in this spirit, and this spirit only, that Senegal intends to continue to give active support to the efforts of the Contadora Group.

67. The picture of the world situation is certainly not an encouraging one. However, like the weather, international political developments are always characterized by a predictable alternation of overcast periods and periods when the elements of nature come together to produce fine weather. Thus, there is no room for despair; rather, we should be optimistic and organize our efforts. Today more than ever those efforts must be applied to the constant search for the most appropriate solutions to the varied economic and financial problems affecting the world and, more particularly, the developing countries.

68. The world is currently experiencing an unprecedented economic crisis, which must not be viewed as a short-term phenomenon, much less as a cyclical occurrence, because it is deeply rooted in the super-imposed imbalances and accumulated inequalities which have dominated the international economic system during the 1980s.

69. I shall not refer here to the elements of that crisis nor to its many manifestations, because other speakers have already done this and the United Nations itself, at various levels, has considered all the aspects of this crisis with admirable conviction and determination.

70. In May 1974, at the urging of the countries of the third world, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]; then in December that same year the Assembly adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. This new international economic order was and is still supposed to correct inequalities, remedy injustices and close the immense gap that exists at all levels between the rich and the poor countries. It is in the light of these objectives that I wish, on behalf of Senegal, to emphasize, in this last half of my statement, two fundamental subjects of particular interest for almost all African countries: the indebtedness of the third world and the phenomenon of drought and desertification.

71. Our countries in particular have felt the full force of the world crisis. To varying degrees in recent years, they have recorded large balance-of-payments

deficits, aggravated by a sharp decline in their industrial and agricultural production, thus bringing about a steady fall in their per capita income. On top of this, the phenomenon of decreased rainfall has caused a marked foodstuffs deficit. Moreover, the prices of their raw materials and commodities have consistently dropped while the costs of importing capital goods, manufactured articles and finished products have experienced an unprecedented exponential increase. This has led to a considerable fall in the export earnings of our countries.

72. The well-known inadequacy of financial resource flows and the structural difficulties we have experienced have forced us, in order to ensure a minimum of development, to contract major debts for the purpose of breaking the deadlock. Thus, the foreign debt of the developing countries increased from \$244 billion in 1977 to \$625 billion in 1982 and at the end of 1983 stood at \$785 billion.

73. The result of such a situation could not fail to be a serious reduction in the gross national product of our countries and a drastic restriction of their capacity to absorb the effects of the world crisis.

74. At the same time, and on the international level, we have the effects of the following factors: persistent monetary instability; fluctuations in exchange rates, over which we have no control; the particularly high level of interest rates; new protectionist barriers imposed by the industrialized countries; the increase in shipping rates; interest payments on commercial credits; and the constant rise in energy prices and in the cost of oil products and derivatives.

75. As the final blow to our development efforts, we then have, on the monetary side, the inadequacy of financial resources, particularly on concessional terms, the stagnation or even decline of the real value of official development assistance when considered in the light of the cumulative effects of inflation and the drop in the prices of raw materials and, to crown it all, the conditions imposed under the lending policies of official and private financial institutions.

76. The developing countries are certainly not prey to despair, but how can they hope to see any light at the end of the tunnel tomorrow unless specific measures are taken today gradually to end a critical situation whose consequences could, like a shock wave, reach those tomorrow that believe today they are well out of its reach?

77. A few months ago, the Secretary-General undertook the praiseworthy initiative of visiting several countries in the black continent with a view to mobilizing additional resources to support the already fragile economies of the African countries. While we congratulate him on this move, we at the same time renew our appeal to the international community and the specialized financial institutions to organize a world conference on indebtedness to seek the best ways to study this contemporary phenomenon, analyse its evolution and define the most appropriate remedies, in order to give a new impetus to our countries' economies and free them of the bottle-necks and other obstacles trapping them in the maze of mechanisms which are now in place and which have led to the present state of affairs.

78. Throughout this period, drought and desertification have inexorably dominated and invaded our continent. In 1983 no fewer than 35 African countries were afflicted by the phenomenon of drought,

which is no longer limited to certain areas of west Africa but has spread to east Africa, central Africa and even southern Africa, where on both sides of the equator the existence of vast forest areas with dense vegetation stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans should guarantee regular rainfall; this, however, is now threatened.

79. Some countries of Asia and the Americas are seriously worried by the prospect of the same calamity as is threatening the African countries.

80. Drought is a phenomenon characterized each year by the virtually complete absence of precipitation in areas where irrigation is little known or unknown, thus ruling out any chance of normal agriculture and therefore of a harvest. Desertification occurs like a disease that wherever it goes destroys vegetation and watercourses, dries up rivers, streams, lakes and ponds and wipes out the food plants and aquatic and land animals on which man usually feeds.

81. Every year the Sahara desert in the north of Africa, from Mauritania to the Sudan, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, moves tens of kilometres southwards, making hundreds of thousands of hectares unfit for agriculture and causing the movement of thousands of people and their livestock, separating them from their traditions and way of life and causing problems for the people in their new grazing areas.

82. The African countries concerned, thanks to the support and understanding of the international community, have organized themselves into subregional and regional zones to tackle the problem of this dual phenomenon of drought and desertification. As has been indicated by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office (UNSO):

“The purpose of the fight against the effects of drought and desertification is essentially to rehabilitate and protect the productive potential of the land, water and other natural resources and, at the same time, to develop and strengthen man's ability to exploit these resources . . .”

It was in this spirit that the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, composed of eight West African countries, was set up.

83. In 1973 the Secretary-General created UNSO, which between 1973 and 1978 developed into the leading organ of the United Nations system directly mandated by the General Assembly to co-ordinate the activities of United Nations agencies designed to help the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region in their struggle against the effects of drought. UNSO's mission has since developed to cover, in particular, in addition to the Sudano-Sahelian zone, that situated north of the Equator, and to deal with the implementation of the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Desertification, held at Nairobi in 1977.<sup>2</sup>

84. Just a few weeks ago, in July, on the initiative of President Abdou Diouf, a ministerial conference on the two phenomena—drought and desertification—was held at Dakar, with the participation of the European Economic Community, the United Nations, FAO, UNDP and UNEP, as well as UNSO, which played a particularly active role in the preparation and conduct of the conference and in the achievement of results.

85. Among the conclusions of that conference, which we have communicated to the competent

organs of the agencies I have mentioned, the concept of countries stricken by desertification has been accepted, with all the practical consequences that logically follow the adoption of such a concept by the United Nations. My Government hopes that at this session the General Assembly will draw up and adopt a resolution defining precise measures and appealing to the international community to make available increased resources to give effect to the conclusions of the Dakar conference. We are glad that the question of countries stricken by desertification and drought has been included in the agenda of this session.

86. The three fundamental ideas of UNSO—and here let me pay tribute to the officials of that agency for their hard work in seeking solutions to the thorny problem of countries stricken by desertification—are the following: first, aid to the various countries and their regional institutions in the field of planning and formulating projects and programmes designed to fight the effects of drought and desertification; secondly, aid in the mobilization of the necessary resources for the implementation of the various projects and programmes, either on a bilateral or a multilateral basis or through the United Nations Trust Fund for Sudano-Sahelian Activities, with a considerable increase in the resources made available to UNSO, which at present are insignificant compared with the magnitude of the problems; and, thirdly, the management of the Trust Fund and the implementation, through the resources of that Fund, of the projects and programmes to which UNSO contributes.

87. It is obvious that the work of UNSO cannot exclude a range of decisive actions jointly conducted by the countries concerned to help them work out and implement a coherent policy for combating this phenomenon.

88. In conclusion, let me say that our world is today burdened with difficulties of all sorts. Besides our political problems, we now have many questions to ask about the economic future of the peoples whom we represent. Should we not at last be emphasizing what unites us and casting a veil of reason over what divides us, in order to concentrate on what is essential: fostering our solidarity and giving each other reciprocal support. This means that we must act together to eradicate focal points of war, reduce tensions between peoples and turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the sirens of discord and over-armament. To support each other reciprocally means that we must pool the immense technological progress achieved by mankind for the service of mankind and against the policies of the mass destruction of the resources of our planet. To support each other reciprocally means to be responsible and show solidarity with the poor peoples, impoverished by nature or threatened by calamities, those living in the more arid areas of our world or in islands surrounded by the oceans but without rainfall. We must help them to confront this real everyday hardship.

89. Only then need we not despair of ourselves, for we shall be men—men of peace, men of dialogue, men of generosity; men of a generation which will not have lived for nothing and which, having explored the moon, skirted the planets Mars and Saturn, circled Venus and admired Orion, will come back to Earth to control, with head held high, its own destiny, the destiny of mankind.

90. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): In electing you, Sir, President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly the international community has honoured a man of remarkable talent and experience. Your contribution in the United Nations has been outstanding and you have served Zambia and Africa with distinction. For us from Guyana there is special pleasure in seeing you guide our deliberations for there are long-standing and unshakeable bonds which unite your country, Zambia, and mine. On a more personal note, we greatly appreciate the role you played in cementing those bonds during the period you served as your country's first accredited representative to Guyana.

91. It gives me no less pleasure to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for the efficiency and dignity with which he discharged his duties as President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

92. With the admission of Brunei Darussalam as its 159th Member, the United Nations has moved another step closer to the goal of universality. In welcoming this new State, Guyana extends the hand of friendship and co-operation.

93. Each year the Assembly's general debate provides an opportunity for a review of the state of international relations. For the past few years, this review has indicated persistent negative trends and tendencies. This year the situation offers little reason for optimism.

94. The scourge of war, from which there is a pledge in the Charter of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations", is a danger now more pressing than it ever was. It is a prospect made grim not only by the gruesome rumination over the use of nuclear power on a limited basis, but also, even more chilling, by the awesome capacity possessed by some States to annihilate us all.

95. The Charter also expresses a resolve "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". This is being seriously undermined, for there is a single-minded determination to demand that all of us pursue the same model of development.

96. The militant resurgence of the power politics of yester-year has done violence to another Charter principle, that of the "equal rights . . . of nations large and small", and relegated that principle almost to the realm of mythological musings; and the naked use of power is invoked in circumventing "the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law", sometimes even with the aim of rendering such law effete.

97. A state of generalized crisis permeates international relations. The use and the threat of the use of force in conflict resolution are on the increase. There is today aggravated resort to the military as a means of achieving nationally determined political objectives. Indeed, some Member States may already have reached the stage where, especially in relation to small States, diplomacy and negotiations have been made subservient to the exercise of military might. What we are witnessing is a re-emergence of the militarization of foreign policy and the use of organized violence as an instrument of State policy.

98. Deep-seated economic problems aggravate and are aggravated by political tensions. Freely embraced international co-operation is under serious threat. The evolution of a sense of global community seems

to have come to a halt; and there is a frightening tendency to seek recourse almost exclusively to activities within the competence of the individual nation State and a selective bilateralism for development and security.

99. Development is today in many places deferred, and some Governments are faced with the prospect of, or are confronted by, social upheavals and the concomitant political unrest produced by the current environment. Despite the clear need for collective action, there is a resistance to global solutions, a resistance that is manifested in numerous ways. The North-South dialogue, for example, remains stymied by opaqueness and obscurantism.

100. Similarly, in their negotiations with the IMF, developing countries are confronted with inductile prescriptions for economic recovery. General concern over the inflexibility and appropriateness of these measures was highlighted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito on 12 and 13 January 1984, when leaders of Latin American and Caribbean countries, in the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action, urged the necessity for a revision of IMF conditionality criteria which, in their present form, can endanger stability and development. The leaders called for greater importance to be attached to "the countries' development priorities and their political and social limitations so that they may realistically cope with the internal adjustment need imposed by the present world-wide economic recession" [see A/39/118, annex].

101. Recently, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, failed to yield any results beyond general commitments to greater co-operation and adherence to agreed principles. In effect, what has happened over the past few years is the continued postponement of the democratization of international relations, including reform of relevant institutions and modification of their operations.

102. In the area of international economic relations, many are the interpretations of recent developments, the analyses of the performance of the global economy and the prognoses for its future direction. Signs of recovery are visible in developed market economies, but its durability is uncertain. Furthermore, the impact of incipient recovery remains a matter of some conjecture, and its benefits have not had a positive effect on the developing countries as a whole.

103. What is undeniable, too, is that the international community continues to face an accumulation of severe economic problems. Indeed, some of these problems have worsened precisely as a consequence of policies pursued in the name of national recovery. I will, however, refer to only a few of those problems: debt, trade issues and interest rates.

104. The international community is divided on how the debt problem should be properly approached. At the heart of this difficulty is the unwillingness of some States to recognize and appreciate that the debt problem is a global one which requires joint action. It is no longer sufficient for individual debtor and creditor countries to meet and agree on general policy guidelines for resolving the debt problem. Rather, a consensus should be found within the framework of a multilateral political dialogue which includes the participation of con-

cerned international banks and multilateral financial institutions.

105. The countries of the Caribbean Community, which met at Nassau, Bahamas, from 4 to 7 July this year, acknowledged this imperative when they agreed that "the debt problem must be treated internationally, as a matter of urgency, if the developing countries are to play their part in the global economy".

106. On trade issues, protectionism commands attention. Curiously enough, protectionism is everywhere criticized. When some representatives of the developed countries met in London last June at their annual Economic Summit, they enjoined all States, industrialized and developing alike, to resist continuing protectionist measures, to reduce barriers to trade and to make renewed efforts to liberalize and expand international trade in manufactures, commodities and services. Yet protectionism is being increasingly resorted to, sometimes in quite innovative forms, with the principal effect of denying exports from the developing world access to the markets of the developed countries.

107. Those among us who profess the inherent values of free trade have a special responsibility to promote and effect the dismantling of obstructions to it.

108. The trade problem is, however, wider than that of market access. It encompasses the demand for primary commodities and commodity prices which are today weak and unstable. In our efforts to deal with this question, it is necessary to ensure arrangements which afford developing countries just and remunerative prices.

109. The factor which straddles these issues is that of interest rates, whose high level aggravates indebtedness and inhibits our capacities to discharge our debt obligations. A rise in those rates represents the transfer of resources from developing to developed countries. Such a rise also reduces the resources available to developing countries to be applied to productive activities so that such countries might be better enabled to discharge their debt obligations. Additionally, increased returns from exports can, when applied in some cases to debt servicing, produce the classic treadmill situation, that is, moving faster to avoid falling backwards, and in effect standing still.

110. So dramatic are the consequences of high interest rates that the President of the World Bank noted that the punishing effect of today's high interest rates on developing countries stood out in stark relief, and he called upon developed countries to make their reduction a priority policy matter.

111. One unchallenged growth point of international economic relations, however, has been the progressive development of economic and other forms of co-operation among developing countries. South-South co-operation has been pursued in an effort to reap the value of enhanced self-reliance, both individual and collective. Organs of the United Nations system have rendered valuable assistance in this regard. It is a matter of regret that the postures of some developed countries have been at best ambivalent or at worst downright hostile to the involvement of the United Nations system in schemes and programmes encouraging South-South co-operation. It seems inconsistent to contend that developing countries should do more to help themselves and, at the same time, withhold support from, or deliberately obstruct,

efforts at assisting the self-reliance of developing countries through the activities of international organizations.

112. Turning to the course of international political relations over the last year, we note that tension has escalated to new and more dangerous levels, feelings of insecurity have intensified, and an increasingly pervasive fear of the present, and for the future, stalks many a land and grips many a people.

113. The single most disturbing factor has been the sharp deterioration in the relations between the super-Powers. The rhetoric has been shrill and bristling with hostility. A toning down of that rhetoric in favour of constructive dialogue has long been urged by many of us in the international community. It is good to note that quite recently there has been some indication of the possibility of movement in that direction. Guyana's hope is that this is no mere tactic of the moment.

114. The armaments culture, especially in the nuclear field, has developed almost with a logic of its own. It is time for the benevolent intervention of human reason for the sake of human survival.

115. Let us all at this session of the General Assembly issue a stirring call for the embrace of serious dialogue to bring an end to the maddening spiral. I believe that it would be of advantage for the Secretary-General to be given an enhanced role in that dialogue. All humankind has a stake in the successful outcome of such dialogue.

116. Pursuit of dialogue would acknowledge a concern voiced not only in the corridors of international politics, for in offices, fields and factories, in every aspect of human endeavour, the common people are expressing their deep concern about the threat to human survival. They seek to build restraints on policies which can only lead inexorably to a holocaust. The young people who in 1985 will celebrate International Youth Year stand as a potent challenge to policies which promise them little hope and security and which are not based on an ethic of survival. People all over, including the youth, demand a world which is safe, one which offers more hope for the future. Guyana is on their side.

117. In the general field of disarmament, there is a curious situation. No Member of the United Nations speaks against disarmament. Yet in the professed cause of security, armaments become more sophisticated and more numerous. At such levels of refinement, the room for error and recall becomes considerably reduced. There is, as a result, a corresponding increase of the likelihood that, by some fickle and faltering twist of fortune, war may become the inevitable consequence of miscalculation. In the absence of agreed restraint, such armaments are themselves purveyors of insecurity and vectors of fear.

118. A prime task is, therefore, to decelerate the feverish preparations for war. International efforts must be urgently intensified to put a stop to the arms race and to accelerate the process towards genuine disarmament.

119. It is perhaps in the Middle East, a continuing hotbed of tension and instability, that we see demonstrated most vividly the futility of policies which seek security based on force of arms. Durable peace in that region will remain an elusive goal so long as Israel pursues, and is encouraged so to do, policies of occupation and annexation and continues to stifle



the genuine political aspirations of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland.

120. I reiterate here Guyana's support for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including, naturally, the PLO.

121. The tragic war between Iraq and Iran continues to be a matter of deep concern. Immense losses have been inflicted, and many of us have felt anguish and pain. Its prolongation heightens the level of tension in the region, with consequences already extending well beyond it.

122. Significant changes have taken place in the economic and political configuration of southern Africa. Certain conjunctural factors have shaped and influenced those developments, but the basic generic problems of colonialism and *apartheid* persist and fester.

123. The recent convulsions within the South African society, engendered through protest by the oppressed, stand as incontrovertible evidence of the disposition of the majority of the people of that country. The lukewarm reaction of the so-called Coloureds and the Indians to the vaunted constitutional changes also point unmistakably to the deep malaise that afflicts that society. The vast army of the disenfranchised and despised in South Africa is entitled to ask whether the international community cannot do more to support their own efforts and so hasten the demise of the abominable *apartheid* system. Condemnation of *apartheid* is not enough. What is required is practical action to abolish it.

124. There can be no more temporizing in relation to Namibia. The independence of that country cannot be linked to any extraneous issue. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented in its entirety. The people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, must no longer be frustrated in their march to freedom and independence. This vestige of colonialism must be extirpated once and for all.

125. How much longer must the people of Korea suffer the division of their country? The situation in the peninsula remains tense. It can, however, be improved if sincere efforts are exerted for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea without outside interference. The proposals made earlier this year by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for tripartite talks are constructive and warrant our support.

126. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) continues to be the corner-stone for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Efforts at the implementation of this and other pertinent resolutions have, unfortunately, not yet produced the desired results. Within the past year, the situation has been compounded by unilateral actions by the Turkish Cypriot community, actions which have no legal validity. The Secretary-General has sustained an intimate involvement in the search for a solution, the vicissitudes notwithstanding. We stand firmly behind him in his current initiatives.

127. My own region, Latin America and the Caribbean, is not immunized from tension and threats to peace and security.

128. In Central America, radical forces are counterposed in a deepening crisis. Addressing themselves to this issue, the heads of Government of the Caribbean Community when they met at Nassau in July of this year declared: "Notwithstanding ideological factors,

the fundamental crisis faced by the people of that region was rooted in deep-seated social and economic ills." What is of the utmost importance is the avoidance of external military intervention in seeking a solution to that crisis. I wish to reiterate Guyana's support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in its patient search to find peaceful political solutions to the problems of the subregion. All States should respect and fully support those efforts. Indeed, intervention as a policy mechanism must be abandoned in the region as a whole.

129. The independence and territorial integrity of Belize continue to be under threat from neighbouring Guatemala. Guyana once again affirms its irrevocable support for the desire of the Government and people of Belize to consolidate their independence and to guarantee their territorial integrity.

130. The explosive events in Grenada nearly a year ago caused deep trauma. The General Assembly gave its own determination on those events. Its records, which include a statement of the position of Guyana, speak for themselves. The Commonwealth heads of Government, when they met at New Delhi in November 1983, agreed, in their Final Communiqué, that "the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination".<sup>3</sup> Guyana has acted within this framework.

131. The passage of time, in relation to Grenada, can dull the memory and heal wounds, but it should not anaesthetize us to the extent that we either forget lessons or abandon principles. We must take cognizance of the fact that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 38/7] is still unfulfilled in all its parts. We must also, in the wake of that circumstance, strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for increasing the security of small States.

132. For the entire period of Guyana's existence as an independent country, relations with our neighbour, Venezuela, have been dominated by the controversy that has resulted from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which settled the boundary between our two countries, is null and void. Both the facts of the case and their impact on our relations with Venezuela have been presented by us to the General Assembly for the past three years. We are still some considerable way from reaching an agreement on the basis of which we can lay to rest once and for all this ghost of the past.

133. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1966,<sup>4</sup> the Secretary-General has been entrusted with the task of selecting a suitable means of settlement. If the search for a peaceful solution is to be undertaken in earnest, a climate conducive to success is a prerequisite. Suspicion and distrust, which have too often infected past relations, must give way to understanding. Confidence flows from respect.

134. The Secretary-General was prescient when he asked for and obtained from both countries assurances that we would do everything necessary "in order to foster and maintain the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement". Guyana gave that assurance readily since it has always been our wish to develop friendly relations with Venezuela. Since early this year, we have noted signs from Caracas of a desire to reciprocate and extend the hand of friendship. As it has consistently in the past, Guyana pledges that it will co-operate fully towards the attainment of a peaceful settlement in an atmosphere of friendship.

135. The future of international organizations is at this time a matter of major concern, for notions are abroad that these organizations should subscribe to a single ethos and that national priorities must be imposed upon mutual co-operation in the wider context of international peace, security and development. The practice is also recurring among the powerful of bypassing international organizations, such as the United Nations, in settling issues properly the concern of those organizations.

136. Let us recall that the Charter of the United Nations advocates universality and therefore presupposes pluralism. Diversity of perception, of position and even of posture must therefore logically follow. Thus, if international organizations are to function properly, they must reflect, in debate no less than in decision, the variety of values held by the membership. Therefore to attempt to impose a uniform value system on this or any other international organization is to endeavour to make that organization a clone of that system. Such a development would be contradictory to the purpose of international organizations and therefore self-defeating.

137. No Member of the Organization can assert with conviction that the United Nations system is sufficient to ensure its security and to protect fully all its interests. But it does provide us all with a forum in which the reconciliation of divergent and sometimes conflicting interests can be engineered. For small States like Guyana, the United Nations is also an important part of our security shield.

138. International relations are changing and complex. Our ability to cope with such a dynamic situation will be dependent on the capacity and ingenuity applied to adapting institutions to make them more adequately responsive to current needs. To desire that institutions function as if the objective conditions in which they operate are the same today as in times past is to retreat from reality, to indulge in fantasies and to pursue a chimera. But, in seeking to correct deficiencies and make organizations more effective, we must be careful lest in the fervour of our efforts some of us in effect swim against the tide of human development and perhaps inadvertently bring about a roll-back of democracy.

139. The phenomenon we are dealing with is an assault upon institutions and principles which constitute the very basis of international co-operation.

140. We are also faced with a paradox. The institutions under attack are universalist in nature and generally make extensive use of the majority principle in decision-making. On the other hand, those institutions based on a different model and dominated by the wielders of economic power are extolled as exemplary.

141. The paradox of the threat to international co-operation deepens when we consider that there is an acknowledged movement towards greater regional and subregional co-operation, especially in the economic and other functional fields. Yet it is precisely at this time of enhanced endeavours at regional co-operation that a retreat from multilateral activities that at once transcend and encompass regional co-operation is being vigorously advocated and pursued.

142. In promoting effective democratic international organizations, no one calls for the abandonment of the pursuit of national interests. On the other hand, it must surely be possible through commitment and common purpose to utilize international organiza-

tions in a way that can smooth the contours of conflict and confrontation and advance the prospects for co-operation.

143. I suggest that what is required is the elevation to a universalist plane of the reconciliation of our separate interests and agreement upon appropriate restraints on the application of power in its various forms and manifestations, all in the interest of the common good of mankind.

144. Next year, the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations will be marked. Preparations for that anniversary have already begun. Those celebrations should not be merely ritualistic. They must be invested with meaning and with purpose.

145. Guyana believes that out of our deliberations this year should come agreement on action for strengthening the United Nations and better realizing the purposes and principles of its Charter. In this context, we should also consider measures which will have as their objective the strengthening of regional and subregional organizations and which will assign an enhanced role to the United Nations system.

146. Since assuming office, the Secretary-General has expressed profound concern for the vitality and effectiveness of the United Nations and has advanced a number of valuable ideas for action by Member States to achieve this end. Once again, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], he has provided us with a frank and clear analysis of current deficiencies of the United Nations and ourselves and a framework for activities in the future which shows great insight. As he said,

"Let us look back at the road we have travelled, distil the experience and set out again refreshed and with a new determination. The purposes for which the United Nations was set up are essential for the future of our planet. The vision expressed in the Charter remains, and we should rally to it."

147. There is a serious challenge before us. The imperative is a political no less than a moral one. It is to mobilize the world's people in support of the cause of the United Nations—that of survival, of development and of peace.

148. The real alternatives are between the maintenance or the quest for supremacy and the building of a co-operative global partnership. I believe that agreed arrangements are possible through the resolute pursuit by all of us of a policy of active and peaceful coexistence. It is, I venture to suggest, a necessary condition of peace and stability and of the real security of all States. But that condition is not sufficient. Such a policy must be buttressed by complementary ones which do not frustrate actual and nascent processes for securing peace.

149. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been in the vanguard of the forces working for a harmonious global environment. That Movement, to which Guyana is proud to belong, brings together the collective experience and yearnings of the peoples of more than 100 countries and movements. We are of different ideological backgrounds, but we share a common platform for peace and common aspirations to development.

150. Our Movement, which provides a viable alternative to bloc politics, has, the odds notwithstanding, indefatigably alerted the international community to the prospects of nuclear disaster and fought strenuously for the adoption of genuine and complete

disarmament, a task now made most urgent. Despite external and internal difficulties, we as a collectivity have consistently advocated respect for the fundamental principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention and the non-use of force.

151. Non-alignment has never wavered in its support for the strengthening of the United Nations in the attainment of those objectives. Multilateralism and internationalism beckon us forward.

152. Mr. AL-NUAMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is an expression of the international community's recognition of your experience and ability, and an assertion of the important role played by your friendly country, Zambia. We are confident that your ability will contribute positively and effectively to the realization of the hopes pinned on this session.

153. We are pleased to extend our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who skilfully presided over the thirty-eighth session; we highly praise his efforts aimed at the settlement of international disputes.

154. We should like to seize this opportunity to renew our expression of confidence in the endeavours undertaken by the Secretary-General and to reaffirm our support for his persistent efforts aimed at ensuring adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and enhancing its role in the settlement of the international disputes that threaten the security and existence of mankind.

155. My country's delegation is pleased warmly to welcome the admission of the State of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations; we look forward to the establishment of mutual co-operation with that friendly country based on our common ties.

156. As we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we hope that the day will come when the countries still under colonialism or foreign occupation will become free and join the United Nations.

157. The Secretary-General has indicated, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], that the past year has been characterized by great-Power tension and by violence or threatened violence in various parts of the world. The cycle of violence referred to by the Secretary-General and undoubtedly involving almost all parts of the world, is caused by lack of good sense, by the obstinate adherence by States to concepts of self-interest and by the exertion of pressure on third-world countries to prevent them from achieving stability and devoting their national resources to the development of their economic potential. Hence, security has become the preoccupation of individuals and nations in our contemporary world.

158. Our region, the Gulf area, is one of the regions of the world where tension has increased as a result of the destructive war raging between two neighbours—Iraq and Iran. The consequences of that war have affected international shipping lines, thus seriously endangering international navigation in the Gulf area and inflicting severe damage not only on the economies of the Gulf countries but also on those of the entire world.

159. Events have shown that the course of that war, and its consequences, will only bring havoc to the two Muslim peoples in particular and to the security of the Gulf area, as well as to world peace in general. The real beneficiaries of the continuation of that war are those who exploit regional disputes for the attainment of their own aims, namely, the extension of their spheres of influence in the world through the creation of regional climates conducive to that end.

160. In view of our responsibility with regard to the region's stability and security as well as the maintenance of international peace, we have supported all the efforts being exerted by the Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the halting of this haemorrhage, bringing the combatants to the negotiating table to settle their differences through peaceful means, infusing a spirit of peace and leading to an accord between the two States.

161. In our endeavour to achieve these lofty goals, we have not only supported those initiatives, but we have also contributed, in co-ordination with the member States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, by contacting both parties in an attempt to put an end to that war in a manner guaranteeing the legitimate rights of both countries.

162. In this context, we put on record with appreciation the positive response exhibited by brotherly Iraq towards the initiatives taken and its declared readiness to end the war immediately. We look forward to the day when the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will do likewise and respond positively to the efforts and initiatives undertaken for that purpose.

163. We, in the Gulf, attach particular importance to freedom of navigation because of its close connection with the development of our resources and economy, in addition to its significance to the world economy. We are opposed to any action which hinders or restricts freedom of navigation on the high seas. Hence, we were gravely concerned over the recent events in the Red Sea, given their inherent danger and threat to navigation in that vital waterway.

164. On the basis of this understanding and in view of our area's direct link with the Indian Ocean, my country continues strongly to support the efforts undertaken for the adoption of the necessary measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and for effective compliance with it on the part of the international community.

165. The United Arab Emirates has affirmed on more than one occasion that the security of the Gulf area is exclusively the security of its States and they are directly responsible for it. This principle is an extension of the general principle that my country continues to adhere to, namely, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

166. The Middle East is one of those regions that continues to suffer from tensions. It witnesses daily, in an unprecedented manner, displacement, murder, destruction, wars, occupation and violence. The region has become the scene of the most violent acts of aggression in the contemporary world. An entire people has been denied stability and peace in a free and independent homeland, while other peoples are threatened with the same destiny. Calls for help and denunciations have been made on an almost daily

basis from this and other forums; but the world stands helpless, despite all the progress made in various fields and at all levels, unable to put an end to the destructive violence which has already lasted too long and has almost become the inevitable destiny of man in the region.

167. The conditions which prevail in the Middle East region stem, in their origin and development, from Israel's continued persistence in perpetrating aggression and its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the international community. For this reason, the question of Palestine remains unresolved. It constitutes a source of continued concern because of the suffering of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and the risk of global confrontation which could lead to a destructive war extending in its effects beyond the State of the region, to engulf the whole world.

168. The true reasons behind the continuation of this problem are well known to the international community, namely, Israel's desire to achieve the Zionist dream by means of expansion and hegemony over the States of the region, the convergence of this desire with the goal of certain States to play havoc with the destiny of the region's peoples and the pursuance by these States of policies hindering the Security Council from adopting resolutions aimed at putting an end to aggression and holding the aggressor responsible for its aggression.

169. We maintain and stress the conviction that the Middle East problem is a clear expression and an inevitable outcome of the failure to settle the core question, namely, the question of Palestine. The conclusion of a just and comprehensive settlement should be predicated, fundamentally, on the following: first, recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland and to establish its independent State on its national soil under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO; and secondly, Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

170. The continued absence of such settlement could lead only to further deterioration of the situation and greater tension and, consequently, to the creation of new problems, as is the case with the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. Thus, the world finds itself, once again, confronted with derivative issues that require further efforts that may drag on indefinitely.

171. Lebanon, a vivid example of this, has been the victim of Israeli aggression and occupation for over two years. In spite of all the efforts made and resolutions adopted by the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces immediately and unconditionally to the internationally recognized borders, the Israeli forces continue to occupy southern Lebanon and to subject its population to all forms of military and economic pressures in order to force them to leave their lands. In this context, we regret the exercise by the United States of its right of veto last month, thus preventing all the other members of the Security Council from adopting a humanitarian draft resolution,<sup>5</sup> calling upon Israel to desist from its inhuman practices against the population of the south and to comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

172. The separate attempts and the partial solutions aimed at addressing the Middle East problem will remain, in their essence and ramifications, insufficient for establishing a sound basis for the desired just and comprehensive settlement. Therefore, we affirm that General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties, including the PLO, offers the appropriate framework for the establishment of the conditions for a just and durable peace in the region. We hope that certain major Powers will reconsider their position on the convening of this conference in conformity with their international responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

173. Southern Africa, like the Middle East, continues to suffer from the abhorrent yoke of colonialism and the practices of racial discrimination, which constitute an affront to humanity. Such practices cast doubt on the ability of the international community to shoulder its responsibilities towards a large segment of mankind in the realization of justice, equality, freedom and human dignity. We salute the heroic struggle of the nationalists for freedom, equality and independence, and we reaffirm our belief in their just cause and our firm determination to continue to support their legitimate struggle.

174. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa. We consider that policy a crime against humanity, whose elimination requires concerted international efforts. This applies to the so-called new constitution introduced recently by the Pretoria régime and aimed at consolidating the policy of *apartheid*. Hence, we support Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 39/2*] which condemned that act with all its implications.

175. On the same premise, we salute the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, and we affirm our continued support for the self-determination, independence and territorial integrity of Namibia. We are very confident and unshaken in our belief that no matter how oppressive and evil aggression may be, it is inevitable for justice to win and for man's dignity to be respected.

176. In accordance with the basic principles upon which our foreign policy is predicated, together with our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and international norms and our conviction that non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is conducive to the alleviation, to a great extent, of international tension, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and for the freedom of its people to establish the régime they choose. This applies to Kampuchea, whose people have long suffered from foreign interference. It also applies to the problems facing the States of Central America. In this connection, we endorse the principles and concepts adopted by the Contadora Group for the settlement of those problems. Likewise, we urge that the dispute between North Korea and South Korea be settled through free dialogue between the two countries in order to achieve the aspirations of their people for unity.

177. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we commend the recent efforts made by the Secretary-

General to help the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus to arrive at a solution to this problem that would guarantee the rights of both communities, ensure security and coexistence for the people of the island and guarantee the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

178. We believe that arms control and disarmament are of vital importance for international peace and security and that they can be realized only in an atmosphere of political stability and mutual confidence, particularly among the States possessing nuclear weapons.

179. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1] that the lack of concrete progress in disarmament and arms control has aroused deep fears of a nuclear confrontation. We are deeply concerned over the escalation of the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their storage in various parts of the world. Moreover, our concern is aggravated by the stalemate in the negotiations between the two super-Powers and the failure to resume them with regard to control of the development and production of certain kinds of nuclear weapons. Because of this grave situation, it is becoming more and more difficult to live in an atmosphere of escalating fear and panic from the possible outbreak of nuclear war. Furthermore, it is no longer possible to overlook the enormous resources that are wasted on armaments at a time when mankind is in dire need of those resources for the purposes of economic and social development.

180. The United Arab Emirates welcomes the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, including the region of the Middle East. We hope that the international community, and in particular the great Powers, will view this matter with the importance it deserves, since it constitutes a fundamental element in the maintenance of security and stability in the region.

181. The political situation cannot be examined separately from the prevailing economic problems. The economic problems in the world today indicate that the economic crisis continues to affect all countries. The current situation is not only disappointing but also a source of deep concern over the possible consequences.

182. While economic stagnation, low growth rates and high rates of unemployment and inflation have all become constant aspects of the world economy, their effects are most severely felt by the developing countries. Those countries are unable to sustain their economic and social development programmes and to arrest the continued deterioration in their already low standards of living. There is overall agreement that the continuation of such a situation could ultimately have catastrophic consequences.

183. Although in some developed countries the economy has experienced relatively slight recovery, that does not call for much optimism because that recovery is limited and has not brought about any real changes in economic policies with respect to current problems. In their economic policies, the developed countries have not always been willing to address the basic problems of the world economy.

184. Hence, the economies of the developing countries have continued to suffer a great deal from the consequences of such practices as continued protec-

tionism, congestion of export markets, deterioration of the terms of trade, decline in export revenues, exacerbation of foreign debts, high level of interest rates and increasing pressure for instituting external structural adjustments. All of this has created enormous difficulties for the developing countries and made them unable to pursue their economic development programmes and to halt the erosion of their standards of living, thus creating a situation that could seriously threaten their social stability.

185. This critical situation of the world economy calls for serious and responsible consideration on the part of all in order to alleviate its negative effects within a comprehensive framework, with the participation of the developing and developed countries alike. It is therefore imperative to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its collective framework in a process of international economic reform.

186. It is also imperative to establish sound and objective foundations to be observed by all other international institutions in the consideration of the economic problems of the world on an interdependent, balanced and comprehensive basis, in order to lead ultimately to the establishment of a just and effective international economic order.

187. This appeal has its roots in numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, particularly those pertaining to the establishment of a new international economic order; it also stems from the continued efforts of the developing countries, represented by the Group of 77, which have been reflected in the positive decisions adopted by that Group in various economic forums; and it has been clearly expressed in our persistent pursuit to launch global negotiations, since we believe in the important role such negotiations could play in reforming the world economy.

188. We aspire to a world built on the solid foundations of justice, amity and peace, a world in which each State, big or small, will enjoy stability and a secure future.

189. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly was concluded only a few days ago, under the distinguished presidency of Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, to whom, on behalf of the delegation of the Niger, I should like to pay a most sincere tribute for the dedication and skill with which he discharged his responsibilities, despite the constraints and numerous problems he encountered due to the high position he occupies in his country.

190. The unanimous will of this prestigious Assembly has given you, my dear brother Lusaka, the heavy responsibility of guiding the work of the thirty-ninth session. That choice does honour to you and your country, Zambia, and to our continent, Africa. We welcome that choice and wish to congratulate you most warmly.

191. I personally have had the great privilege of knowing you, Sir, for a long time here at the United Nations. Indeed, I have known you as a brother in our struggle, and I have been able to appreciate your great capacity for work and your deep knowledge of the functioning of the Organization. Humanism has characterized all your actions and the wisdom of each of your acts. It is by no means fortuitous that since 1979 you have been presiding over the United Nations Council for Namibia, which certainly would have carried out its historic task long ago if the

manoeuvres and delaying tactics of those responsible for making decisions in the world had not time and again blocked your initiatives and your efforts. It is our hope that your spiritual and intellectual qualities will enable you successfully to carry out the new task entrusted to you. You may count on the constant support of my country's delegation.

192. I should like also, on behalf of President Seyni Kountché and the Government of the Niger, to convey to the Secretary-General our great appreciation of his tireless and diverse efforts in the service of the world since his election as head of the Organization. When he took office he devoted much study to the strengthening and renewal of the United Nations, and he has taken numerous initiatives since then; all of this deserves our appreciation and our support.

193. I wish finally to express to the State of Brunei Darussalam—which it has already been our great pleasure to welcome to membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference last January at Casablanca—the warm congratulations of the Government and the people of the Niger on its admission to the United Nations.

194. The evaluation of the international situation given here at the thirty-eighth session on behalf of the Government of the Niger [30th meeting] was not an optimistic one. The events we have already deplored and others that have occurred since that time have unfortunately not dispelled our apprehensions.

195. For years, the collective attention of the nations and Governments represented in this Hall has been focused on the continuing deterioration of the international situation and on its potential dangers for us all. But as though this were inevitable—which makes one despair of human nature—the situation seems to continue to deteriorate day by day, despite the considerable means at our disposal to establish the conditions for a better life on earth and to resolve all the problems facing today's world.

196. In South Africa, violence continues, and when I speak of violence I am not referring to the glorious spirit of revolt which increasingly rouses and encourages the blacks: I am referring to the savage, blind, continuous oppression which the whites of that country impose daily on those blacks, martyred by a despicable system which they are determined to combat and destroy. We in the Niger have been consistent on this issue, and we shall not change. As long as *apartheid* continues to humiliate and dehumanize our brothers, and as long as the white minority, with stupid stubbornness and perverse selfishness, continues to cling to this racist hydra, which holds it up to ridicule and makes it an international outlaw, we shall continue to fight this régime and shall refuse it any recognition as a part of mankind.

197. Similarly, the question of Namibia continues to be one of high priority for the United Nations. We have waited long, and we had long hoped that, thanks to efforts throughout the world, and particularly in the Security Council, this Territory, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, would achieve independence before 1984. Unfortunately, our faint warnings and the complacency which many of us have shown towards the minority racist régime of Pretoria have made it impossible thus far to attain that result. Today, the chances for success in achieving a negotiated settlement seem to be slimmer than ever. Therefore, the international community must react

more firmly to South Africa's constant refusal to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

198. I wish to reaffirm the Niger's active support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and for the national liberation movements of South Africa. We also assure the front-line States of our commitment to them. We express the hope that no respite will be given to the minority racist régime of Pretoria and that Africa, and the entire international community, will remain resolutely united in the face of South Africa's racist, colonial defiance.

199. But it is not only southern Africa which is a source of concern to the world today; in the Horn of Africa, instability has become endemic and has resulted in numbers of refugees never before seen by our continent. Peace there is exceedingly precarious, and war and famine have wrought ravages of which only the indifference of the media allows the broad masses to be unaware. To be sure, solutions have been sought, but these have apparently not been commensurate with the seriousness of the situation and the growing magnitude of events. The United Nations could still do more, and that is why we urge it to act vigorously.

200. In Chad—plunged into gloom and nearly destroyed by an excessively long and murderous war—we must say that we begin to see a glimmer of hope in the comparative normalization, over a period of something more than two years, of the economic and social life of that country. The recent announcement of the withdrawal of foreign forces stationed on the territory of Chad gives rise to new optimism—to the extent, and only to the extent, that the commitments undertaken by the parties concerned are scrupulously observed, that any impulses to return in one or another guise are blocked or avoided, and that neither the territorial integrity nor the sovereignty of this fraternal country are compromised or crushed in the course of this operation. We have always said and reiterated that, in our view, the solution to the problem of Chad is a matter for our brothers in Chad alone, free from all expansionist, annexationist, ideological and colonialist designs. Today, more than ever, we maintain that position.

201. With regard to Western Sahara, we cannot but deplore the damage done to the OAU by this question, on which Africa has laboured so long at councils of ministers and at summit conferences, but of which the mere mention outside of such meetings gives rise only to delays and confusion. We in the Niger take it as given that the right of the Saharan people to self-determination must be respected and that the full implementation of the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983<sup>1</sup>—in favour of which my country voted unreservedly and without any ulterior motives—must constitute a decisive step in the right direction.

202. Since you too, Mr. President, are an African brother, this may be the place to express our regret that in a continent such as ours, where the structural weakness of our States should in the normal course of events strengthen our collective devotion to the ideals of dialogue, tolerance and peace, a mere

transitory disagreement on one question or another should paralyse us and eclipse our greatest achievements and the joint efforts we should be making to help each other rehabilitate ourselves after centuries of foreign domination. What a catastrophe for mankind and for the world it would be if, for lack of consensus—on the question of disarmament, for example—the next General Assembly session should be adjourned or jeopardized!

203. Therefore, the Niger here appeals to Africa to do all in its power to save its prestige and its place in the world by saving the OAU, that is, by fulfilling its duties of cohesion, solidarity and unity.

204. Despite the constant preoccupation by the United Nations with the establishment of a stable order in the Middle East, and despite all the efforts that have been made to that end by each of our States, the situation in that part of the world remains explosive. Israel persists in occupying Arab territory and carrying out acts of aggression and sabotage against its neighbours. The Palestinian people is still waiting for the international community to redress the injustice from which it has suffered for many years now and to ensure thereby the recovery of its inalienable national rights.

205. The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is an obligation of the United Nations and is in keeping with the vital interests of world peace. Therefore, it is indispensable that we continue to seek, under the auspices of the Organization, the beginning of an active process of negotiations in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. And this is an appropriate time to stress that, to be just and lasting, the peace we are seeking must be based on the following principles, which have already been repeated time and again: the inadmissibility of the occupation of territory by force, and hence Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; recognition of the Palestinian people's right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State in its homeland, Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO; and, finally, the full and total participation of the PLO in any peace process.

206. At this stage, I would assure the martyred Palestinian people and battered Lebanon, as well as all the brother Arab countries of the battlefield, of the unwavering and active support of the Government and people of the Niger. The Niger, as is well known, spares no effort to ensure the triumph of justice and right in that part of the world.

207. When speaking of peace, how can we forget the war that has been raging for four years now between Iran and Iraq? The great loss of human life and the considerable material damage caused by this war to both sides and the disturbances it has created in international maritime navigation, and hence in international trade, call for energetic action by the community of nations to put an urgent end to hostilities. The efforts undertaken to that end are highly commendable, and they must be encouraged and stepped up. I have in mind particularly the efforts undertaken in the framework of the Islamic Peace Committee, those initiated within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the initiatives of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

208. We note also, with great anguish and concern, other hotbeds of tension, particularly in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two independent and sovereign countries, Members of the United Nations and members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that have been struggling for many years now against foreign occupation. The Niger calls for the speedy implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which call, in particular, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of those two countries and for respect for their independence and their status as non-aligned States.

209. I have in mind also the Korean peninsula, a hotbed of great tension, which today is divided as a result of the vicissitudes of history, but whose people aspire to national reunification. In the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,<sup>6</sup> we encourage and support the efforts to achieve a peaceful and negotiated solution to this problem.

210. To sum up, everywhere in the world our action must be designed to encourage and systematize recourse to peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between States and to cultivate patiently and staunchly the spirit of détente and peaceful coexistence among all nations. That is one of the most reliable ways of making an effective contribution to the achievement of peace in the world, the highest aspiration of the peoples we represent.

211. Along with these many conflict situations, the world is also facing a severe economic crisis, which has had adverse effects on all our countries, particularly the developing ones. The drop in the prices of primary commodities, the decrease in development aid, the difficulties of access to international capital markets, the generalized monetary disorder caused, in particular, by the rampaging dollar, the high interest rates, the dizzying rise of public debt servicing, and the increase of protectionism have created an untenable situation in many developing countries.

212. The indicators in this regard are alarming. In 1981 the gross national product of the developing countries, taken as a whole, increased by only 1.5 per cent. In 1982 this rate fell still further. The per capita growth rate was therefore negative. Today the total foreign debt of those countries is more than \$900 billion. The prices of their primary commodities, on the exporting of which many of them still depend, have fallen, in real value, to the lowest level since 1945. Thus, according to statistics furnished by UNCTAD, in 1981 and 1982 the non-oil-exporting developing countries lost \$34 billion as a result of the deterioration of their terms of exchange. Today the figure is probably close to \$70 billion or \$80 billion.

213. The situation of the African countries, on which I should like to dwell, is even more drastic. The years 1982 and 1983 were, as noted by experts of the Economic Commission for Africa, years of crisis for the African continent. Global production of goods and services was in a state of stagnation in 1982 and, contrary to forecasts, the growth rate for 1983 was very low; it was estimated at only 0.2 per cent as compared to 1982. Hence, since 1980, there has been a continued decrease, in absolute terms, of about 10 per cent per year in the per capita production in our continent.

214. The significant drop in their rates of exchange, together with other factors linked to the international markets, has slowed down or stopped the process of development in many African countries, whose abili-

ty to meet their investment needs has considerably decreased. It is no exaggeration to say that many of our countries now work solely to pay their debts, to survive or to try to manage their meagre gains. At the same time, the food situation of the continent has dangerously deteriorated not only because of the low level of agricultural production and discouraging problems in the rural areas, but also because of the unceasing drought besetting entire regions, particularly the Sahel. Thus, the food situation remains precarious in at least 24 African countries stricken by drought.

215. The Secretary-General, who visited the countries of the Sahel last January, brought back most useful information on the effects of the drought on human beings, on cattle and on the ecosystem. While he noted that after the terrible drought of the years 1970–1973, which caused considerable damage to the Sahel as a whole, commendable efforts had been made by the Governments of the countries concerned to replenish their decimated livestock and to lay down a real agricultural policy both at the national and the regional levels, he also had to note that those countries have not really gained anything yet; the paucity of their gains is quite obvious, not only because of climatic disasters and the adverse effects of desertification, but also because of the present serious international situation, which makes any real continuity in the majority of their development programmes impossible.

216. We are grateful to him for the attention he has given to our problems and in particular for the structures he decided to set up immediately both here and at Nairobi in order to follow developments in the situation in Africa. However, we know that the scope of the situation goes beyond his efforts and the means currently available to the United Nations family, whose resources are dwindling and drying up.

217. What we need is a global effort that requires the organization of a dynamic chain of international solidarity to assist the millions of men, women and children threatened by hunger, thirst, disease and death. We must also give these States the means to assume their duty of participating in the maintenance of balance in societies and world peace. Continuing to ignore their present difficulties could lead to explosive situations which would then have to be settled by perhaps asking the world to come together as a matter of emergency to assess and redress the damage caused by its own selfishness and uncaring attitude. Africa is indeed an integral part of this planet. We must not be indifferent to its current difficulties and deficiencies.

218. After all, this great and beautiful continent cannot be considered indefinitely as a continent of famine and hunger, of disasters and victims, of poverty and the poor, of incurable suffering and unremitting problems. After having been the cradle of mankind, it is still capable of great fruitfulness, which will one day undoubtedly benefit all peoples and all nations.

219. It is therefore high time to act resolutely to stop the continuing fragmentation of the world economy and to cure those ills from which the most disadvantaged countries suffer. Any salutary action implies greater justice in trade relations, stabilization of the prices of raw materials, judicious monetary reform, a courageous solution to the debt problem of the third world, increased development aid—in brief,

the search for ways and means to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order.

220. In May 1980, during a seminar organized here jointly by UNITAR, the Centre for Economic and Social Studies in the Third World and the Club of Rome, I stressed that "... the violations of the dignity of man that arise from unjust poverty and destitution and the intense feelings of frustration that come from the wrongful distribution of the wealth of the earth intensify dissension among peoples and lead to confrontation and war between nations".

221. We must put an end to this state of affairs if we really wish to contribute to harmony among men and to give a gathering such as ours the greatest meaning and effect possible on the course of the world and full credibility in the eyes of all the men, women and children who are waiting expectantly—they know not for what—but who are nevertheless waiting.

222. President Seyni Kountché would have come here personally and in his capacity as acting Chairman of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [CILSS] had not the most catastrophic harvests the Niger has ever known obliged him to remain with his people to share their concerns, calm their fears and actively consider with them the measures to be implemented in order to save our herdsmen and our brave peasants, who are the victims of a combination of unfortunate factors and who have been deprived of the harvests they justly expected from their hard work. On his behalf and on behalf of all the CILSS countries, it is therefore my pressing duty to remind all Governments and institutions represented here that they must act in solidarity with regard to this situation.

223. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): Sir, I hail, salute and congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You bring to this high position a wealth of experience and personal qualifications that should serve you well in the performance of your duties. Africa is proud of you as its son and wishes you success as you preside over the deliberations of this lofty body. You can rest assured of the fullest cooperation and support of my delegation.

224. I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who ably conducted the affairs of the Assembly during the past year. He will be remembered as decisive and fair.

225. The Secretary-General deserves commendation for his efforts in the search for international peace and understanding. We know that under his authority, the Organization will continue to strive for the maintenance of peace and will endeavour to achieve social and economic stability for mankind.

226. We welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations. This act was a significant step in the affirmation of the role of the United Nations and the principle of universality. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam will make every effort to promote the goals of the Organization and join in the struggle for the total elimination of the remaining pockets of colonialism.

227. During the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [61st meeting], my Head of State, Samuel K. Doe, made a comprehensive report to this body on the progress towards a return to civilian government in Liberia. At that time he informed delegations that a national constitution commission had completed a



draft constitution which had been turned over to a constituent Advisory Assembly comprising representatives from each of the political subdivisions of the country for review and recommendations to the People's Redemption Council. A revised draft constitution, which was presented to the People's Redemption Council by the constituent Advisory Assembly was subsequently accepted and thereafter presented to the people of Liberia in a referendum. The Liberian people voted overwhelmingly for acceptance of the draft constitution.

228. Today, with the Assembly's kind indulgence, I shall update that report. The People's Redemption Council has been dissolved and replaced by a National Interim Assembly, comprising representatives from all the political subdivisions of the country, to guide the transition process. The ban on politics has been lifted, making possible the formation of political parties. So far, 11 political groupings have been announced. It is with such encouraging progress that the Government and the people of Liberia look forward to a peaceful transition to civilian rule.

229. As we continue on this path, we are mindful that the transition to civilian government is fraught with difficulties but filled with challenges. We firmly believe that the ultimate success of this process will rest primarily upon the intentions and the resolve of the Liberian people and the goodwill and understanding of the international community. We therefore use this opportunity to call upon friendly Governments and all who are gathered here today to identify with us and lend your fullest support to these endeavours.

230. The United Nations is increasingly experiencing many difficulties and a pervasive sense of frustration. The high hopes with which the Organization began its existence in 1945 continue to dwindle considerably. The search for peace has been marked by blurred achievements. Apart from the development of permanent institutions exclusively devoted to peace, and a general acceptance, even if one that is not fully applied, of principles such as the equality of States and human rights—including the right of self-determination, the right to work, the right to education and to self-fulfilment and the right to an equal share in the world's limited resources, as well as the right to full participation in the decision-making processes of international relations—peace has neither been assured nor freely maintained.

231. If there is a constant danger of war in the midst of the universal desire for peace, it is perhaps because we are not all equally committed to peace. There are some of us who pay lip-service to its pursuit. If the United Nations is to be an effective instrument, Member States must be not only peace-preachers but also peace-seekers and peace-keepers and must redouble their efforts to carry out the noble ideals and principles for which the Organization stands. If international peace and security are to prevail, we must be totally committed to it and defend it at all times and not only at the hour of expediency or maximum danger.

232. We believe, moreover, that the Charter of the United Nations contains all the principles and precepts needed to assure peace and guarantee security. If, however, we have failed to secure peace it is not that the Charter is weak or inadequate or that some of its provisions are outmoded, as some would claim; it is only that we cannot summon the moral courage

and political will to subordinate our own interest to the common interest of all, in accordance with the Charter.

233. No other issue or policy in world affairs in the last three decades has caused so much disgust, bitterness, hostility and strife as the South African Government's policy of *apartheid*. The entire world continues to voice condemnation and to heap scorn on this strange and diabolical policy—without a dent being made in the armour of its practitioner.

234. This year the international community has witnessed an upsurge in the policy of *apartheid* in one of its cruelest forms and in the guise of reform or superficial change in the bogus elections conducted last August by South Africa to vote on a new constitution which would further divide the population and entrench *apartheid*, making its implementation more efficient. Liberia was pleased that those elections were boycotted, as was only right, by an overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and that, prior to the election, the Security Council, on 17 August 1984, declared both the new constitution and the elections null and void [resolution 554 (1984)].

235. How can a nation which professes Christianity preside with seeming delight over the systematic separation of races through legislative enactments aimed at the physical uprooting and displacement of the African majority? South Africa is infested and misled by cruel and unkind men who belong to the past, who appear not to worry about potential enemies, who seem to have no desire for allies and who have no real friends.

236. How can we, as a collective entity, members of the world community, continue to permit the majority of the people of that land to be victims of tyranny and oppression, of exploitation and degradation, of poverty and hatred? What, I ask, does our moral conscience tell the United Nations we should do now on their behalf? What do we make of the proliferation of resolutions on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government and the decisions of the United Nations which the racist régime continues to defy and ignore? How much longer can we afford to listen sympathetically to complaints made to the Organization by neighbouring African countries and by the South African majority against South Africa while at the same time ignoring their plea for effective action?

237. Liberia, for its part, remains firm in its total rejection of *apartheid* and of the racist régime which practises it. We believe that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are the only effective weapon against *apartheid*. Individual and collective efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere must be encouraged and sustained for the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime until that bastion of racism crumbles.

238. South Africa's *apartheid* system, its destabilization policies and economic blackmail are danger signals to the people of that region. Namibia has been virtually transformed into an *apartheid* inferno and a base for South Africa's aggressive attacks against neighbouring countries. South Africa's colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia is being increasingly consolidated, with utter disregard for the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

239. My delegation considers the question of Namibia a priority item. More than six years ago, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted, calling for free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control; yet the settlement plan for Namibia's independence has not been implemented. In the meantime, the South African racist régime continues to intensify its militarization of the Territory and to subject the Namibians to the cruelest form of human humiliation and degradation, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions.

240. The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and the exemplary manner in which he has carried out his mandate on the question of Namibia deserve our commendation. We note in his report on the question of Namibia that, notwithstanding all the progress made in the negotiations this year, the United Nations has not yet been able to proceed, for reasons which are well known. Indeed, the reasons have to do with extraneous issues that were not introduced at the time of the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) but have subsequently received international attention and been rejected. Liberia, for its part, finds it difficult to accept the concept of parallelism, which links the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of troops from Angola.

241. It seems clear that the United Nations needs most urgently a new set of commitments and a collective resolve to end South Africa's intransigence and the sufferings of the Namibian people.

*Mr. Gouara Lassou (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

242. Liberia has pledged to encourage the efforts undertaken by the front-line and other well-meaning States to make Namibia's independence a reality and to bring about relaxation of tension and peace and security in southern Africa. While we are grateful to Western contact groups for spearheading Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we are of the view that the question of Namibia should be resolved within the framework of the United Nations. However, Member States that have leverage over South Africa should not be discouraged or prevented from using their good offices to bring about stability and the Organization's objective in that region.

243. We urge the international community to continue the financial and moral support to Namibia, SWAPO and the front-line States as well as the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia, at Lusaka.

244. As though colonialism, institutionalized racism, the misery of outright deprivation and scarce resources were not enough evils to reckon with, the refugee situation and food crisis have added new dimensions to Africa's intractable problems.

245. Four million refugees, the largest in any one area in the world, are scattered all over the continent and, worst of all, are dependent on countries whose economies can hardly sustain their own citizens.

246. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, must be supplemented by worldwide concerted efforts to alleviate the plight of Africa's refugees. This group of unfortunate people must be provided the means of developing their abilities and skills to be able to earn a livelihood and to contribute to the communities in which they live.

We, on the continent, must do as much as lies in our power to eliminate some of the causes of this problem, for we know that this situation has not always been the result of natural phenomena. At the same time, we must intensify and redouble our efforts to assist our uprooted brothers and sisters in easing their endless miseries and sufferings and helping them to regain their confidence and normalize their lives.

247. Hunger, prolonged drought and desertification pose serious threats to the social and political fibre of our continent. According to FAO, 100 million Africans will suffer from severe hunger and malnutrition due to food deficits this year, and FAO has appealed for emergency food assistance without delay, assistance which is necessary if massive starvation, malnutrition and the loss of thousands of human lives are to be avoided. We commend FAO for the efforts being made to bring this unfortunate situation under control and we hope the assistance needed will be forthcoming from the international community.

248. Liberia's resumption of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel has not altered its Middle East policy. We continue to believe in, and will give support to, a just and lasting peace which cannot be achieved in the Middle East without: first, the due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own; secondly, the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from all Arab lands; and thirdly, the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries, with the fullest respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

249. The Government of Liberia also believes that peace in the Middle East cannot come through a policy of isolation of one of the major parties to the conflict. We believe also that it is through the language of exchange of views among all the peoples of the region that the path to peace and understanding lies. Peace will continue to elude us if we are not prepared to accept that all the States in the region have the right to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries.

250. The tragic story of Lebanon is one of continued sufferings, destruction and war. It is a situation that remains unstable, fragile and explosive. The international community should go on record again in urging the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon as well as stress the due recognition of and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country.

251. The prolongation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, a conflict between two Muslim neighbours, can only add to the fragility of the area. Liberian ships and those of other countries have been arbitrarily attacked and damage done to life and property with impunity. We believe that the Security Council should again intervene in this long-standing conflict before it takes on unmanageable proportions.

252. The Central American region has witnessed unrest and violence for some time now and on an increasing scale.

253. The Government of Liberia has always adhered to, and will continue to adhere to, the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. While there are still wide differences between the Government of Argentina and the Government of the United Kingdom on the question of the Falkland

Islands, we urge the continuation of meaningful negotiations for the peaceful solution of that dispute.

254. Another perennial issue which continues to evade the collective resolve of the United Nations is the question of Korea. My Government has always stressed the need for the resumption of direct negotiations between the South and the North. Such talks, we believe, are likely to resolve enmity and distrust and promote reconciliation and reunification between the two sides. It is therefore our hope that both sides will bury the hatchet, as it were, and sincerely resume talks aimed at the achievement of those important objectives.

255. As is generally conceded, the arms race consumes a disproportionate share of the scarce resources of our planet and continues to do so at an ever-increasing rate. It utilizes much of our finest scientific talent in sterile and destructive pursuits.

256. Despite the danger and waste of the arms race, the States of the world have continued to stockpile armaments at an alarming rate, a clear indication that no State is prepared to disarm if it feels its security is not guaranteed. Each year, the two nuclear Powers seem to produce new weapons which are more efficient in deadliness and which, when adopted by their armed forces, immediately require a matching effort by the other side.

257. While we advocate a halt to the arms race, we equally stress the urgent need for an answer to the security question, thereby removing the need for the constant increase in military expenditures and rivalry between States.

258. We believe that security can be found only in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that it is only through the goodwill of all nations, coupled with mutual trust, confidence, understanding and co-operation, that we can achieve the international stability and security so urgently needed in our world.

259. It is therefore interesting to note President Chernenko's answers to questions posed to him during a recent interview and the reaction of the Government of the United States. We sensed from President Chernenko's answers a readiness to negotiate complete disarmament, despite the rhetoric. We are inclined to believe that the Soviet leader expressed his Government's preparedness for honest and serious talks with the Government of the United States. Let me quote a particular paragraph of President Chernenko's response:

"I wish to reaffirm with all certainty our readiness for dialogue, for honest and serious talks aimed at finding accord that takes into account the security interests of all countries and peoples."

260. We have noted also the response of the United States: that it is seriously seeking agreement with the Russians, that it welcomes the statement of President Chernenko, and that it is ready to resume the Geneva negotiations. We noted with added interest President Reagan's address to the General Assembly on 24 September [4th meeting], with its reference to United States-Soviet Union relations, and the "comprehensive and broad" talks held between the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, on Wednesday, 26 September.

261. In his statement to the General Assembly on 27 September [10th meeting], the Soviet Foreign Minister stressed that the Soviet Union would fully

co-operate with all States prepared to help ease international tensions by practical deeds and to create an atmosphere of trust in the world in order to consolidate the foundations of peace.

262. We loudly proclaim the need for curbing weapons in outer space and for stopping the arms race and the continuous buildup of military armament; we want disarmament. We therefore endorse what appears to be a reasonable closeness of the positions of the two sides, though the approaches may appear divergent, and we urge them to get on with this important business and translate their pronouncements regarding genuine disarmament efforts into meaningful action. We are watching closely and with keen expectations the results of the assurances given by both sides.

263. The seriousness of our global economic crisis can be determined by the fact that it encompasses all nations of the world; rich or poor, developed or developing, large or small, we have all been affected in one way or the other. We have seen the economic havoc it has wrought in developed countries. In the developing societies, vulnerable as their economies are, it has created in its wake enormous balance-of-payments deficits, mounting debt burdens and worsening terms of trade, owing to a drastic fall in commodity prices and a sharp rise in the prices of imported goods.

264. The crisis has introduced new dimensions into the debate on world development. There is a growing awareness that the fates of the developed and the developing countries are interlinked in the crisis. I hope that one good thing it has brought forth is the realization by the industrialized countries that the prosperity of the developing countries is vital to their own economic survival.

265. The threat of default by debtor developing countries and its implications for the international financial and banking system have brought into sharp and disturbing focus the inherent danger and inadequacy of the present world economic system. Although borrowers and lenders have endeavoured to avoid such default, the efforts have amounted to no more than short-term rescue operations, providing temporary support only.

266. While various remedies have been suggested to resolve the debt crisis, we believe that a concerted policy effort by debtors, creditors and international financial institutions to address the crisis now presents the best alternative. Long-term measures should include modifications in the objectives and an increase in the resources of multinational institutions concerned with finance and development, as well as changes in the framework of the commercial banking system.

267. It is particularly important that a co-ordinated economic expansion in industrialized nations be accompanied by low interest rates and a relaxation of trade restrictions, in order to contribute to an economic upturn and provide relief to debtor nations.

268. In order to reverse the tremendous transfer of resources from developing countries to the industrialized world and thereby improve the economic outlook of the developing countries, and in particular African countries, financial institutions and industrialized countries should write off long-standing loans and turn some of the loans that have been rescheduled more than once into grants-in-aid. Such a moral

gesture on the part of the creditors would reduce the debt burden of some developing countries and enhance their economic recovery.

269. The magnitude of the crisis of the world economy dictates the need to summon our political will and make the concerted efforts necessary to launch the negotiations on reforming and restructuring the existing economic order without delay. This process, we continue to believe, would serve as a major step in achieving a more orderly and equitable world economy and at the same time foster greater co-operation among nations.

270. The economic situation in Africa is critical and precarious, and it poses a serious threat to the social and political well-being of our people. It is true that the global economic situation affects all developing countries, but its impact on sub-Saharan Africa is tremendous. These countries continue to experience negative growth, and their export earnings are still on the decline.

*Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.*

271. While we recognize that the development of Africa is our primary responsibility, as enshrined in the Lagos Plan of Action,<sup>7</sup> concerted efforts by the international community and donor countries, which have the enormous capacity to correct the critical economic situation, would complement the national efforts of African Governments in reversing the negative trend of their economies.

272. The people of Liberia fully endorse the Secretary-General's initiative with regard to the critical social and economic situation in Africa. We wish to thank him for his efforts and urge him to continue to regard the economic situation in Africa as a priority issue that requires the moral and political support of the international community and donor countries for its amelioration.

273. We welcome the World Bank plan to aid sub-Saharan African countries, in spite of the lack of substantial pledges for the \$2 billion that the Bank would need to implement the programme. The effort of the Bank to highlight the economic malaise of African countries deserves the full support of all true friends of Africa. We call upon the industrialized countries and those developing countries which have the capacity to do so to pledge funds to the Bank programme for improving the economic situation in Africa.

274. At this point, the Government of Liberia wishes to thank all those friendly States and international organizations that participated in the Liberia round-table conference, which was held at Berne in October 1983. It is our hope that we can continue to rely on their understanding and assistance as we go through a critical economic period in our national life. We wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and all those in the United Nations system who worked so tirelessly for the convening of that conference.

275. Earlier I reflected on various achievements in the search for international concord, especially the evolution of permanent institutions for peace and the development of principles and rules of conduct of States. I should like to close by focusing on the serious nature of our present assignment.

276. Every time the General Assembly has met in the past 38 years, hopes have arisen that the world body would be able successfully to address some of the major problems haunting man's struggle for

progress and development. Speeches of hope and promise are made, couched in triumphant phrases; resolutions are adopted and then ignored; thereafter, representatives go back home to their Governments and begin all over again doing what they best know—acting in the supreme interest of each individual's country, whether it be planning for war, raising the interest rates, causing a flood of refugees to spill over into someone else's territory or something else.

277. This year the General Assembly meets for the thirty-ninth time in regular session. It is meeting at a time when the two super-Powers have hardly been on speaking terms. It meets under the threat of a nuclear cloud, with both East and West looking at each other through a palisade of nuclear missiles. It is meeting at a time in our world history when the poor nations—and there are many of them—are poorer and the threat of human sufferings through famine, drought and oppression is becoming not only widespread but uncontrollable.

278. In short, the United Nations has serious business to discuss this year. But this is not all: the United Nations must resolve to be resolute and tackle the problems facing mankind. It must decide to take some positive steps in the direction of curbing the arms race, in bridging the gap of poverty, in stemming the lucrative arms trade which aims at defeating the very purpose for which the Organization was founded: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations must restore the people's faith in its ideals, its objectives and its functional ability.

279. The new generation today is crying out for that United Nations which once had the will to help resolve the problem in the Korean peninsula; obstructed the partition of the Congo during the 1960s; voted for the establishment of new States; aided in the liberation of many African States. The United Nations should arm itself with that tenacity of purpose to address the burning issues of mankind and pull the world away from crises.

280. In the early days of the formation of the world body, the United Nations adopted the decision made at Bretton Woods that gave birth to the current world economic order. If it now appears that Bretton Woods no longer serves the best needs of mankind's economic order, we think the United Nations as a moral force should put pressure on the economic Powers so that a reconstruction of the economic order suitable to the demands of the time may be accomplished.

281. In June this year, the allied forces of Europe and the United States commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the invasion of Europe, which history tells us was the turning-point in the Second World War. Next year, the United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary as the corner-stone of peace and progress. But before it can do that, it needs to restore hope to mankind by lessening tensions and making the two super-Powers play a more positive role in maintaining a world order based on peace and harmony, not by competitive polemics and harsh rhetoric, not by confrontation and stockpiling weapons, but by devising constructive proposals calling for joint efforts in addressing the issues of the day.

282. If this session of the General Assembly can take some positive steps in a direction that would lead the super-Powers to appreciate their role and thereby work jointly for the progressive attainment of

world peace, it will accomplish more than many of its resolutions ever have since Day One.

283. I know that the nations of the third world which make up a large part of this world body are committed to this serious assignment this year. I hope all the nations of this family are also so committed.

284. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to exercise the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

285. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): It is with considerable regret, and indeed with some surprise, that my delegation has noted the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea on Indonesia-Papua New Guinea relations in his statement in the Assembly two days ago [15th meeting].

286. Papua New Guinea is Indonesia's immediate neighbour to the east. Our two countries share a 600-mile land border which cuts across one of the most difficult terrains in the world, as well as across traditional ties of custom and kinship between border inhabitants on both sides. Thanks to foresight and mutual goodwill on the part of both Governments, however, close co-operation and arrangements on a wide array of common border issues have been instituted from the moment Papua New Guinea acceded to independence in 1975. This includes a comprehensive Basic Agreement on Border Arrangements, signed in 1979 and now in the process of being revised and updated.

287. Indonesia has at all times strictly adhered to these border arrangements, as it has also been Indonesia's consistent policy to abide by the numerous border agreements, covering both land and sea, with all its neighbours to the south, north and west of its national territory. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are fundamental tenets of Indonesia's foreign policy.

288. We were painfully surprised, therefore, to hear the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea accuse us of having wilfully violated his country's territorial sovereignty. In support of this serious allegation, the Foreign Minister referred in his statement to certain events and incidents which we thought had long been resolved and clarified by our two Governments.

289. On the alleged intrusion by an Indonesian military aircraft into Papua New Guinea airspace in March of this year, my Government has given, both publicly and through diplomatic channels, a full account of what in fact took place in the course of a search operation for a lost missionary plane. At no time did any Indonesian aircraft cross into Papua New Guinea territory, as claimed by certain habitually biased and hostile press media of another neighbouring country, the original source of the allegations.

290. Again, after a thorough investigation by my Government, no evidence could be found of the involvement of any Indonesian army units in another alleged border incident in or near the village of Suwampa.

291. In those instances where indeed an unintentional intrusion occurred, as was the case with the construction of a highway in the eastern part of Irian

Jaya along the common border, Indonesia has been prompt in acknowledging the mistake and correcting it and has even gone so far as to tender a public apology.

292. In short, whenever irritations or misunderstandings have arisen which threatened to mar the friendly relations between our two countries, my Government has consistently sought to resolve them in a spirit of goodwill, co-operation and mutual respect. What is more, in responding to certain incidents and situations which were clearly harmful and inimical to Indonesia's interests, we have always tried to show the utmost restraint and understanding, eschewing public protests and preferring quiet diplomacy through established bilateral channels.

293. When the Indonesian missionary plane already referred to was attacked, several of its Indonesian passengers brutally killed and two others, including its Swiss pilot, forcibly abducted into Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia had to accept the explanation of the Papua New Guinea Government that it did not consider itself in any way involved in the incident and that therefore its ability to intervene was limited.

294. In the face of incessant cross-border incidents and acts of harassment and subversion against its border population by separatist elements who continue to find refuge on Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia has shown great restraint, and this despite the joint undertaking contained in the 1979 Basic Agreement not to allow our respective border areas to be used as "sanctuary, staging areas, bases or for illegal activities against the other".

295. As regards the sudden influx of large numbers of Indonesians crossing into Papua New Guinea, to which the Foreign Minister referred, this is indeed a serious problem, which is being faced by both Governments. Indonesia has no doubt that this unprecedented flow is the direct result of provocative rumour-mongering by the very same separatist elements who have found the simple border-village dwellers an easy prey to their seditious incitements. Be that as it may, my Government has extended its full co-operation to the Papua New Guinea Government in arranging the prompt and orderly return of these border-crossers. To this end, we have agreed on a framework of principles that would govern the process of returning these people, with explicit assurances concerning their safety, well-being and reintegration. Meanwhile, we are contributing materially to the alleviation of their desperate plight, housed as they are in temporary camps, which has already resulted in the death of some 90 border-crossers. We have welcomed the humanitarian assistance of UNHCR in this respect, but we see no reason for UNHCR also to monitor the crossers' re-entry and resettlement in Indonesia, for we have already agreed to allow Papua New Guinea officials to do so. We believe that this problem is best handled through bilateral arrangements already in place and agreed upon. We therefore regret that our sense of independence and self-respect in being able to solve the problems on our own without unduly involving an already overburdened UNHCR is being misinterpreted by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

296. It is clear that the problems that have arisen have either been or are in the process of being amicably resolved between our two Governments, as is appropriate between neighbours genuinely interest-

ed in maintaining friendly and mutually co-operative relations. We are at a loss, therefore, to understand the need for and the implications of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

297. Despite all that has happened, Indonesia's actions will continue to be guided by the spirit of goodwill, accommodation and restraint which has always characterized its relationship with Papua New Guinea. We seek nothing but genuine friendship with Papua New Guinea, our closest neighbour to the east. We are neither interested in nor intent on interfering in their domestic affairs or national development. In the light of the remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea, it may be pertinent to ask whether his Government is indeed guided by the same spirit. We shall await the answer to this question, as always, in patience and in all serenity.

298. Mr. MARTÍNEZ-GUTIÉRREZ (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Regarding certain concepts mentioned this morning by the representative of Cuba in the course of the general debate [18th meeting], the Government of El Salvador rejects those concepts since what Cuba said was simply a confirmation of its policy of intervention and support for the armed rebels of the extreme left.

299. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Cuba referred to Uruguay. It is ironic that that delegation should try to arrogate to itself the position of arbiter of freedom and democracy. It is such paradoxical assertions that threaten the prestige of the United Nations.

300. We hope that one day the noble Cuban people will recover its freedom and responsibility for its own destiny. As we have announced, and in accordance with its democratic traditions, Uruguay will be holding general elections next month, in an atmosphere of dignity and the free and full exercise of its political sovereignty.

301. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The delegation of Papua New Guinea reserves the right to exercise at a later date its right of reply to the remarks just made by the representative of Indonesia.

302. The PRESIDENT: The observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

303. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the delegation of the PLO is speaking for the first time at this session, Sir, may we offer our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency.

304. This morning [18th meeting] we heard many words from the Zionist Minister Shamir about peace, terrorism and famine in the world. We should like to comment here very briefly on two subjects: terrorism and peace in our region.

305. The Zionist Minister should be the last person to speak about terrorism since he personally and his party are well known to us and to the world for their past and present terrorist record. The heinous Deir Yassin massacre, the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, when a number of people were killed, including Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator for Palestine, both of which terrorist acts took place in the 1940s, are but two examples of the various terrorist operations which were personal-

ly supervised by the two notorious terrorists, Shamir and Begin, and which caused the British Government to offer at the time a reward of £10,000 to anyone who would come forward with information leading to the arrest of those two international terrorists.

306. Nor do we wish to speak about the official terrorism of the Zionist Government, led by the Likud Party, which organized the most hideous official terrorist operations during three months in the summer of 1982 in southern Lebanon, in the Bekaa region, in the mountains and in Beirut. Such activities led to the outbreak of war there, to the destruction of many Palestinian refugee camps and of entire Lebanese cities and villages, and to the death or dispersal of all their inhabitants, as well as to the hideous massacres of Sabra and Shatila, for which the bloodthirsty Sharon and Begin were found responsible by Zionist justice itself. These are but a few examples of the activities of professional Zionist terrorists led by the leaders of Israel. Can we give any credence to the words of the terrorist Shamir about terrorism, or should we believe the acts, the history and the record of his Government *vis-à-vis* terrorism against our people?

307. When the Likud Government—that of the terrorist Shamir—assumed power in Israel in 1977 and resorted to the policy of the "big stick" against Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories and the renewal of the establishment of settlements, this had a big impact on Zionist settlers in that area, who began to organize themselves into special internal security bodies and to exert, in their capacity as settlers and political and extremist terrorist movements, all kinds of pressure on the Israeli Government to allow them to extend their field of activities and play a repressive role against Arab citizens. They wished to serve as a terrorist reserve army to give effect to the official "big stick" policy and ensure the attainment of its objectives, which the occupation army was unable to do, despite its resort to all kinds of inhuman and arbitrary procedures, because of the determined national opposition of the Palestinian Arab masses in the occupied territories.

308. This led the Israeli Government to adopt, protect and foster terrorism and provide a favourable climate by encouraging, organizing and providing it with all the means necessary to develop and direct its activities to serve and consolidate the settlement policy. This is the foundation and mainstay of its policy aimed at terrorizing, intimidating and expelling as many of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied areas as possible in order to spread frustration in their ranks, force them to submit, consolidate the occupation and settlement policies, and annex the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

309. The various investigations and the questioning of some members of the secret terrorist organization whom the Likud Government was compelled to arrest—and whose identity and activities it sought to keep a secret—established the fact that many of them were high-ranking army and police officers and officials of the civil administration with very strong links with some Ministers and other members of the Knesset of the Likud Government at the time. These people used their influence to set free many of the arrested terrorists despite their unquestionable guilt. This clearly proves that the Israeli Government and its various departments at various levels are mixed up in the terrorist activities against the Arabs. In the light of the results confirmed by the last Israeli

elections, which showed an increase in extremist, rightist, Fascist tendencies, it is clear that the occupied areas can expect a new phase of organized Zionist terrorism.

310. The world in general is fully aware of the stumbling-block to a just peace in our region. Last December, the world community adopted a historic resolution in this Hall. I refer to resolution General Assembly 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in which all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would participate.

311. I should like to remind the Zionist Minister and all those who, unlike the PLO, shed crocodile tears over the fate of the Palestinian people that our people has made known and continues to emphasize every day, through all its leaders in the occupied territories and outside and even those behind the bars of the prisons of the neo-Nazis, as well as our prisoner-fighters now on strike in Nablus—whose message to the Secretary-General and to United Nations delegations has been distributed as a United Nations document [*see A/39/548, appendix*]<sup>1</sup>—that the PLO and only the PLO is the sole representative of our people.

312. The General Assembly resolution to which I have referred reflects the overwhelming desire of the international majority, not the desire of a single State. So far, Israel and its master, the United States, have refused to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions and with the international will.

313. All the world realizes that Israel is not a peace-loving country and does not work towards peace. Shamir and all the other leaders of Israel may shed crocodile tears over peace to mislead the world as to their real policies and practices, which are against

peace in our region. Those who truly strive for peace should realize that the path to peace is clear and has been well defined by the United Nations in its resolutions. Israel and the United States have only to comply with the universal will.

314. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but he has already spoken for 10 minutes. I therefore ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

315. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The professional Zionist terrorists, led by Sharon and Shamir, are in no position to give lessons in peace-making to the representatives of world States, hundreds of which have struggled against imperialism, occupation and aggression, or to the heroes of the national liberation movements of the world.

*The meeting rose at 7 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

<sup>2</sup>See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Desertification (A/CONF.74/36)*, chap. 1.

<sup>3</sup>See A/38/707, annex, para. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192.)

<sup>5</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1985*, document S/16732.

<sup>6</sup>See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/27/27)*, annex 1.

<sup>7</sup>Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa (A/S-11/14, annex 1).





**Annex 67**

Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and Government of the Republic of  
Venezuela, *Joint Statement* (5 Apr. 1993)



**JOINT STATEMENT**

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, His Excellency Mr. Clement James Rohee, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela, His Excellency Mr. Fernando Ochoa Antich, today met with United Nations Secretary General, His Excellency Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali and Sir Alister Mc Intyre, the latter in his capacity as the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

The Representatives of both countries reiterated their Governments' determination to achieve a peaceful settlement of the controversy, through the Good Offices of the Secretary General, in keeping with their deep and unswerving commitment to the peaceful resolution of issues within the framework of the 1966 Geneva Agreement.

It was noted that the maintenance of dialogue, both at the level of Public and Private entities, was pivotal to the development of the requisite environment, in which the two sides would continue to explore creative options for achieving a lasting resolution of this matter. The role of the Secretary General was a significant element of that on-going dialogue.

The Secretary General expressed his gratification at the approaches being adopted, stressed that his office would continue to be at the disposal of both countries and reiterated his willingness to maintain Sir Alister at the disposal of the Parties in securing a mutually satisfactory settlement of the controversy. He complimented the two Government on the cordial atmosphere in which their contacts and discussions were proceeding.

HS

Mrs Miles

REPORT OF MEETING BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT CHEDDI BHARAT  
JAGAN AND SIR ALISTER MCINTYRE ON APRIL 5, 1993

His Excellency President Cheddi Jagan met with Sir Alister McIntyre on Monday April 5, 1993 at 09:30 hrs. Also present were Mr Bernard DeSantos, Attorney General and acting Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr Roger Luncheon, Head of the Presidential Secretariat; Mr David Hales, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Dr Barton Scotland.

Sir Alister had visited Venezuela prior to his journey to Guyana. He brought the President up to date on the results of his discussion in Caracas, where he had met with the leaders of COPEI and MAS as well as with President Perez. The "good officer" stated that President Perez was very positive about restarting the McIntyre process and this approach was shared by COPEI and MAS. COPEI had acknowledged the absurdity of pursuing Venezuela's claim to two thirds of Guyana, and was advocating that a practical solution be found. MAS had assured Sir Alister that they were cognisant of Guyana's concerns. Rafael Caldera, the former COPEI President, was seeking to build his electoral hopes on the basis of a coalition between Supporters from MAS and those AD Supporters who had become disaffected with their party.

Returning to the topic of the Guyana-Venezuela diferendo Sir Alister said that he had detected a consensus for Venezuela's historical claim to be set aside and for a practical solution to be

sought in which development cooperation would be the basis of future relations.

He concluded his analysis of the Venezuela position by remarking that the media in that country had been a little more friendly to him than hitherto. He considered that the time was right to restart the process.

Sir Alister then informed President Jagan that the United Nations Secretary General was desirous of meeting jointly with the Foreign Ministers of Guyana and Venezuela. He wished to demonstrate to all countries his interest in the controversy. The suggested time for such a meeting was the second week of June in New York.

Sir Alister said that both the Secretary General and President Perez were anxious to know Guyana's position with regard to the naming of a facilitator. Venezuela had decided to retain its facilitator Mr Emilio Figueredo. He told President Jagan that President Perez was ready to meet with his Guyanese colleague specifically on the issue of the controversy. However CAP was not going to press for such a meeting to be convened. The Venezuelan President had indicated his great interest in the development of projects by the two countries. President Perez was also anxious that both Caricom and the Group of 3 be kept abreast of developments in the controversy.

President Jagan agreed that the Foreign Ministers should meet with the United Nations Secretary General in June in New York. He informed the "good officer" that Guyana was considering the development of projects with Venezuela and mentioned the proposal that Guyana should purchase power from the Guri Hydropower facility. He told Sir Alister that during his visit to Venezuela, he had also received the impression that the climate of relations had improved.

Sir Alister then interjected some further analysis of the Venezuelan reality. He remarked that President Perez would like to go down in history as having found a solution to the controversy. The only uncertain element in Venezuela was the position of the military. However, he (McIntyre) did not consider that the military would wish to adopt a high profile now. COPEI and MAS had not raised any objection to the Government of Guyana and Venezuela pursuing a dialogue on the controversy even at this late stage in Perez's term of office and Sir Alister himself saw no harm in such discussions, although it was not likely that there would be much movement. The goodwill and cordiality generated would produce a positive feedback.

President Jagan expressed his preference for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers. He informed Sir Alister that Guyana would retain the services of Dr Scotland as facilitator. The President of Guyana considered that the combination of the facilitators

working and the Foreign Ministers meeting would be indicative of the serious approach being taken towards the resolution of the controversy.

Sir Alister reiterated the fact that President Perez was prepared to meet President Jagan between now and October, despite the shortness of time. However, the "good officer" did not recommend any more than a meeting of Foreign Ministers.

President Jagan remarked that he would like to put the issue to the Guyanese people in a quiet way, to try to build a general consensus on an agreement. With reference to other aspects of bilateral relations, he expressed his desire to reactivate the Joint Commission, to stimulate border trade between Guyana and Bolivar State, and to work towards the establishment of a Consulate in Bolivar State.

Sir Alister interjected that COPEI had a little group which was monitoring the issue closely.

In conclusion, President Jagan thanked Sir Alister and assured him of Guyana's cooperation with the process, although Guyana had bigger problems to occupy the country's attention at the present time.





## **Annex 68**

Management and Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Senegal  
and the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, 1903 U.N.T.S. 3 (14 Oct. 1993)



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Management and Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Senegal and the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau 14 October 1993</b></p>
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The Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, on the one hand, and  
The Government of the Republic of Senegal, on the other hand,  
Desiring to develop further the good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between their countries, have agreed as follows:

**Article 1**

The parties hereto shall jointly exploit a maritime zone situated between the 268° and 220° azimuths drawn from Cape Roxo.

The respective territorial seas of Guinea-Bissau and Senegal shall be excluded from this joint exploitation zone. However, small-scale fishing from canoes shall be authorized within the zone and in those parts of the territorial seas lying between 268° and 220°.

**Article 2**

Resources produced from the exploitation of this zone shall be shared in the following proportions:

**Fishery resources**

50 per cent to Senegal;  
50 per cent to Guinea-Bissau.

**Resources of the continental shelf**

85 per cent to Senegal;  
15 per cent to Guinea-Bissau.

In the event of discovery of additional resources, these proportions shall be reviewed, having regard to the magnitude of such discoveries.

**Article 3**

Expenditure previously incurred by the Parties out of State funds for oil prospecting in the area shall be refunded to each Party in accordance with its percentage contribution, under such conditions and subject to such terms as shall be determined before the entry into force of this Agreement.

**Article 4**

The Parties agree to establish an International Agency for the exploitation of the zone.  
The organization and operation of the said agency shall be the subject of a joint agreement to be reached within not more than twelve months after the signing of the present instrument.

**Article 5**

Upon its establishment, the Agency shall succeed Guinea-Bissau and Senegal with respect to the rights and obligations arising out of the agreements concluded by each of the States Parties relating to exploitation of the resources of the zone.

Article 6

By the present Agreement, the Parties shall pool the exercise of their respective rights, without prejudice to legal titles previously acquired by each of them and confirmed by judicial decisions, and without prejudice to claims previously formulated by them in respect of non- delimited areas.

Article 7

The present Agreement shall enter into force upon conclusion of the agreement concerning the establishment and functioning of the International Agency and with the exchange of instruments of ratification of both agreements by the States Parties.

Article 8

The present Agreement shall remain in force for a period of twenty years and shall be automatically renewable.

Article 9

Disputes concerning the present Agreement or the international agency shall be resolved initially by direct negotiations and, should these fail, after a period of six months, arbitration or by the International Court of Justice.

In the event of suspension of the present Agreement, or upon its expiry, the States Parties shall have recourse to direct negotiation, arbitration or the International Court of Justice in respect of any delimitations remaining unsettled.

DONE at Dakar on 14 October 1993.

**No. 32434**

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**SENEGAL  
and  
GUINEA-BISSAU**

**Agreement on management and cooperation. Signed at  
Dakar on 14 October 1993**

**Protocol to the above-mentioned Agreement, concerning the  
organization and operation of the Management and Co-  
operation Agency. Signed at Bissau on 12 June 1995**

*Authentic text: French and Portuguese.*

*Registered by Senegal on 10 January 1996.*

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**SÉNÉGAL  
et  
GUINÉE-BISSAU**

**Accord de gestion et de coopération. Signé à Dakar le 14 octo-  
bre 1993**

**Protocole d'accord à l'Accord susmentionné, ayant trait à  
l'organisation et au fonctionnement de l'Agence de ges-  
tion et de coopération. Signé à Bissau le 12 juin 1995**

*Texte authentique : français et portugais.*

*Enregistré par le Sénégal le 10 janvier 1996.*

ACCORD<sup>1</sup> DE GESTION ET DE COOPÉRATION ENTRE LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE GUINÉE-BISSAU ET LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DU SÉNÉGAL

Le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal  
d'une part,  
Le Gouvernement de la République de Guinée Bissau  
d'autre part,

Soucieux de développer davantage les relations de bon voisinage et de coopération entre leurs deux pays, sont convenus de ce qui suit :

ARTICLE PREMIER

Les deux parties exploiteront en commun une zone maritime située entre les azimuts 268° et 220° tracés à partir du Cap Roxo ;

Les mers territoriales respectives de la Guinée Bissau et du Sénégal sont exclues de cette zone d'exploitation commune. Toutefois, la pêche artisanale piroguière est autorisée à l'intérieur de la zone et dans les parties des mers territoriales comprises entre 268° et 220°.

ARTICLE 2

Le partage des ressources provenant de l'exploitation de cette zone se fera selon les proportions suivantes :

POUR LES RESSOURCES HALIEUTIQUES  
50% POUR LE SENEGAL  
50% POUR LA GUINEE BISSAU.

<sup>1</sup> Entré en vigueur le 21 décembre 1995 par l'échange des instruments de ratification, qui a eu lieu à Dakar, conformément à l'article 7.

**POUR LES RESSOURCES DU PLATEAU CONTINENTAL****85% POUR LE SENEGAL****15% POUR LA GUINEE BISSAU.**

En cas de nouvelles découvertes ces proportions seront révisées et la révision sera fonction de l'importance des ressources découvertes.

**ARTICLE 3**

Les dépenses déjà effectuées par les deux parties sur fonds d'Etat pour les recherches pétrolières dans la zone seront remboursées à chacune d'entre elles dans la proportion de sa participation, dans des conditions et selon des modalités à déterminer avant l'entrée en vigueur du présent Accord.

**ARTICLE 4**

Les deux Parties conviennent de mettre sur pied une Agence internationale pour l'exploitation de la zone ;

L'organisation et le fonctionnement de cette Agence feront l'objet d'un commun accord, dans un délai maximum de douze mois, à compter de la signature du présent instrument.

**ARTICLE 5**

Dès sa constitution, l'Agence succédera à la Guinée Bissau et au Sénégal dans les droits et les obligations découlant des Accords conclus par chacun des deux Etats et relatifs à l'exploitation des ressources de la zone.

**ARTICLE 6**

Par cet Accord, les Parties mettent en commun l'exercice de leurs droits respectifs, ceci est sans préjudice de titres juridiques antérieurement acquis par chacune d'elles et confirmés par décisions judiciaires, ainsi que des prétentions antérieurement formulées par elles relativement aux espaces non délimités.

## ARTICLE 7

Le présent Accord entrera en vigueur dès la conclusion de l'Accord relatif à la création et au fonctionnement de l'Agence internationale et avec l'échange des instruments de ratification des deux Accords par les deux Etats.

## ARTICLE 8

Cet Accord est en vigueur pendant une période de 20 ans renouvelable par tacite reconduction.

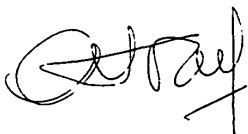
## ARTICLE 9

Les différends concernant le présent Accord ainsi que l'Accord sur l'Agence internationale seront résolus dans une première phase par voie de négociations directes et, en cas d'échec, au terme d'un délai de six mois, par arbitrage ou par la Cour Internationale de Justice.

En cas de suspension du présent Accord ou à son terme, les deux Etats auront recours à la négociation directe, l'arbitrage ou à la Cour Internationale de Justice pour la Partie des délimitations non réglées.-

FAIT à Dakar, le 14 octobre 1993.

Pour le Gouvernement  
de la République du Sénégal :



ABDOU DIOUF  
Président de la République

Pour le Gouvernement  
de la République de Guinée-Bissau :



JOÃO BERNARDO VIEIRA  
Président de la République



**Annex 69**

U.N. General Assembly, 51st Session, *Agenda item 9*, U.N. Doc. A/51/PV.19 (2 Oct. 1996)



United Nations

A/51/PV.19



# General Assembly

Fifty-first Session

**19**<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting  
 Wednesday, 2 October 1996, 3 p.m.  
 New York

Official Records

*President:* Mr. Razali Ismail . . . . . (Malaysia)

*The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.*

## Agenda item 119 (continued)

### Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations (Article 19 of the Charter) (A/51/366/Add.2)

**The President:** In a letter contained in document A/51/366/Add.2, the Secretary-General informs the President of the General Assembly that, since the issuance of his communications dated 17 and 20 September 1996, Equatorial Guinea has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

*It was so decided.*

## Agenda item 9 (continued)

### General debate

**The President:** I call now on His Excellency Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassem Bin Jabr Al-Thani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Qatar.

**Mr. Al-Thani (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic):** It gives me pleasure, Sir, to extend to you our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the

General Assembly at its fifty-first session. We are confident that you will lead the work of the Assembly to success. I cannot fail to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal, for his leadership during the Assembly's historic fiftieth session. I would also like to express our appreciation to His Excellency the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless efforts in the service of the purposes of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and the achievement of its lofty ideals.

A series of internal conflicts and explosive situations has threatened certain States. The world faces ethnic extremism and national conflicts caused by mass migrations, flows of refugees, environment deterioration and natural disasters. Such problems have not been met with the rapid economic and political changes that would form the cornerstone of the new international order to which the whole world aspires. A complete vision of that order, its rules and means, has not yet materialized. We should all work towards an international system that is just, balanced and comprehensive.

The vital and effective role played by the United Nations in dealing with international issues, in the maintenance of international peace and security and in other areas, the value of which cannot be denied or underestimated for the establishment of the principles of that international system, requires reform of the United Nations if we are to achieve the desired results. Reform should begin with reactivating the General Assembly to

enable it to act effectively in a manner that would enhance its credibility in the eyes of world public opinion.

We have also mentioned the need to reform the Security Council and increase its effectiveness in a manner that would reflect the geographic, economic and political situation of certain States, in a manner that would reflect the new international order, and would equip the Council to bear its heavy responsibilities.

The task of maintaining international peace and security is particularly important at a time of international change; the international community should take steps to deploy early preventive measures, since this is the best way to avoid the eruption and conflagration of conflicts, instead of resorting to political or military measures to end them, which can only lead to incomplete and unjust solutions. Therefore, it is important to reiterate the vital and effective role that could be played by regional organizations in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter.

Cooperation between the United Nations and other regional organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference should be promoted, since preventive diplomacy and early warning are the best way to prevent conflicts from erupting and to find peaceful solutions.

The question of disarmament is of great importance in terms of the establishment of international peace and security. It can be achieved only by curbing the arms race and, in particular, the race in weapons of mass destruction. We believe that the indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) requires more support and ratification by all States to give the Treaty a global character. The State of Qatar reaffirms the need for Israel to join the NPT and to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency as an initial step towards establishing a Middle East free from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. We believe that the interests of the stability and security of the region should compel Israel to do this.

The State of Qatar, on the basis of the wise approach of His Royal Highness, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, reaffirms its regional and international commitments and undertakes to work through international and regional organizations to promote international peace and security.

We associate ourselves with our brothers in the Gulf Cooperation Council and other friendly States in the quest to promote peace and security in the Gulf region, due to its vital importance to the whole world. We are also making tireless efforts to establish friendly and constructive relations with all States of the region, based on good-neighbourliness, mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for legitimacy and the solution of conflicts through dialogue, mediation or international law through the International Court of Justice.

On the basis of this principle, we support the attempt to find such a solution to the dispute between the United Arab Emirates and the Islamic Republic of Iran on the islands of Abu Musa and Lesser and Greater Tunb. We have expressed our great satisfaction at the agreement signed between the Republic of Yemen and Eritrea in Paris last month regarding the peaceful settlement of the dispute over Greater Hanish through international mediation and arbitration, peacefully and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law, in a manner that will serve the security and stability of the Red Sea region and promote bilateral relations, good-neighbourliness and common interests between those two countries and bolster international peace and security. At the same time, we would like to express our appreciation to the friendly Government of France for its efforts towards a peaceful settlement of this dispute.

The State of Qatar has expressed its brotherly feelings and sympathy with the people of Iraq, who are living under extremely difficult conditions due to the sanctions imposed on them. On the basis of that, we have welcomed the oil-for-food agreement between Iraq and the United Nations regarding the application of Security Council resolution 986 (1995), since this would mitigate the suffering of the Iraqi people and enable them to meet their need for food and medication. We call upon the United Nations to create the conditions necessary for implementation of that resolution.

We would also like to reaffirm our commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Iraq, and the principle of non-interference in its internal affairs. Yet at the same time, Iraq is required fully to implement all Security Council resolutions, which should stay within the context of international legitimacy and the norms of international law.

We express our great concern at the suffering of the people of Libya due to the sanctions imposed on them.

We associate ourselves in this regard with many other Member States regarding the approach followed in the implementation of the sanctions, and we call for the creation of necessary guarantees for the equitable application of the sanctions so that international interests are safeguarded and the suffering of the people as a result of the sanctions is alleviated.

The State of Qatar has worked to promote the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. We therefore took part in the Arab Summit Conference in Cairo in June 1996, when Arab leaders reaffirmed that the achievement of peace requires full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian territories, including Arab Jerusalem, conditions for the Palestinians to establish an independent State of its own with Jerusalem as its capital, and the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Syrian Golan and southern Lebanon pursuant to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1975) and in accordance with the principle of land for peace accepted by the Arabs and by Israel as a serious basis for peace in the Middle East.

From this rostrum, we would like to call upon the new Israeli Government to continue its efforts to ensure a successful peace process in the Middle East and to take account of United Nations resolutions, especially those that were the background of the Madrid Conference, and the principle of land for peace, in accordance with agreements already reached. We would like the Israeli Government to reconsider its position in order to give momentum to the peace process, to establish conditions conducive to cooperation among the peoples of the region and to achieve a lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

We call upon the two co-sponsors of the peace process and the international community in its entirety to support the peace process while at the same time providing the necessary economic and political assistance to the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Authority.

The State of Qatar expresses its deep concern at Israel's continued confiscation of Palestinian territories, the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories and the bringing in of settlers in violation of international decisions, the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the provisions adopted at the Madrid Conference.

These settler activities in the Syrian Golan, the occupied Palestinian territories and Arab Jerusalem should

cease without delay. We would also like to reiterate our rejection of any attempt to change the demographic character of the Arab city of Jerusalem or its legal status, specifically its geographic and geopolitical status before 4 June 1967. We call upon the international community to guarantee Israel's implementation of binding international resolutions regarding Jerusalem, in particular Security Council resolution 252 (1968), since the establishment of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without solving the issue of Arab Jerusalem and the problems of the Palestinian refugees, who should be granted the right to return in accordance with binding international decisions and the resolutions of the United Nations.

Qatar believes that the process of establishing comprehensive and just peace in the region is the only strategic option and that the decision of the Israeli Government to open a tunnel adjacent to Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif is a violation and desecration of sacred Islamic sites and a provocation of Arabs and Muslims all over the world. It runs counter to the peace process, is a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and threatens to freeze the peace process and return the region to tension and violence.

From this rostrum, we call upon the co-sponsors of the peace process and the international community to put a speedy end to Israeli actions against the Palestinians in the occupied territories in order to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people. We furthermore call upon all parties to continue negotiations and implement all the provisions of the agreements reached so far. We look forward to a successful conclusion of the Washington meeting and to tangible measures that would lead to the permanent closing of the tunnel and the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian areas.

The Middle East region and the whole world have suffered greatly from terrorism. We condemn terrorism in all its forms and have always supported international efforts to deal with this phenomenon. We are committed to promoting all initiatives to convene an international conference on this problem. Our participation in the Sharm el-Sheikh Conference was yet another testimony to our interest in this issue. However, we would like to reiterate that resisting occupation and aggression should not be stigmatized as terrorism, since it is done in defence of international rights.

We pay tribute to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have defended their entity and their

honourable ideals of tolerance and justice through more than four years of aggression and genocide. We reiterate our commitment to the unity of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to its sovereignty within its internationally recognized borders. We likewise call upon all parties to completely implement the provisions of the Dayton Agreement and make efforts to bring war criminals to justice.

The State of Qatar welcomes the agreement reached to put an end to the bloodshed in Chechnya, and we hope that the parties concerned will work for the establishment of peace and security in that region.

Developments in the world economy and the new prospects they offer, starting with the signing of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), require further measures to help fragile economies to develop and to give momentum to the global economy.

It is important therefore to reconsider the issues of the cost of weapons and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, such as preventive diplomacy and the provision of the necessary material and human resources. The costs saved in this manner must be rechannelled to assist developing countries to bolster their economies and raise the living standards of their citizens. Assistance from developed and rich countries should be used to combat poverty and underdevelopment.

The issues of poverty, underdevelopment and deprivation also threaten the environment. The overpopulation of our world has been a constant threat for many years and can only lead to a deterioration of the environment and to the spread of poverty in many countries of the world. Huge resources are squandered on non-essentials that cannot help to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries. The situation is getting more serious every day, and we should all be aware that a solution to these problems requires a reconsideration of the squandering of these resources in ways that do not alleviate human suffering or even meet human needs in poor countries all over the world. Developed countries and international organizations should bear the responsibility in finding the proper solutions to these problems to raise the standard of living of poor peoples. The new world order should not add to suffering and poverty in poor countries.

We reaffirm our confidence in the United Nations and our support for this unique international institution that bears the responsibility of dealing with grave humanitarian,

social, economic and political problems and that attempts to find effective solutions to these problems in accordance with the high ideals contained in the Charter for the establishment of a peaceful, secure and prosperous world in which cooperation should prevail.

**The President:** The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, His Excellency Mr. Álvaro Ramos.

**Mr. Ramos (Uruguay)** (*interpretation from Spanish*): Perhaps the term “globalization”, which occurs so frequently in so many decisions nowadays, best describes the international system which prevails in the present decade and which, under the influence of a growing and close interdependence, will extend into the twenty-first century. Admittedly, the term is not a precise one that sums up the broad and complex range of supranational phenomena that have been emerging since 1989, the year that symbolizes the end of the cold war.

It is undoubtedly a term that is indicative of the fact that today the cause-and-effect relationship in the economic, political and even the cultural sphere transcends traditional national borders more than ever. Interdependence is today more pronounced than ever before in history: markets, capital flows, research and production do not coincide with the political map. The industrial assembly lines of advanced technology ignore national borders, often making it difficult to determine the origin of a finished product, since its components come from such diverse sources. The political boundaries of States are no longer boundaries of economic production and processes. The network of multinational corporations has expanded to the extent that transactions between their subsidiaries account for one quarter of world trade. In the face of the fluctuation and volatility of international electronic transactions, the central banks of the most developed countries already have difficulty controlling the exchange rates of their currencies or the level of interest rates. The recent establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) is seen as the institutional culmination of this global trend towards liberalization of trade in goods and services and as a force conducive to interdependence.

Accordingly, globalization, despite the various rates at which it operates in different parts of the world — from the slow, deliberate pace at which it proceeds in countries with agrarian economies to the dizzying rapidity of its progress in those possessing advanced technologies — appears to be the distinguishing mark of

the post-cold-war era. This phenomenon increasingly lends itself to the dominance of a system of echoes and reflections between nations, of all manner of interrelationships, which in theory should contribute to international stability, since according to classical doctrine, the risks of military confrontation are reduced when nations become more interdependent economically and financially. Nevertheless, recent events have revealed the contrary: new sources of tension and conflict have emerged on the international scene, as well as new unconventional forms of violence and crime that affect world peace and destabilize coexistence within and between democratic societies.

In this setting of globalization and interdependence, the United Nations — with its universal composition, its agglutinative structure that brings together countries at the most varied levels of human development and ethnic or religious composition, its institutional capacity to act as a point of articulation or a sounding board for all concerns or aspirations that extend beyond the local, national or regional level — would be in an ideal position to play a leading and decisive role. In other words, this Organization is the forum that, by the nature and magnitude of its missions, should embody or interpret more faithfully than any other institution these compelling, topical phenomena of globalization and interdependence.

Yet, this distinctive role of the United Nations remains an unrealized vision. It must be asked, then, whether the United Nations, an organic manifestation of the global system that has taken shape in this decade, is capable of effective, systematic action in preventive diplomacy. We would take it one step further and ask what our own national responsibility is, as a democratic State and a founding Member of the United Nations, in strengthening its role in the face of new challenges.

Although this may appear simplistic, it is possible to conceive of war as a consequence of poverty, injustice, overpopulation or poverty. But if these conditions have to be eliminated before peace is feasible, then preventing or restricting hostile tensions becomes a Utopian exercise. For this reason, we believe that there is an urgent need to take an up-to-date, modern look at how the United Nations should react and act in response to the new threats to peace, and at what its capacity should be to respond to the phenomena inherent in the recent or current forms of globalization.

On considering these questions, we shall certainly come up against an unavoidable obstacle: that of the nation in its traditional form and as the basic unit on which the

structure of the United Nations was built. This nation no longer exercises a monopoly over international decisions, and consequently is not the exclusive determinant of their legitimacy. To some extent, this phenomenon may be similar to that described as the emergence of the imprecise State, found in a wide variety of non-State political bodies or agents that have an international impact through the intricate network of non-governmental organizations and multinational political movements whose proliferation is another sign of the new interdependence, and which play an increasingly active role in the management of the world system.

Undoubtedly, Governments, as the executives of the political decisions of States, retain their essential powers in matters of diplomacy, security, defence, macroeconomics and currency. Obviously, the United Nations, sustained by the will of Governments, has acted and continues to act as a summarizer or synthesizer of those various wills, without prejudice to the greater or lesser influence of the military or financial powers of its Member States. For this reason, quite naturally, the activity or inactivity of the Organization depends on the concerns or indifference of national Governments, or on the way in which those Governments articulate their consensus or disagreement. But other actors have also taken the international stage, and they are not always a part of the multiplicity of non-governmental organizations. There are also ethnic groups not assimilated into an externally imposed nationality, so-called region-States, with growing links to the world economy and decreasing links to national authorities, as well as religious movements that transcend frontiers and inflame fanaticism which, in some cases, has terrorist effects.

We therefore see a dual and contradictory process: globalization and fragmentation. On the one hand, interdependence has given rise to an increasingly interlinked world in which entities influence each other mutually, and this in theory would be conducive to the strengthening of political units and the formation of mega-States or large regional blocs. On the other hand, and as a consequence of the progressive impact of these new actors on the international scene, fragmentation has also emerged. Since its establishment, the United Nations has seen the number of Member States increase almost fivefold, and at present, approximately one third of these countries has been significantly affected by insurgent or dissident movements or Governments in exile.

For all of these reasons, which are associated with this dialectical process of globalization and fragmentation,

with the growing international importance of a heterogeneous collection of new actors and with the emergence of non-conventional threats to peace that cannot be reconciled through traditional mechanisms of collective security, we need to rethink our Organization and to act in consequence.

The restructuring of the United Nations is certainly not a new issue. On its thirtieth, fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries, efforts at revision, or rather at reform, emerged, aimed at achieving greater efficiency in the pursuit of its purposes. Unfortunately, however, the effort currently under way, like its predecessors, does not go to the root of the problem, which lies far deeper than the pursuit of administrative efficiency or the rationalization of functions. If we evaluate the current efforts to restructure the United Nations, we see clearly that in practice virtually all of the reforms being studied have no more than a procedural or formal impact, and do not make a decisive contribution to strengthening the system, or at least its substance, especially if we bear in mind that this Organization exists at a period in history characterized most distinctly by an accelerated pace of change.

Uruguay fully and spontaneously agrees with the widespread aspiration for change. Like the vast majority of States represented here, our country feels a deep-seated, natural inclination in favour of any means or instrument that, at the global or regional level, prompts or compels nations to conduct themselves in accordance with law. For countries such as ours, which are founded on the rule of international law, it is essential to support any effort to guarantee the legal order, the principles of law, and the rule of law in relations among States. This is not simply a rhetorical reaffirmation of our desire for peace or our conviction that international law must prevail.

Uruguay truly takes the principles of the Charter and the purposes of this Organization as its own, from the maintenance of peace and security — reflected in the fact that our country contributes the largest number of troops per capita to international peacekeeping operations — to the recognition of the primacy of international law — reflected in our being the first country to unconditionally accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Our position with regard to the United Nations is thus consistent with our historical definition of ourselves as a nation, a definition anchored in respect for international commitments and strict compliance with the principles of international law in all areas in which States bear responsibility.

With reference to the agenda for the present session, and without prejudice to the statements the delegation of Uruguay will be making in the various bodies of the Assembly, we believe it appropriate to make a few brief comments on some items of particular interest.

It is clear that the reform of the Security Council has captured the attention of the international community, precisely because of the post-cold-war changes I have mentioned. The potential impact of the Council on the evaluation, prevention or easing of international conflicts, and the effective application of the principle of legal equality among States make it necessary to have greater democratization or transparency in the decision-making process and more equitable geographical distribution in the composition of the Council.

Uruguay has already expressed its support for increasing the number of permanent members on the Council in the light of present-day world realities, but the number of non-permanent members should also be increased, precisely because of the need for greater transparency and greater representativeness. While many proposals for change have been put forward, we should at the very least all agree that the Council's future composition should be designed so that the quest for more representativeness does not adversely affect the Council's operational efficiency.

With regard to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, and despite the various obstacles that continue to hamper the consolidation of a broad and stable peace, it is essential that the international community maintain its support for the peace process initiated in Madrid in 1991. In the same spirit, it should continue to encourage direct talks between Israel, the Palestinian Authority and the Arab countries — as is occurring even today in the United States — with a view to achieving mutual recognition and the ultimate objective of a lasting peace throughout the Middle East. We are confident that the talks taking place in Washington will culminate in the success to which we all aspire, and to which they seem to be leading.

In another context, integration processes are indispensable for fair competition in a world of subregional blocks. In this regard, the countries of the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR) are convinced that our integration process contributes to a true liberalization of trade. MERCOSUR constitutes an integrated, open process that has created economic zones both inside and outside the subregion. Thus, impetus has



been given to association with other States of the hemisphere, with other regional blocs and with countries outside the region. But above all, MERCOSUR has generated trade, both inside and outside the organization. MERCOSUR is today a demonstration of open regionalism, which affirms the commitments and, above all, the teachings of the World Trade Organization.

There is no question that free trade has been and remains one of the cornerstones of world economic development, as was repeatedly recognized during the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). For this very reason, we cannot endorse unilateral efforts to effect the extraterritorial application of domestic legislation and as a consequence of which, whether by virtue of their letter or their spirit, a country would be able to extend the applicability of its laws beyond its own national borders, undermining not only the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States but also freedom of trade, which is the very essence of the World Trade Organization, recently established by the international community.

While our hopes for the establishment of representative democracy throughout our continent remain as strong as ever, we continue to oppose the unilateral application of economic, trade or financial measures against a State for political purposes. The usefulness of such measures for the rapid and peaceful transition of a country towards democracy has not yet been demonstrated.

With regard to cooperation for development, we recall that the countries with greater capacities to contribute undertook to allocate at least 0.7 per cent of their gross domestic product for that purpose. Yet there has been a significant downward trend in contributions stemming from that commitment in recent years, and this trend cannot be linked to the financial crisis the Organization is experiencing. These are resources intended to fight poverty and underdevelopment and to create more dignified living conditions for our peoples. Nor should we confine cooperation to a vertical, one-way process; rather, we must also view it in terms of South-South cooperation, availing ourselves of our mutual experience to create our own competitive advantages.

A few days ago, Uruguay became one of the first signatories to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. Together with other developments, such as the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the legality of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, this

Treaty constitutes a basic instrument for the reaffirmation of the principles of international peace and security.

Still in the field of disarmament, we have repeatedly voiced our opposition to the transfer, stockpiling, export and production of anti-personnel landmines. Accordingly, we shall continue to support keenly all initiatives aimed at eliminating them, as well as at securing the immediate entry into force of the Protocol adopted in Vienna last May. Uruguayan contingents assigned to peacekeeping Missions in Angola, Mozambique and Western Sahara have been among the many victims of these weapons, and it is the moral obligation of humankind to eradicate them.

Finally, we should like to close by referring to one of the clearest and most tangible manifestations of the phenomenon of globalization we have sought to describe: the production, trafficking and consumption of illegal drugs. This is one of the most tragic forms of international organized crime, and its growing seriousness is demonstrated by statistics from the most varied sources. Its transnational nature makes it essential that the principle of shared responsibility should be systematically applied — without exception or unilateralism — to the entire cycle of production, trafficking and consumption. This is a tightly wound chain whose links include all countries without exception.

Please accept, Mr. President, our sincerest congratulations on your election to guide the work of the Assembly and the firmest commitment of the Government of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay to support you in your activities.

**The President:** The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, His Excellency Mr. Clement Rohee.

**Mr. Rohee (Guyana):** As the United Nations faces the beginning of its second half-century and the dawn of a new millennium, we look to the Organization for the continuing fulfilment of the high purposes of its Charter: the maintenance of international peace and security and the achievement of international cooperation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

The experience of the past 50 years has shown that these goals are not easily attained. The end of the cold war has not meant an end to conflicts. The world has now entered a new era in which civil strife has replaced super-power rivalry as the main threat to peace and security.

We have yet to find workable solutions to many situations in which conflict continues to prevail. At the same time, the vast majority of mankind remains prey to poverty, hunger and disease. Such inhumane conditions serve as a fertile breeding ground for chronic economic and social degradation.

You, Mr. President, face the enormous task of guiding us through this vast thicket of concerns. We are confident, however, that your well-known diplomatic experience and skills will lead us to new paths in the search for satisfactory solutions. As a son of Malaysia, a country which has long championed the cause of peace and development, you will undoubtedly bring to bear a sense of urgency to the discharge of the many responsibilities with which you will be entrusted.

In so doing, you will build upon the efforts of your predecessor, Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal, who spearheaded our thrust to reform and restructure the world Organization in order to make it more responsive to our needs in the post-cold-war era. He is deserving of our gratitude for his labour during the past year.

I would also like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for providing dynamic leadership to the Secretariat in these challenging times.

The special commemorative meeting held last year to mark our Organization's fiftieth anniversary provided an excellent opportunity not only for reflection on its past achievements, but also on its future direction. There was no dearth of ideas and proposals for strengthening the United Nations in order to help it face the challenges of the twenty-first century. It may be useful for us to look closer at some of those suggestions to determine their feasibility for implementation. It is an exercise in which some of our main Committees, our several working groups and the Secretariat may profitably engage so that the thinking of our Heads of State and Governments does not fall by the wayside, unheeded and forgotten.

My own President, on that historic occasion, presented his concept of a new global human order in which the nations of the world could come together in a creative partnership for progress. This concept of partnership is predicated on the belief that we all now live in an interdependent world, in which, unless we learn to hang together, we will certainly hang separately.

No one nation, no matter how militarily and economically powerful, can hope adequately to address the

many complex cross-boundary problems which it now faces. States Members of the United Nations need to come together urgently to see how they can enhance cooperation in the various areas specified by the United Nations Charter.

Among the immediate imperatives would be the creation of a partnership for peace, for, although the world has been mercifully spared another world war since 1945, it has witnessed a number of conflicts, both old and new, which continue to proliferate and to sap our collective strength. The causes of these eruptions are often deep-seated and not easily eradicated. They require careful study and attempts at resolution. Invariably, this will mean that the United Nations will have to go beyond traditional peacemaking and peacekeeping to the increased practice of preventive diplomacy aimed at pacifying potential conflict situations. The experience of past operations, both successes and failures, should be distilled with a view to garnering those lessons which may be of guidance in future cases. In this context, classical approaches to conflict resolution may have to be supplemented by new and imaginative ideas.

Over the past few years, we have together made a laudable effort to enhance the Security Council's capacity to deal with threats to international peace and security. To our credit, we have been somewhat successful in making the Council's operations more transparent to the public eye. We have yet to decide, however, on the major aspects of resolution 48/26 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council.

*Mr. Wilmot (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

Ideas abound on ways and means of achieving these aims. Our challenge is to reconcile these so that a consensus can be reached on reform. My delegation believes that the various proposals now on the table, such as those made by Belize, Italy and Malaysia, need to be further examined to determine both their political acceptability and feasibility. It is possible that, under the right circumstances and with the necessary political will, a reformed and more representative Council will emerge.

A more democratic Security Council will command the respect and enjoy the confidence of United Nations Member States. In time, they may be persuaded to rely less on their own costly defence forces and more on the collective security system provided by the Organization. As specified by the Charter, the various organs and

agencies such as the Assembly, the Council itself, the International Court of Justice, the Secretariat and — under Chapter VIII — regional arrangements, can combine to form an effective bulwark against breaches of peace. During the cold war, some of these organs were precluded from performing their several functions. We must now seek to endow them with the machinery needed for their full operation.

At the same time, we need to strengthen the partnership against the proliferation of all lethal weapons, nuclear and conventional alike. Following the indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we have the opportunity now to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty which, while admittedly less than satisfactory, nevertheless offers a chance to proscribe the further development of dangerous weapons.

Although considered less worrisome than their nuclear counterparts, conventional weapons are no less destructive of human life and property. With the ending of the East-West arms race, these weapons are being diverted by producer States to developing countries, where they fuel tensions and eventual conflict. These dangerous transfers must be closely monitored and a serious attempt made to convert the arms industry to development purposes. It is time that we see a dividend from our investment in peace.

In eschewing the use of arms, we must seek to promote dialogue, negotiation and development to remove the root causes of all disputes and conflicts. The persistent eruption of violence in the Middle East demonstrates that, unless respect is shown for the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, peace will continue to elude that troubled region. The peace process cannot, therefore, be allowed to die since without it there is little prospect of reconciliation among belligerents. Similarly, in the Korean peninsula and, indeed, in all areas where divisions among peoples exist, we must use our best diplomatic and political efforts to reduce tensions and encourage peaceful reunification.

Our security concerns have widened in the post-cold-war era to other areas, such as the environment and drug-trafficking. As a small State and member of the Commission on Sustainable Development, Guyana looks forward to the review of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which is due to take place in 1997. That meeting will provide us with an opportunity to assess the progress made towards implementing the commitments assumed both at Rio and Bridgetown.

With regard to our efforts to combat drug-trafficking and abuse, we were pleased to participate in the high-level debate in the Economic and Social Council last June. We urge further international action on the measures agreed upon and also on the early establishment of an international criminal court which, in our view, will serve as an effective deterrent to drug-related crimes and to other violations against humanity.

Having participated in the various summit conferences which have been held on the environment and development, population and development, human settlements, women and children and social development, my Government is also anxious to see these agreements fully implemented. We also look to the upcoming World Food Summit in Rome to build upon these existing commitments. Eliminating hunger and guaranteeing food security to all the world's people are urgent imperatives for the international community.

As a country which has suffered from the deleterious effects of colonialism, Guyana stands in solidarity with all States that now face the formidable challenge of development. We were thus pleased to participate in the recent mid-term review of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. The results of that review gave reasons to hope that the African predicament can be overcome through a much-strengthened cooperation between African countries and the international community. We wish at this time to call on all States to intensify their efforts to support Africa's initiatives to promote its development, for the success or failure of the African Agenda will be the success or failure of us all.

These issues are at the heart of the wider and comprehensive Agenda for Development which we are in the process of elaborating. The endeavour we have made this past year to complete our negotiations on the content of this important document, while significant, points to the inevitable conclusion that we have yet to find the level of political will needed for meaningful agreement. We seem to be stuck in the confrontational mode set during our previous years of dialogue. My delegation is nonetheless of the view that, given the growing interdependence of Member States and the globalization of the world economy and society generally, there are now sufficient elements to form the basis of a global partnership for peace and development.

The terms of this partnership could be drawn up by mutual agreement of the parties, specifying both the

obligations and the rights of each side. On the part of the developing countries, there would be acceptance of their primary responsibility for their development as well as the need for good governance. The developed nations, on the other hand, would commit themselves to supporting these endogenous efforts and to assisting in the creation of an international economic environment that would be propitious to success.

Like the Lomé partnership that has existed for some time now between a large group of African, Caribbean and Pacific States and countries of the European Union, such an arrangement would provide a fair degree of predictability in its operations. Developed and developing countries alike would have the assurances of joint performance and common benefit. Eventually, this partnership would form the basis of a new and enlightened world order to which we have all aspired for many years.

My President, Mr. Cheddi Jagan and the Government and people of Guyana are dedicated to the creation of this new global partnership. We were pleased to note that several international conferences — including the ninth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Midrand, South Africa, and the meeting of the Group of Seven in Lyon, France — have fully subscribed to the concept. We are therefore encouraged to think that the time has come for the establishment of a new global human order that would be based on respect for national sovereignty, participatory democracy, socio-economic equality, people-centred development and the realization of the economic, social and cultural rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We know that such an order or partnership — call it what you will — will not be easy to create and will require the adoption of a fundamentally new development paradigm which will bring together all actors, governmental and non-governmental alike, as well as multilateral and regional institutions, to work together for economic and social progress.

At a symposium which was hosted in August 1996 by the Government of Guyana, ample consideration was given to ways and means of promoting this new order. In light of the changed political, economic and social circumstances of the world today, the conference agreed *inter alia*, that, since the enormous debt burden continued to inhibit development, serious consideration should be given to the cancellation of the debt of the least developed countries; a significant reduction in multilateral debt; and a reduction of the remaining debt stock to sustainable levels for the other developing countries, with debt-service payments limited to 10 per cent of exports, provided that 50 per cent of the

savings are used for social sector development. There should also be a significant increase in transfers of long-term development finance to developing countries by, first, attaining the existing official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product by mobilizing new and additional sources of finance; secondly, creating a global fund by mobilizing resources using new and innovative measures, such as the Tobin tax and environment-related levies from which Governments in both the North and the South would benefit; and, thirdly, introducing measures to stabilize the international monetary system and financial markets.

In our efforts to promote the concept of the new global human order, we believe that serious consideration should also be given to the establishment of a fair and equitable trading system, including the provision of reliable access to the markets of the North. Such a system should take into account the special needs of small developing States; ensure fair and stable commodity prices; secure a renegotiation of the provisions of the World Trade Organization, especially with respect to trade and environment, intellectual property rights and foreign direct investments; a reduction and relaxation of conditions attached to future financial transfers; a new emphasis on the expansion of production and growth for sustainable development and a safe physical environment in the south; the development of the social sector as a focus of any new programme with emphasis on education, human resources, health and the development needs of women, children and indigenous peoples; and the enhancement of efforts to democratize and strengthen the United Nations and to restructure other multilateral financial institutions to respond more effectively to the challenge of people-centred development.

In this regard, we must quickly resolve the financial crisis in which the Organization finds itself. Member States, particularly the developed countries, must honour their payment obligations so that the funding of all United Nations activities may be placed on a sound and predictable basis.

These are some of the measures which my Government believes need to be taken urgently by the international community in order to promote global peace and security. Admittedly, some, if not all, may seem in the eyes of many to be too bold and far-reaching. Yet, if they are not implemented soon, we run the grave risk of jeopardizing the future of generations to come. We have the moral imperative to act swiftly to prevent the further decline of our peoples and, indeed, of our entire

civilization. Let us therefore resolve to make this fifty-first session of the General Assembly a decisive turning point in the life of the Organization and an opportunity for forging a just and enlightened partnership among the peoples of the world.

**The Acting President:** I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea-Bissau and of the Guinean Communities, His Excellency Mr. Fernando Delfim da Silva.

**Mr. Da Silva** (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in Portuguese; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation*): I wish to congratulate the President warmly on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly and to reiterate our trust in his qualities and skills, which will help in conducting the work of this session. I assure him that the delegation of Guinea-Bissau is ready and willing to help him.

We would also like to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral, for the devotion and constructive spirit with which he carried out his duties.

We take this opportunity to underscore our appreciation to and reiterate our confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose initiative and personal involvement in the reform of the United Nations system have made satisfactory results possible.

Last year, over 185 States met in New York City to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. This historic event was an excellent opportunity for the United Nations to evaluate and assess the state of our Organization in a changing world and to cast a glance forward into the future.

Today, as yesterday, a large part of the world's population — which, to date, has experienced neither peace nor security, not to mention social well-being — place their trust in the United Nations, the only institution with a universal mission, capable of promoting international peace and security and developing socio-economic cooperation on a global scale.

The numerous challenges and hopes which the United Nations must respond to today are unprecedented. It is therefore important that we make every effort to restructure and revitalize the Organization, because the United Nations is facing an increasingly complex international situation.

In that connection, we commend the Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council for its contribution to overall efforts made on this important and timely question. Guinea-Bissau is of the view that all related proposals of the African Group, and other proposals such as that of Italy, should be given due consideration.

In a world beset by numerous grave conflicts, the United Nations is incontrovertibly, the best forum for achieving the ideals which underpin its irreplaceable role in promoting international peace and security.

However, despite the ongoing efforts of our Organization, peace and stability are still a dream in many parts of the world. Conflicts and fratricidal warfare, and the persistence of various kinds of serious tension among States, have made innocent victims of entire populations, causing loss of human life and provoking massive movements of peoples and refugees. Unfortunately, Africa is the continent most affected by this tragedy. Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia are dramatic examples of Africa's recent history.

My recent visit to Angola — which coincided with my country's presidency of the Security Council — as Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. João Bernardo Vieira, demonstrated our people's long-standing solidarity with the people of Angola and illustrates our unequivocal will to promote confidence among the parties, which is essential to the success of the peace process.

In that connection, we should like to stress the important role of the United Nations, the Troika and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Blondin Beye, in the establishment of the peace process in Angola. We are convinced that the road we have travelled and the successes achieved to date fully warrant the confidence of the international community and its continued support for the peace process in Angola. Guinea-Bissau hopes that the reasons for the delay of the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol will be overcome.

We deplore the tragedy that is dividing Liberia, a country of our subregion, just as we deplore the ongoing violations of the agreements concluded, which increase the loss of human life and provoke new outbreaks of violence. We are also gravely concerned to note the negative impact of the war in Liberia on the neighbouring countries.

We urge all warring factions to respect the new implementation plan of the Abuja Agreement and of the Liberian National Transitional Government. We also invite them to cooperate fully with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and the rest of the international community in the search for a definitive solution to the problem in Liberia.

The situation in the Great Lakes region, particularly the situation prevailing in Burundi, is also of great concern to us. We support the efforts of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to avoid a repetition of the Rwandan tragedy in these countries.

As for Western Sahara, we reiterate our support for the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to organize the referendum.

Guinea-Bissau continues to focus special attention on the situation in East Timor which needs a negotiated, peaceful, political approach if a solution is to be found. In this context, we would like to welcome the talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations to find a just solution to this conflict.

On behalf of our Government, I reiterate our firm conviction that the Republic of China on Taiwan should be part of the United Nations on the basis of respect for the principle of universality and for the legal equality of States.

The fundamental rights of 21 million inhabitants of a territory under the jurisdiction of a legal Government whose President has been democratically elected provide the political and legal basis for the recognition of their right to international status as a sovereign State under the legal and judicial terms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The reunification of China is a question that must be resolved by the people of China itself. However, the Republic of China on Taiwan is legally entitled to enjoy international status before reunification — in other words, its recognition as a State and application of the principle of parallel representation of divided States.

It is essential that the Middle East peace process be supported. We consider that any lasting solution to the Middle East conflict must respect the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State, and must respect the independence and territorial integrity of all States of the

region, including the State of Israel, and their right to live in security within internationally recognized boundaries. The tragic events of recent days have weakened the peace process while seriously affecting world public opinion. We urge the State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority to persevere on the path of dialogue towards the restoration of a climate of trust, which is vital for the establishment of lasting peace. We welcome the meeting between President Arafat and Prime Minister Netanyahu, which is an important step on that path. We commend all parties that are contributing to the restoration of the Israel-Palestinian dialogue, especially the Government of the United States of America.

The holding of elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a positive element in the resolution of this crisis in Europe. We hope that all the parties concerned will henceforth devote all their energies to the reconstruction of that devastated country, to ensure a future of peace, tolerance and development.

The embargo against Cuba, whose repercussions gravely affect the people of that country, must be resolved through dialogue and negotiation by the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a complete and satisfactory solution.

Poverty, malnutrition, hunger and major endemic diseases are a painful reality that affects a large part of the population of developing countries. We welcome the convening at Rome next November of the World Food Summit, organized by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

Guinea-Bissau is convinced that international security and stability depend on the collective struggle against all the internal and external factors that force a large part of the world's population to live in abject poverty. Indeed, the persistence of poverty throughout the world requires an ongoing sustained effort on the part of the community of nations and calls for a global approach to resolve the major socio-economic problems affecting the world.

The debt burden and debt-servicing gravely jeopardize development in Africa. During recent years, as was clearly demonstrated by the mid-term review of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, our countries have become net exporters of capital because of the financial agreements they must honour. Indeed, the amounts allocated to debt-servicing greatly exceed external resource flows. Guinea-

Bissau is no exception. Overall, third world economies have seen little improvement.

The gap between developed and developing countries continues to grow because of the slow rate of economic growth in the developing countries in general and the least-developed countries in particular. We welcome the action undertaken by the United Nations, especially the System-wide Special Initiative for Africa. My Government continues to devote considerable efforts to the economic recovery of our country, strictly applying the structural adjustment programme agreed with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, efforts to restore our country's macroeconomic balance and the well-being of our people should be supplemented by additional support from the international community, which we hope will continue to be forthcoming in support of our efforts in that direction.

Guinea-Bissau, an African country and a member of the Portuguese-speaking community, welcomes Portugal's initiative to propose to its European Union partners the convening of a European-African summit, whose objective would be to promote a political dialogue aimed at laying a new foundation for a new global partnership.

Environmental protection and the rational utilization of our planet's natural resources are the responsibility of all humanity. Aware of this reality, Guinea-Bissau has designed with its cooperation partners a strategy for sustainable development that respects environmental balance and which can be considered socially viable and just. In that context, our Government is making considerable efforts to implement the recommendations of the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development, the Platform of Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women, held at Beijing, and the recommendations of the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held at Istanbul.

Respect for and the full exercise of basic human rights are elements of freedom, peace and international stability. Guinea-Bissau, a democratic country, is resolved to preserve intrinsic human values, for harmonious and integrated development. The United Nations is intended to be the appropriate forum for finding concerted comprehensive solutions to the major challenges facing the world today. That is why it is vital to increase its ability to prevent conflicts and preserve peace and to promote socio-economic development. Today Guinea-Bissau, more than ever before, is determined to contribute to the achievement of the ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

**The Acting President:** I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Venezuela, Mr. Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas.

**Mr. Burelli Rivas** (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would like first of all to congratulate Ambassador Razali on his election to the presidency of the Assembly and to wish him every success in his work.

It would seem that after half a century, the debate on the meaning, importance, role and timeliness of this Organization has become increasingly impassioned. It could be said that the United Nations is on trial.

It may be that some of the criticism is justified. It is accused, for instance, of having a large bureaucracy, and it is said that there is a proliferation of situations requiring the deployment of military forces to pave the path for peace, which is also a path riddled with war. These situations came about without the consent of the Member States, who must all bear their share of the costs. This enlarged bureaucracy, added to the expenses of military peacekeeping, increases the financial burden of the weaker countries. Yet, it seems to be the strong countries that most resent and denounce this burden.

Nevertheless, to thoroughly assess and evaluate what the United Nations is and what it represents, we would have to compare it to another such organization of its kind, one that had brought together nearly 200 sovereign States, led them by the hand through 50 of the most enigmatic and dangerous years of history and remained a point of reference when all the ideological references had collapsed. And that other organization has never existed.

As far as we know, humanity has never lived through 50 continuous years of peace, yet 51 years have passed without a tremor of generalized conflict like the ones that once seemed to be cyclical. Even though misunderstandings and aggressions appear on one continent or another, based on deep-seated racial, religious or political hatred, and leading to genocide or local wars, we cannot speak of a conflagration, especially when the will of the people of all regions rises above these wars, committed to the restoration of peace.

The international community, in varying degrees, has started to review its greatest Organization, and it has focused its attention first on the Security Council. Fortunately, the creative imagination of States has suggested various ways to change it in order to make it more representative of the new world realities and, of

course, to make it more efficient. My country follows this process with enormous interest, aware that the Security Council will be the centre of balance of the world system.

In the meantime, this long period of relative peace has allowed for the rise of European integration, which is perhaps the greatest political achievement of our century. It has made possible the growth of daring and vigorous technological civilizations in Asian countries as well as understanding and growth in the Latin American region, which today has become, thanks to this understanding, humankind's most promising abode. In this framework, Venezuela has broadened its ties with and deepened its commitments to the great causes of our time, such as the enforcement of human rights, truly representative democracy, integration as an economic and political culture of our modern era and disarmament as a guarantee of world security. Tomorrow, on behalf of my country I shall proudly sign the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

My country hopes that the criticism levelled at the Organization will justify itself by leading to logical plans to reform and revitalize it. Its success must be definitively established in the implementation of human rights, in the fight against terrorism and in the alliance to exterminate drug trafficking and connected activities. A special session of the General Assembly has been called on this latter topic at Mexico's urging.

In his current report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General refers to the territorial controversy between Venezuela and Guyana. I must note that this controversy lies within the framework of the 1966 Geneva agreement signed by both countries in order to reach a practical and lasting solution to this dispute. In a spirit of dialogue and cooperation between the two parties, we appealed to the Secretary-General's good offices and are now applying one of the mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in the United Nations Charter. We are therefore surprised that this case is expressly mentioned in the chapter on conflict situations.

As a Latin American, I must recognize that, thanks to this lasting peace, my region, a scion of Europe, and its creature in many respects, has resumed friendly relations with its natural metropolis after 80 years of world wars that had separated us and created a rift in the cultural patterns that had governed us for centuries.

Of course, numerous threats linger on. The so-called weapon-States that have the financial resources to spark a regional conflict that can multiply and spread are still there,

untouched by democratic norms and mostly driven by fanaticism. In countries where no one would have imagined it, the danger of racial discrimination returns like a nightmare. At the very centre of the most cultured continent, we have witnessed a war and a genocide that we would angrily condemn in Cambodia or in Rwanda, and among countries that have been a world example of tolerance and coexistence for centuries. The followers of two religions that are virtually the same confront and exterminate one another almost daily.

At the same time, the conditions of exchanges, the goals of good policies and the miracle of modern communications lead to a free flow of trade, technology, scientific models and human movement, both through tourism and through commercial interests. All this is bringing humanity together as a whole, using information to express an impassioned interest that is beginning to be widely known as globalization.

The Organization still has to overcome the prophecies and schemes of pessimistic traditions, according to which natural law dictates the existence of wars, diseases and other disasters as a fateful necessity to regulate population growth and as an incentive to devise technologies and scientific developments in the escalation that Malthusians see in their observation of nature.

Peace is the primary purpose of the United Nations; war is the recourse most commonly used by humanity to try to solve imbalances and resentments. And we have peace, ceaselessly troubled but always re-established as far as and wherever possible. But we must remember that war is the most chronic of recidivists, since greed and ambition feed on it.

We might say that what this Organization needs to solve universal strife, poverty and untrammelled population growth is a human resource development and systematic education project to do away with the fragile ethics of our time and to teach all nations the art of living — and living together. Fears, suspicions and animosities are engendered by ignorance among people and nations.

I speak on behalf of a country whose most important natural resource has endowed it with power and economic euphoria on the one hand, and plunged it into acute psychological depression on the other. That resource is oil, of which we hold the largest and most secure reserves in the Western world. Since oil legally belongs to the State, as do all underground resources, the State finds it,



processes it, sells it and distributes its revenues as services. Little by little, the old agricultural country became used to stretching out a hand to receive from the State gifts of protectionism, subsidies, scholarships, credits and even undue largesse, all of which used to come from the land as a reward for labour.

For more than two generations Venezuelans relied exclusively on oil, disregarding personal effort. At times, the State demagogically encouraged this dependency and promoted idleness, thus leading to ethical complications born of collusion between politics and the economy. This is the deep-seated reason for the so-called Venezuelan crisis. It is different from others because it is not economic but moral, and can only be solved by a return to honest behaviour and personal endeavour, which requires a great deal of time and effort.

This is what the Administration of President Rafael Caldera is striving for. After trying to reverse the enormous evils he inherited, using measures that were not too harmful economically for the weakest sector, on 15 April, he decided to open up the economy and incorporate prevailing market economy values through the Venezuelan Agenda. He was careful, however, to establish a programme to absorb the enormous shock this opening causes transitionally on the majorities accustomed to the old State paternalism. After a brief period, we are emerging from this unique crisis, which cannot be and could not have been resolved by a simple decree, as other crises, since it required and still requires a change in habits in order for people to learn to be self-sufficient. The case of Venezuela could recur in other countries characterized by State paternalism.

If we look closely at the so-called social crisis that all Latin American countries suffer, we can see it is due to a lack of training. We used to say that education was the universal solution to all problems, and it is. But at a time when Latin American society has become unhinged because of peasant migrations undoing the social and moral order, with the ensuing marginalization brought about by a change in customs leading to the degradation of the family, both education and training are absolute necessities.

The breakdown of the traditional home deprives people of the essential ethical values that used to be learned from the mother. Nowadays, the State must replace the home and the mother, in preparing the inner self of its citizens. It is evident, therefore, that training and education are of primary importance since the human being's inner self must be strengthened in order to rebuild the family

unit, which gives coherence, pride and courage to a society. Simón Bolívar, the Liberator of America, grasped the whole problem when he said, "Morality and enlightenment are our first necessities". Perhaps the whole world today suffers the same evil and has the same needs.

The United Nations, through its specialized agencies, is carrying out innumerable programmes, studies, trials and experiments to solve the daily tragedy of our human species. This is becoming more and more complex since the efforts are aimed at an already deformed being, incapable, therefore, of living in harmony with others.

If we were to agree that the chain connecting home, primary school, secondary school, university, and life broke down some time ago, and that it is missing its first link, without which all else is pointless and without foundation, we would invest at the very roots of human life the economic and scientific resources needed to form human beings from the start, enabling them to grow, endowed with the values that would make them citizens.

Latin America, born unaware of racial hatred, religious conflicts and territorial greed, with an indivisible spirit made up of a combination of influences that move in the same direction on the freest and broadest of stages, is hurt by the fact that its real problems today are social ones, brought on by the error of political regimes that ignored the discipline of education or doubted its undeniable primacy.

Democracy has taken root in Latin America as in no other part of the universe as a consequence of political desire. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied, because democracy must mean the eradication of age-old ills and constitute, more than merely a system to elect governments, a cogent civilization.

We aspire to a democracy transparent in its conduct and effective in its achievements to continue offering it as an alternative to the ancient dictatorships. This explains my country's perseverance in attaining an honest and clean democracy. In this regard, we have proposed a convention against corruption, which has been approved at the hemispheric level. Strangely enough, it would be the first of its kind in the world, which goes to show how strongly entrenched this vice is: it has gone unpunished by dictatorships and democracies alike throughout time and around the world.

The day is not distant when this instrument, limited now to our hemisphere, will encompass our whole

Organization, since the crime it prosecutes is not exclusively American but takes root in many countries on all continents. During the last substantive session of the Economic and Social Council, Venezuela, together with Argentina, the United States and other countries, sponsored a United Nations declaration on corruption and bribery in transnational commercial activities, which is clear proof that the fight against unpunished corruption prospers in the world.

If the United Nations, aware that the key to universal change lies in training and education, were to inspire and lead an in-depth study of what makes a human being, of the way societies that break into conflict or serve as models for others are defined by the sum of their members; if the United Nations were to use the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to add a universal teaching component to all its cooperation programmes, then the true ethical and human redemption of society would begin.

Free of prejudice and with sufficient resources, Latin America, a melting pot of customs and races, could serve as a laboratory to show how the human species can straighten its spine of ethics, which has been so twisted in so many places. Our America as a whole is a welcoming place for peace, since there are no elements of unease or insecurity other than social asymmetries — not the asymmetries of blood-lines, but those of dire poverty, born of the incapacity to transform and distribute our plentiful natural resources.

We are living a unique moment in history. In a short time, without violence, we have seen great empires come to an end, the elimination of the cruellest jails of human thought, the liberation of all wills and the opening of the greatest opportunity peoples have ever had to reorganize themselves in accordance with hopes and desires that were long repressed or thwarted by violence of all sorts.

As Marguerite Yourcenar says in her biography of Hadrian, referring to the religious perplexity of the great Emperor: in his lifetime the old gods no longer existed and Christ had not yet arrived. Humanity's present spirit seems to be similar: free, but still dazed and hesitant to adopt a new order from a new mould; but, above all, free, although at this fateful moment great leaders might be lacking.

The United Nations holds and reflects this feeling — hovering between jubilation and disbelief — like a prodigy standing before the panorama of infinite possibilities of what we can create with the fertile dreams of our era.

**The Acting President:** I now call on His Excellency Mr. Koffi Panou, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Togolese Republic.

**Mr. Panou (Togo)** (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I would like to express to the President my sincere and warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-first session. My delegation is convinced that his skills, his perfect mastery of international issues and his unstinting efforts will bring the work of our session to a satisfactory conclusion. In the same context, I would like to assure him of my delegation's readiness to cooperate with him in the discharge of his lofty mission.

It is also a pleasure for me to commend the remarkable work done by his predecessor, Mr. Diogo Freitas do Amaral, who stamped the fiftieth session with the seal of his effectiveness and dedication. I pay tribute to him on behalf of my delegation.

I would also like to congratulate Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for the noteworthy way in which he has devoted his energies to the achievement of the objectives of our Organization and to enhancing day by day its credibility. He has all the respect of the Togolese delegation.

The economic, political and social context of this session hardly seems to differ from that of previous years: the ongoing conflicts continue to take many victims. Moreover, terrorism continues to have a great impact on the world, and the burden of debt, with all its implications, holds in check the development of many countries, particularly those of Africa. All these phenomena cast a shadow over the international landscape and prompt concerns regarding the genuine advent of peace, security and prosperity, to which all of humanity legitimately aspires.

It is in this context that Togo has endeavoured to consolidate the basis of a state of law and to confront the imperatives of sustainable human development to ensure the social well-being of its people.

Togo has begun the process of democratizing national political life, and the process has had a normal and encouraging development, particularly in the last three years. The calm, orderly and transparent holding of partial legislative elections on 4 and 18 August 1996 illustrates the resolve of the Togolese people, with the impetus of the Head of State, Mr. Gnassingbe Eyadema,

to move forward along the road to democracy, peace and political stability, which guarantee social and economic development.

Having learned the lessons of a difficult democratic transition, which ripped the social fabric and cast into doubt the achievements of its development process, the population of Togo is more aware than ever before of the need to preserve and strengthen its unity. By doing so it will be able to effectively meet present and future challenges, ensure its prosperity and make its modest contribution to the building of a better world. The President of the Republic and the Government of Togo intend to continue to work tirelessly in this direction, in concert with other members of the international community. They are satisfied to note today that the people of Togo, through the hardships that they have endured, have acquired a clear awareness of self-responsibility. Thus, having supported the efforts of their leaders for several months, they more and more firmly reject political formulas and organization approaches designed in other climes that have proved unsuitable in the context of their history and culture. In the view of many observers, the Togolese people, through the countless manifestations of its political will, is cultivating the authentic African democracy that we all desire.

Last year the United Nations commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. On that occasion, the General Assembly observed in its Declaration:

“The determination, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, ‘to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war’ is as vital today as it was fifty years ago.” (*resolution 50/6, first para.*)

The many ethnic or religious armed conflicts that still scar the international landscape confirm this view of the General Assembly and demonstrate the magnitude of the task still facing the Organization.

Africa remains one of the world’s regions of tension, and our continent has been sorely tested by cruel conflicts persisting in a number of States. The Government of Togo deplores the fact that conflicts such as those in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Burundi and Angola have not yet been definitively resolved. The huge numbers of victims, refugees, displaced persons and the massive destruction caused by these conflicts should be enough to convince the parties concerned of the need to put an end to their disputes, which could tire the patience and perseverance of the international community in its efforts.

Concerned over the deteriorating situation in these countries, the Togolese Government urges the various actors to seek a peaceful solution to their disputes, through dialogue and cooperation, so that their peoples can at last find the peace and stability necessary for their development.

With respect more specifically to Liberia, my delegation welcomes the bold measures taken by the Committee of Nine of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) at its meeting in Abuja last August, aimed at successfully concluding the peace process begun many years ago. These measures, accompanied by sanctions, attest to the determination of the ECOWAS countries to do their utmost to find a definitive and lasting solution to this fratricidal and seemingly endless conflict.

At this new stage of the process, it is important for our Liberian brothers to recognize the tremendous efforts made by the ECOWAS States, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, and to show good will in order to facilitate the effective implementation of the Abuja Agreement of 19 August 1995, which provides the means to end this conflict and to return to peace and to constitutional normalcy.

With respect to the dispute over the Bakassi peninsula, my country would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General’s efforts towards a peaceful settlement. These efforts, which recently took the form of the dispatch of a good-offices mission to Cameroon, Nigeria, Bakassi and Togo, may help strengthen the interim measures aimed at reducing tensions, while waiting for a judgement to be handed down by the International Court of Justice.

Togo is determined to work towards resolving all conflicts by peaceful means and to safeguard peace and security on the African continent. Thus my country and its President are prepared to contribute to the restoration of peace on the peninsula and to the normalization of relations between the two countries. In the same spirit, the Government of Togo hopes that the good will shown by the two parties during the visit of the Secretary-General’s good-offices mission will continue to prevail, so that the desired goal may be achieved as soon as possible.

The persistence of these conflicts, which deeply undermine our continent’s development efforts, compels me to recall the proposal made at the thirtieth session of the OAU conference of Heads of State and Government

by President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo aimed at establishing an inter-African force charged with keeping the peace wherever it is threatened or breached.

We welcome the various initiatives undertaken to that end to make this idea a reality, so that Africa, with the support of the international community, might better manage conflict situations, which divert the efforts of the African peoples from the priorities of economic and social development.

Along the same lines, given the numerous conflicts the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution will have to face and in light of the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, it is important to strengthen the activities of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa, headquartered in Togo. To that end, it would be appropriate if the Centre, established pursuant to resolution 40/151 G of 16 December 1985 by the General Assembly at the request of OAU Heads of State and Government, could benefit from adequate and appropriate resources so that it could fully discharge its duties. In that context, I should like to reaffirm that the Government of Togo, which attaches great importance to this Centre, will do its utmost to honour its commitments as the host country.

The 1991 Madrid Peace Conference on the Middle East and the Washington agreements of 13 September 1993, *inter alia*, have sparked hopes regarding a negotiated settlement of the question of Palestine and the conflict in the Middle East as a whole. The evacuation of certain occupied territories of Palestine, the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, the repeal of anti-Israel provisions from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) charter, and the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, are positive occurrences that bear witness to the progress achieved in the context of the Middle East peace process. Togo welcomes this progress.

However, the difficulties that have confronted this process in the last few days, jeopardizing its normal development, are a source of grave concern for my delegation. The delegation of Togo is particularly concerned at the tragic events that took place last week in Jerusalem, which claimed many Palestinian and Israeli victims.

Togo, which endorses Security Council resolution 1073 (1996), adopted on 28 September 1996, calls for greater energy in the continuation of the process until it achieves concrete results. It urges the evacuation of all occupied Arab territories, the existence of Israel within

secure and internationally recognized borders, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. At any rate, it is important to achieve a just and comprehensive peace benefiting all countries of the region, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

With respect to the war in the former Yugoslavia, I should like on behalf of the Togolese Government to heartily congratulate the architects of the Dayton Agreement, signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, and to express our appreciation at the acceptable development of the situation in the light of the implementation of that Agreement. We would like to encourage the main actors in that conflict to continue to seek a negotiated settlement aimed at a definitive return to peace and stability in that part of Europe.

Aside from hotbeds of tension, we must note that terrorism, which we condemn, is, because of its pernicious objectives and criminal acts, one of the gravest threats today to international peace and security. We welcome the holding of the Summit for Peacemakers in Sharm el-Sheikh and the recent meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 7 major industrialized countries and of the Russian Federation in Paris. The Government of Togo welcomes the various measures advocated at these two meetings in order to energetically thwart the activities of transnational criminal organizations and their agents.

With respect to the safeguarding of peace through disarmament, Togo reiterates its firm commitment to general and complete disarmament, and supports unreservedly the efforts of the international community to achieve that objective. In this connection, my delegation considers that the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), opened for signature by States on 24 September 1996, and which I have just signed on behalf of the Government of Togo, will undoubtedly contribute, if it is accepted and applied by all, to a reduction of the nuclear threat. This would allow the international community to make headway towards the definitive elimination of nuclear weapons, which is one of the most ardent wishes of humanity.

As the Declaration on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations states:

“A dynamic, vigorous, free and equitable international economic environment is essential to the well-being of humankind and to

international peace, security and stability.”  
(*resolution 50/6, para. 2*)

This unanimous recognition of the positive effects that a sound international economic climate can have on world stability is absolutely accurate. The growing indifference of a large part of the international community to the search for appropriate solutions to the current economic crisis is becoming increasingly disturbing. Indeed, while in the industrialized countries the overall socio-economic situation is experiencing positive developments and while the disparities in their economic performances are decreasing, we note with regret that the developing countries, particularly in those of Africa, still languish under the debt burden and have great difficulty in extricating themselves from the situation they have been in for several years.

As has been repeatedly pointed out, the solution to the economic problems of the developing countries requires radical and innovative solutions, *inter alia*, the cancellation or appreciable reduction of their debts and the implementation of bold measures aimed at promoting their progress.

My delegation welcomes the efforts made so far by creditors to resolve the debt problem. It appreciates the resolve expressed by the seven major industrialized countries at the G-7 Lyons Summit to take additional action to reduce the debt burden of the poorest countries *vis-à-vis* multilateral institutions and bilateral creditors that are not members of the Paris Club. It welcomes in particular the recent decision of the Ministers for Finance of the seven major industrialized countries, at their meeting in Washington, to alleviate the debt burden of the poorest countries, up to a limit of 80 per cent.

Aside from the question of debt, my delegation is also concerned with other problems of development. Aware that they are primarily responsible for promoting their own development through sound and consistent economic and social policies, the developing countries involved in structural adjustment programmes have made enormous sacrifices, which, unfortunately, have not yet achieved the desired results. Thus most of these countries face serious social problems, including endemic disease, hunger, unemployment, a high number of unemployed graduates, strident claims by its citizens and poverty.

To confront and resolve these various ills in a lasting manner, the international community must show greater solidarity and mobilize, together with these countries, to render them the necessary assistance. Moreover, in order

for it to take off economically, Africa must stop being viewed as just a reservoir of raw materials.

At this time of globalization of the economy and the liberalization of markets, it is imperative that African States become competitive in international trade. To this end, they must meet the challenges of industrial development through sustained technical and financial cooperation with the industrialized countries. Moreover, it is important that Africa not become dependent on the exploitation of raw materials, whose prices are constantly deteriorating. The pace of its industrialization must be encouraged to accelerate through international cooperation based on partnership and the support of developed countries, development-related bodies and the relevant multilateral financial institutions.

In that connection, the Government of Togo, which created and continues to strengthen conditions that favour foreign investment in its free zone, *inter alia*, would like to express its gratitude to both its public and private partners and to the industrial development institutions that, through their investments and various forms of assistance, have supported its initiatives in this domain.

The World Food Summit will be held in Rome next November. The Government of Togo hopes that the work of the Summit will meet with success and that the recommendations that will be adopted there will help to improve the food and agricultural situation so that the needs of peoples in this sphere can be met.

Togo welcomes the United Nations System-wide Special Initiative on Africa, launched on 15 March 1996 by the Secretary-General. We see in this initiative a confirmation of the commitment of the Secretary-General and the United Nations system to give concrete reality to the objectives of the San Francisco Charter in order, *inter alia*, to support development in Africa.

At a time when the economic and social situation of Africa is constantly deteriorating, it is important to duly appreciate this Special Initiative promoting a partnership between political and economic institutions and African Governments. One of the Initiative's good points is that it deals substantively with problems and focuses primarily on action towards peace, political stability and development on the continent. However, in order for it to achieve its objectives, the international community must become effectively involved in its implementation by making a decisive contribution to the mobilization of the necessary financial resources, so that it does not become

simply just another initiative for Africa. My Government will devote the necessary attention to it in order to turn the situation to best account.

In today's world, where nations are confronted with the paradox of fragmentation and globalization, the United Nations, more than ever before, has a key role to play. Thus, in connection with the severe lack of resources that has brought the United Nations to the brink of bankruptcy, my Government is among those which believes that no reform of the Organization can succeed if the Organization has to fight for its own survival. It is therefore urgent that drastic measures be taken to ensure a stable financial base for the Organization and to put a definitive end to this payments crisis, which has paralysed it. The principal States in arrears should show the political will to help resolve the crisis.

In the view of my delegation, improved effectiveness of the United Nations is a must; but it is also important to promote its democratization. We believe, therefore, that the Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council is proceeding in the right direction. Given the present configuration of the United Nations, and as noted by the Working Group, it is necessary to contemplate an equitable and responsible increase in the number of permanent and non-permanent members of the Council and to strengthen its links with the main organs of the United Nations and with the Member States, so as to enhance transparency.

For many decades, thanks to the sustained efforts of the United Nations, multilateralism has clearly been the most appropriate framework for resolving problems relating to international peace and security and to development.

The balance sheet drawn up last year, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, was encouraging despite certain shortcomings. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. Greater efforts are required on the part of Member States, as well as greater resources, so that a reformed and revitalized United Nations, better adapted to current realities, can respond effectively to the expectations of humanity as a whole.

In the discharge of the lofty mission assigned to the Organization, Togo, for its part, will associate itself without reservation to any initiative aimed at safeguarding international peace and security and promoting justice, human rights and progress for the benefit of all nations.

**The Acting President:** I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf.

**Mr. Al-Sahaf (Iraq)** (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to begin my statement by congratulating Mr. Razali Ismail on his election to the office of President of the General Assembly at its fifty-first session.

I am quite confident that his extensive experience and competence will definitely contribute to the successful outcome of this session. I should like to assure him that we are keen to cooperate with him and support his efforts to bring the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

In recent weeks, Iraq has been the focus of worldwide attention and interest because of the American missile attacks to which it has been subjected and the intensive American military build-up that followed in preparation for a large-scale military aggression on the pretext that Iraq violated Security Council resolutions.

I would like here to describe our views on these events. Iraq has acted in no way contrary to the Charter or Security Council resolutions or to justify an American military aggression against it. What Iraq did was to move its forces on its own territories and within its internationally recognized borders at the request of one of the main Iraqi Kurdish factions in order to repel a military aggression committed by another faction in alliance with a neighbouring foreign country. This action of the Iraqi Government falls within the sovereignty of Iraq over its own territories and in the context of its duty to defend its own people and repel any foreign aggression against them. This is a right guaranteed by all international covenants and laws. It is also a basic responsibility of the Government of any country.

The operation was limited, swift and carried out without the loss of human lives. This has been attested to by all observers, including officials of United Nations agencies who were working in northern Iraq. This operation put an end to the state of civil war, in-fighting, chaos and insecurity in northern Iraq and restored peace and stability to that region. The United States, however, tried to exploit these developments and to use them as a pretext to carry out missile attacks against Iraq and destroy a number of civilian installations, leaving many martyrs and wounded civilians in its wake.

The United States Administration was not satisfied with its military aggression against Iraq. The United States President openly announced, on 3 September 1996, his decision to expand the no-fly zone in southern Iraq, which had been imposed by the United States in 1992, from the 32nd parallel to the 33rd parallel. The imposition of no-fly zones in Iraqi airspace is a use of armed force in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. It was a unilateral decision that had nothing to do with the United Nations nor with Security Council resolutions on Iraq. This fact was confirmed by the official spokesman of the United Nations on 7 January 1993, when he said that the imposition of the no-fly zone in southern Iraq was not based on any Security Council resolution.

The spokesman of the French Foreign Ministry announced on 2 September 1996 that:

“There is no United Nations or the Security Council provision defining the basis for a no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel or south of the 32nd parallel. The decision to establish these zones is a quadrilateral decision by France, the United States, Britain and Turkey. There is no provision by the United Nations defining these zones.”

As the Permanent Representative of Russia to the United Nations pointed out on 5 September 1996:

“This no-fly zone, from its inception, was not based on any international legal foundation.”

The Arab and world reaction to the aggressive actions of the United States has been one of rejection and condemnation. The whole world now knows that the imposition of the no-fly zones in Iraq is neither legitimate nor legal and constitutes an ongoing aggression against Iraq. It must cease.

From the beginning, Iraq has been very clear in rejecting the so-called no-fly zones unilaterally imposed by America and some of its allies. America and Britain insisted on expanding this no-fly zone and claimed that its aim, as declared by the highest officials in the United States Administration, was to protect United States strategic interests in the region. I wonder: Is a State entitled forcibly to impose such a situation on another independent State, also a United Nations Member, on the pretext of protecting its strategic interests? Such acts would cause the law of the jungle to prevail in international relations over the law of the Charter.

We demand that the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council reject this logic — which is based neither on international legitimacy nor on the authorization of the Security Council itself — and relieve our country of this injustice. None of the allegations and pretexts put forward by the United States to justify its attacks and military build-up against Iraq have any justification in law, fact or legitimacy. They should be deplored and condemned.

I would like here to express the gratitude of the people of Iraq for the Arab and world reaction to this aggression and the acts that followed, which were aimed at violating Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

No one here is unaware of the suffering of the Iraqi people as a result of the total blockade imposed on them, which has prevented them from satisfying their basic human needs for more than six years. Conditions in Iraq have reached such an extreme that it has become impossible for the United Nations to maintain the silence imposed on it by one party's will, especially when humanitarian organizations and United Nations agencies have loudly warned of the serious consequences and harm of continuing the total blockade of Iraq. Infant mortality rates have soared for lack of food and medicine. Disease is rampant. The health, education and environmental sectors have deteriorated. There have also been major effects and regression in other humanitarian fields, in the growth and development of which Iraq had been a pioneer among third-world countries.

However, the United States of America, which has been shedding crocodile tears over the humanitarian conditions of the Iraqi people and their need for food and medicine, stands today publicly and blatantly against the legal, balanced and proper implementation of the memorandum of understanding on the “oil for food” formula arrived at by Iraq and the United Nations Secretariat on 20 May 1995.

While the professional and diplomatic dialogue between Iraq and the United Nations Secretariat managed to reach agreements satisfactory to both sides, the United States tried to put all kinds of hurdles in the way of the negotiations at each phase, with a view to delaying the finalization of the memorandum of understanding. Then it started to set up road blocks, hindering the actual implementation of the memorandum's provisions in the framework of the sanctions committees and in the completion of the administrative arrangements needed for such implementation.

I would like here to provide some statistics to demonstrate the magnitude of the obstacles the United States threw up to the process of drafting the memorandum of understanding. It is well known that it took 50 working meetings to complete the memorandum — 50 working meetings — from 6 February to 20 May 1996. In the course of this process, the United States presented 29 amendments to the provisions of the memorandum agreed upon with the United Nations Secretariat during the negotiations. Although Security Council resolution 986 (1995) provides for accelerated procedures to implement agreements, it took 80 days to establish the said procedures. During this period, 28 informal meetings were held with experts from the French and German missions; there were five formal meetings, at which the procedures were supposed to have been quickly completed and adopted. The United States, however, delayed that adoption for three more weeks. The United States remains to this day the only party blocking the implementation of the memorandum of understanding, and it does so for political reasons that completely contradict its own allegations that the purpose of resolution 986 (1995) is purely humanitarian.

Because of United States pressure and interference, the Secretary-General has so far been unable to implement the memorandum of understanding. This is evidenced by the fact that discussion on the implementation of a six-month plan to provide food and medicine to the Iraqi people has taken seven months. It is not yet complete because of continuous United States interference and derailing of the process to implement this memorandum. We believe that these acts should cease and that the United Nations Secretariat and Iraq should be allowed to implement the memorandum as soon as possible and without further interference.

The Iraqi people want to be able to satisfy their own needs, using their own capabilities and financial means. They seek the lifting of restrictions whose sole aim is to starve them and wound their honour and pride. However, like the people of Iraq, a proud people more than 6,000 years old that has given birth to human civilizations, will not kneel before any threat nor surrender its sovereignty and pride to those whose only aim is hegemony over the wealth of peoples and things sacred to them. Iraq is only demanding its right — guaranteed by all international covenants and customs and Security Council resolutions — since all the obligations imposed on Iraq have been carried out and all the reasons for the imposition of these unjust sanctions have been removed.

Iraq has fulfilled all its obligations under Security Council resolutions in spite of the injustice they involved. While these same resolutions place corresponding obligations on the Security Council, we have seen no movement by the Council to meet them. We feel, rather, that the Council has abdicated its powers of control and monitoring of the implementation of its resolutions. It assigned that task to the Special Commission (UNSCOM), which it entrusted with the implementation of section C of resolution 687 (1991) and gave sole responsibility to decide whether Iraq has carried out all its obligations and deserves to have the sanctions lifted.

UNSCOM has been working throughout Iraq for nearly six years. It has sent 373 inspection teams, comprising a total of 3,754 international inspectors, in addition to its established staff located in Baghdad, which is made up of more than 90 officials. The Commission uses the most up-to-date scientific and technological means and methods, which should have enabled it to accomplish its mission and verify the results of its work. Is it conceivable that this Commission has been unable to accomplish its mission to date? Would anybody ask the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM what has been accomplished and what remains to be done? Is it conceivable that UNSCOM has not yet been able to destroy the weapons of mass destruction once owned by Iraq? What has this huge army of inspectors been doing all this time? They did not come to Iraq for a vacation. Is it true that the documents and equipment which the Commission alleges to remain but has been unable to find constitute a threat to international peace and security and require the withholding of its recommendation that the sanctions against Iraq be lifted, even partially?

Iraq has fulfilled all its substantive obligations with regard to the implementation of section C of resolution 687 (1991) on the elimination of prohibited weapons. I would like to reaffirm from this rostrum, on behalf of my Government, that Iraq has retained no prohibited weapons, components of such weapons or documents related thereto. What UNSCOM has been saying about Iraq's concealment of prohibited weapons, components of such weapons or documents related thereto is based on mere suspicion unsupported by material evidence. Those suspicions emanate from American and British intelligence services and their agents.

Iraq has asked UNSCOM to address these suspicions in a practical, objective and apolitical manner. UNSCOM is not a political body to be influenced by the political goals of any one country. It is, rather, a technical



Commission obliged to carry out its tasks in a technical and scientific manner free from political conflicts and antagonistic positions. We have witnessed in our dealings with UNSCOM, however, that it tends to act out of political considerations rather than on the basis of technical and scientific facts.

My country demands that the permanent members of the Security Council — including the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Arab representative on the Council and one of the largest countries of the Middle East genuinely interested in seeing the region free from weapons of mass destruction — participate directly in the work and activities of UNSCOM and in the evaluation of its work and final conclusions. We are quite certain that, if this participation is carried out quickly and scrupulously, the conclusion will be reached, supported by evidence and convincing arguments, that the substantive issues in this file have been resolved as required by resolution 687 (1991) and that it is now time for the implementation of paragraph 22 of the said resolution.

We wish to point out that our most recent experience with work carried out under the auspices of the United Nations has proven that there is a problem with the Organization's structure. This problem is the large imbalance that exists between rights and obligations, in addition to the prevalence of the logic of force, which is not in the provisions of the Charter. The machinery of the international Organization has been used as a tool to implement the foreign policy of certain international super-Powers and to divert the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, from its natural path towards one that clearly contradicts the letter and spirit of the Charter which, as the organizing document of this Organization, forms the constitutional and legal basis upon which the United Nations must rely in all its practices.

The provisions of the Charter dictate that the Security Council shall act in accordance with these purposes and principles when discharging its duties in the maintenance of international peace and security and in adopting its resolutions, whose content and implementation should conform to the principles of justice and international law. There are restrictions that the Council should abide by when adopting its resolutions, which should accord with the purposes and principles of the Organization, so that Member States are able to fulfil their obligation to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council resolutions in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. The Security Council is not a world Government endowed with the power of legislation and detailed implementation

beyond the letter and spirit of the Charter. It is, rather, a United Nations organ that must abide by the legal norms which constitute the legal basis for international legitimacy, embodied in every provision of the Charter of the United Nations.

Believing in the principle of interdependence and in the common interests of all the peoples of the Earth, based on the sovereignty, independence and common concerns of States, Iraq has contributed and continues to contribute to the strengthening of the relations and values of multilateral international action. The poor countries of the southern hemisphere are facing a series of attempts to marginalize, isolate and prevent them from keeping pace with scientific and economic developments. These attempts include raising trade and political barriers to hinder these countries' acquisition of technology and their chances of scientific progress, thereby subjecting them willy-nilly to an economic machinery that furthers only the interests of the large industrial Powers or the rich countries of the North. As President Saddam Hussein pointed out in his speech on Iraq's National Day last July, the battle of the developing countries is the battle of the southern hemisphere for freedom, independence, development, prosperity and the enjoyment of rights and justice.

President Saddam Hussein also pointed out that the United States of America and other international Powers have promulgated slogans publicly calling upon the countries of the South to develop their capabilities and potential, allegedly in order to bale themselves out from underdevelopment, poverty and deprivation. But when Iraq developed its capabilities and potential and used this development and its oil wealth to further its national development and advancement and to enhance Iraqis' abilities and qualifications, the people responsible for the banners and slogans mobilized, under United States leadership, all the forces of evil against Iraq and attacked it with the bombs, missiles and armies of the 30-nation aggression in order to destroy my country's infrastructure and one of the new pillars of development among the countries of the South.

This places on the United Nations a large and historic obligation to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter and to ensure the rights of all peoples and countries to peace, development and economic prosperity. The United Nations must be, as its founding fathers wanted it to be, the international instrument for the economic and social advancement of all peoples, rather than an instrument in the hands of a

certain Power that uses it to impose its hegemony on the world by force and blackmail.

In conclusion, I would like to express my country's firm belief that the United Nations, through the strenuous efforts of its working groups on the reform of its structure and methods of work, and thanks to the good will of many of its Members, will in the near future again approach its true potential and capabilities to reject hegemony over it and to accomplish the goals and purposes of its Charter in conformity with international legitimacy and in the interest of the welfare and happiness of all mankind.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this meeting.

A few representatives have requested to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I remind members that statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Mr. Gnehm** (United States of America): The speech we have heard from the Foreign Minister for Iraq is yet another attempt to dress a wolf in the clothing of a lamb. Before responding to the specific misstatements, I must return to the basics. The nature of the Iraqi regime is well known. This the regime that left hundreds of thousands of corpses to rot in fields and swamps in two wars which it initiated against its neighbours and in the one war it initiated, and continues to this day, against its own people. This is the only regime that has ever used weapons of mass destruction against its own citizens, the regime that weaponized such deadly biological agents as botulin and anthrax, the regime that threatened to burn its neighbours with chemical weapons.

The United States and all the other members of the United Nations, and most specifically Iraq's neighbours, know this regime for what it is. No amount of smooth talk here today about international law and legitimacy can erase that knowledge. By its actions, the Iraqi regime deliberately placed itself outside the society of law-abiding nations, a fact recognized in numerous Security Council resolutions. The most important of these resolutions for the security of the Middle East is Council resolution 687 (1991), which bans Iraq from holding or acquiring nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the means to deliver them. The Security Council adopted it because it agreed with all of Iraq's neighbours: Saddam Hussein cannot be trusted with the possession of such weapons.

The statement made today by the Foreign Minister of Iraq is no more credible than when he made it in this Hall one year ago, or when Tariq Aziz made it two years ago or three years ago — that Iraq has somehow fully complied with the Council's resolutions on weapons of mass destruction. There is not a single person in the United Nations or this Hall, and I would include even the Foreign Minister of Iraq himself, who really believes such a statement. However even the Foreign Minister did state and therefore must recognize:

“The Special Commission ... gave sole responsibility to decide whether Iraq has carried out all its obligations”. (*supra*, p. 22)

The Chairman of the Special Commission (UNSCOM), Mr. Ekeus, has constantly noted his conviction that Iraq continues to conceal weapons of mass destruction, the equipment and precursors needed to manufacture them, and great quantities of documents related to those programmes. A few members of the Security Council were willing to believe Iraq when it said it had turned over all documents and equipment. That was before August 1995, when the extent of the Iraqi concealment effort, already well known to UNSCOM, became clear to the world. Since then, not a single member of the Security Council has found this Iraqi claim to full cooperation to be credible. Several times this year Iraq has blocked access by UNSCOM inspectors to particular sites where UNSCOM had good reason to believe that prohibited materials or documents were hidden and where it had an unconditional right to inspect. For the fifth year in a row Iraq has spoken to the General Assembly about closing the weapons file. Iraq is no closer to achieving that goal in 1996 than it was in 1995, 1994 or 1993. That goal will only be achieved when there is a fundamental change in Iraq's attitude toward cooperation with the Special Commission and respect for resolutions of the Security Council. And once again today, Iraq has refused to state clearly that it has given up its intent to acquire weapons of mass destruction in the future. Sadly, there is no evidence that there has been a change in Iraqi behaviour.

And what of Iraq's other obligations, which the Foreign Minister claimed unequivocally had been met? Is this so? Then where are the properties and Government archives stolen by Saddam from Kuwait? And where are the hundreds of armoured personnel carriers, tanks, missiles and aircraft stolen by Iraq? We know the answer to the latter question. These weapons have been integrated into the elite Republican Guard units of Iraq. There will

be no change in the sanctions regime until they are returned.

And where is the information held by the Iraqi Government about more than 600 Kuwaitis, Saudis and other citizens taken by the Iraqi Government from Kuwait to Iraq? Iraqi representatives to dozens of meetings sponsored by the International Committee of the Red Cross have spoken as eloquently as the Foreign Minister, but in the last year they have taken no constructive action to resolve a single one of these tragic humanitarian cases. Again, not a single member of the Security Council agrees with this claim by Iraq. Every 60 days, through 34 sanctions reviews, each member of the Council has called for Iraq to honour all of its obligations towards Kuwait, only to be met with the deception and defiance that we heard from Iraq this afternoon.

I welcome the opportunity to set the record straight with record to the implementation of resolution 986 (1995). The way the Iraqi Foreign Minister has distorted even the most basic facts about this resolution is an insult to the intelligence and humanitarian desires of every member of the Security Council. The Minister complained that it took seven months for Iraq and the United Nations to negotiate an agreement on implementation of Council resolution 986 (1995). Such distortions! The fact is that the Government of Iraq bears the sole responsibility for delaying implementation of an oil-for-food agreement for more than five years. The Security Council first established such a mechanism in September 1991, in its resolution 706 (1991). Iraq negotiated the details in bad faith for more than 24 months before simply walking away from the deal. When the Council again established such an arrangement in its resolution 986 (1995), Iraq rejected implementation for nine months before finally entering negotiations.

The truth is that the Secretariat of the United Nations had informed Iraq in late August that implementation of Council resolution 986 (1995) could begin in the first week of September. Immediately thereafter Iraqi forces launched a military action against the city of Irbil, causing a rapid deterioration in the security situation in northern Iraq.

Let this be clear to everyone, by today's date — 2 October — Iraqi oil could well have been flowing and humanitarian goods already delivered under the terms of Council resolution 986 (1995) had it not been for the action Iraq took on 31 August. That is the only reason for the current delay in implementing the resolution.

Since Saddam Hussein himself has never uttered the word "986" publicly, and has never publicly endorsed its implementation, we assume he remains opposed to it, as he always has been. We are disappointed that we did not hear from the Foreign Minister a promise that he would stop pushing the Secretary-General, who was again attacked viciously in the Iraqi press today, to change the administrative arrangements the Secretariat has already prepared in order to implement resolution 986 (1995). By contrast, the United States view is clear and unchanged. We are proud to be one of the authors and sponsors of Council resolution 986 (1995), and we wish to see it implemented. The United States, like every other member of the Security Council, cares about the suffering of the Iraqi people far more than does the very well fed Iraqi leadership. We look forward to the time that the questions raised by Baghdad's reckless actions in the North can be resolved and the resolution at last implemented.

And finally, I must reiterate a point that I made yesterday. Countries like Iraq try to evade their obligations by attempting to redefine their defiance of Security Council resolutions as a dispute between them and one, two or three other States. But the truth remains that Iraq's obligations to comply are obligations to this Organization, the United Nations. Iraq's defiance of the Security Council is a matter of concern for every delegation in this Hall, but most especially for those neighbours and for those Iraqi citizens who have experienced first-hand the brutality of this Iraqi regime.

Even if Saddam Hussein opposes Council resolution 986 (1995), we favour its implementation, just as we insist upon implementation of Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 688 (1991), 692 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991) and 1060 (1996). Until Iraq has met its obligations, the United States and the Security Council will not consider the modification of the sanctions regime.

**Mr. Abulhasan** (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Some who listened to the statement by the Foreign Minister of Iraq may wonder why we have requested to exercise our right of reply in spite of the lack of any specific mention of Kuwait in that statement. My answer is that my delegation would like to comment on what was stated by the Foreign Minister of Iraq:

"all the obligations imposed on Iraq have been carried out and all the reasons for the imposition of these ... sanctions have been removed". (*supra*, p. 22)

That claim is not founded on present-day realities. That claim cannot be believed by the members of the Security Council, who every 60 days review the level of Iraq's fulfilment of all its obligations. After each review, it becomes clear to all the members of the Security Council — I repeat, all the members — that Iraq has not yet fulfilled its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions.

With regard to commitments that are directly related to Kuwait, allow me to recall the following. First, as regards prisoners of war and detainees from Kuwait and from third countries, despite the meetings held by the Tripartite Commission in Geneva and by the technical subcommittee, which holds monthly meetings on each side of the border, it has not been possible to close even one single file. Not a single prisoner of war has been returned. It is obvious that Iraq is benefitting from these meetings by using them to demonstrate ostensible cooperation with the committees. What the relevant Security Council resolutions require is serious and complete cooperation by Iraq with the International Committee of the Red Cross to put an end to this humanitarian tragedy as soon as possible.

I turn next to the restoration of stolen Kuwaiti military and other property, including official documents and government records, such as the Emir's records, and those of ministries, including the Foreign Ministry. As for military acquisitions — armoured personnel carriers, Hawk missiles and other weapons — we have provided Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz and the members of the Security Council complete lists of all military equipment taken by Iraq. That information was also transmitted to Iraq through the United Nations Coordinator for the Return of Property from Iraq to Kuwait. In the two years since this information was forwarded to the Iraqi side there has been no response. To the contrary, some of this equipment, including tanks, was spotted during Iraq's October 1994 military build-up against Kuwait and its security and stability.

I would like to say this: Let them put their money where their mouth is. The body that defines the level of implementation is the Security Council, not the Iraqi Government. We once again call upon Iraq to release Kuwaiti prisoners of war and detainees, to return Kuwaiti property, fully to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) regarding weapons of mass destruction, and to fulfil all its other obligations.

We want to end the humanitarian suffering of our brothers in Iraq. The only way to end that suffering is to expedite the implementation of all the obligations stipulated

in the relevant Security Council resolutions. Our continued call for speedy implementation of Council resolution 986 (1995) gives evidence of our interest in alleviating the suffering of the Iraqi people. We renew once again our call to Iraq to respond quickly to all United Nations requests for the full implementation of that resolution. Security Council resolutions are a legal and political whole that cannot be selectively or partially implemented.

**Mr. Gomersall** (United Kingdom): The version of events which we have just heard from the Foreign Minister of Iraq is simply staggering. In his statement the Foreign Minister has shown yet again the indifference of the Iraqi Government to the plight of its own people. He tried to escape blame for the problems faced by Iraq and its people, and to lay it at the door of others.

The responsibility for Iraq's problems rests with none other than the Government of Iraq itself. They have known for a long time what simple things need to be done to remove the sanctions, and yet they have consistently refused to do them. Let us remember why the Iraqi people are suffering in this way and the fate of the efforts which have been made to help them. As the preceding speaker said a moment ago, the word "Kuwait" does not appear in the Foreign Minister's statement. He seems to have forgotten that sanctions were first imposed following Iraq's unprovoked aggression against a fellow Member State of the United Nations. And even now there are responsibilities to Kuwait under Security Council resolution 687 (1991) which remain unfulfilled. These concern accounting for missing civilians, the return of property and other matters.

Secondly, the Foreign Minister seems to have forgotten to mention that sanctions remain in place only because of Iraq's failure to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions, and most particularly the failure to meet the obligation to provide a full and definitive accounting of Iraq's programmes of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. In claiming that Iraq has fulfilled the requirements of Council resolution 687 (1991), he is simply misstating the truth — truth which is very apparent from the clear reports of the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee (UNSCOM). A year ago it might have appeared that the truth was near to being cleared up. But then new information came to light, which was admitted by the Government of Iraq and which required further investigations by UNSCOM. Since then, the pattern of obstruction of UNSCOM inspections in recent months has intensified the suspicion that the regime is hiding elements of its earlier programmes.

When all of this is so well known, the claim that Iraq has fulfilled all its obligations with regard to Council resolution 687 (1991) simply strips the statement of all credibility.

The Iraqi Foreign Minister spoke of the suffering of the Iraqi people, implying that this was also the fault of anyone except his own Government. Notwithstanding the problems regarding weapons of mass destruction, my Government, with others, sponsored Council resolution 986 (1995) in order to alleviate the suffering of the ordinary Iraqi people caused by the actions of the regime.

The offer of oil for food was made first in 1991. Security Council resolution 986 (1995) was passed in 1995. The Foreign Minister did not explain the delays by his Government in accepting that resolution. When it was finally accepted last summer, it would have been implemented by now had the attacks in the North not overturned the basis on which the Memorandum of Understanding was negotiated. We wish to see that resolution implemented as soon as the Secretary-General is sure that the conditions permit.

My Government is not alone in having spent millions of dollars through United Nations and other humanitarian programmes to assist the Iraqi people in this dark hour of their civilization. Concerning sanctions, we will continue to be guided by our concern for the security of the region, and they will remain in place until the resolutions have been fully fulfilled and the threat from Iraq to its neighbours has thereby been removed.

**Mr. Hasan** (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me to respond briefly to the representative of the United States of America. First, let me remind him that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. Has the representative of the United States forgotten that the greatest crimes against humanity have been perpetrated by his own country? Has he forgotten his country's crimes at Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Has he forgotten his country's crimes in Viet Nam, Palestine, Latin America, Cuba and other parts of the world too numerous to list? Has he forgotten his country's aggression against Iraq and the destruction of the infrastructure of our whole country, taking it back to pre-industrial times on the pretext of liberating Kuwait? Has he forgotten his country's aggression, less than a month ago, using missiles against Iraq? Who authorized the United States to use missiles against Iraq? What vital United States interests were threatened by Iraq's emancipating an Iraqi city from the forces of destruction and evil? Where is the rule of law? Where is the international machinery to preserve peace and security? Is this United States not an illegal act of

terrorism? The United States must answer all these questions before it can claim to be an advocate of freedom.

The representative of the United States claimed that we have created instability in northern Iraq. What could be more absurd? Is a State's restoration of peace and security tantamount to creating instability? Has the United States not admitted that it has mobilized thousands of agents and terrorists to wage a civil war in Iraq to topple the Government of that country? Those who support the rule of law do not foment civil wars in other countries. They do not interfere in the internal affairs of States in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms which it claims to uphold.

With regard to the representative of Kuwait, we were bewildered by his long statement on a subject for which this is neither the forum nor the occasion. In our speech, we did not mention his country, as he himself admitted. If he wishes to get on the bandwagon that is his own business.

*The meeting rose at 6:25 p.m.*



**Annex 70**

Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and Government of the Republic of  
Venezuela, *Joint Communiqué* (23 July 1998)





FROM : N

PHONE NO. : 005829763765

Jul. 27 1998 02:23PM P

H.S.  
 pls spt  
 17/10  
 T

JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED BY THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE  
 PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA, DR. RAFAEL CALDERA AND MRS. JANET  
 JAGAN, O.E., ON THE OCCASION OF HER OFFICIAL VISIT TO  
 VENEZUELA

Rec'd July 27

Caracas, July 23rd. 1998

At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Venezuela, Dr. Rafael Caldera, the President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Her Excellency Mrs. Janet Jagan, paid an Official Visit to Venezuela from July 21 to 23, 1998. President Jagan was accompanied by a high level Delegation.

During her stay in Venezuela, the President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana laid a floral wreath at the tomb of the Liberator at the National Pantheon.

The Guyanese President was also declared Illustrious Guest of the City of Caracas and received the Keys of the City from the Mayor.

President Caldera conferred the Collar Order of El Libertador on the President Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

The Head of State of Guyana addressed a Joint Session of the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela.

During her visit to Venezuela, the President of Guyana held talks with the President of Venezuela. They reviewed matters of bilateral, regional and international interest. At the same time, the members of the accompanying delegation held meetings with their Venezuelan counterparts.

The Presidents noted that 1998 marked the twentieth year of the signing of the Amazonian Cooperation Treaty. They expressed satisfaction at the level of progress towards the institutionalisation of the Pro-Tempore Secretariat. They reiterated their commitment for the principles and objectives of the Treaty.

As neighbouring countries of the Amazon region and the South American continent, both Presidents reiterated the need to consolidate their efforts to secure progress for their peoples while ensuring balanced human and social development and the protection and perpetuation of the principles of democratic government in the region.

Both Presidents reiterated the firm commitment of their countries towards the preservation of democracy and respect of human rights. They underscored their firm adherence to the principles of the sovereign equality of States, the respect of self-determination of peoples and non intervention, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The two Presidents emphasised the atmosphere of cordiality and friendship which has characterised the two countries relations, and the direct dialogue sustained as a result of Presidential encounters over the last decade.

They also expressed their satisfaction with the level of progress attained in bilateral relations, emphasising that this was the result of dynamic contacts among different officials, at the highest political, economic and commercial levels of both countries. In that regard, both Presidents expressed their wish for the expansion and deepening of those relations.

The Presidents evaluated the ongoing process for a mutually satisfactory solution

to the territorial controversy which exists between Guyana and Venezuela and reiterated their firm commitment to peacefully resolve the controversy. In this regard, they expressed their appreciation to the efforts of Sir Alister McIntyre, Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary General and reaffirmed their decision to continue to avail themselves of the McIntyre Process, in order to reach a final settlement as called for by the Geneva Agreement of 1966.

Conscious of the extreme importance of sustainable management of the environment for economic and social development, both Presidents agree that under the aegis of the McIntyre Process, Guyana and Venezuela will initiate negotiations leading to an Agreement on Environmental Matters.

In an effort to accelerate the promotion of bilateral relations, the Presidents agreed to adopt an integral and global approach to the bilateral agenda and to establish an integral framework for consultation and cooperation:

- A High Level Bilateral Commission headed by Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which, on a regular basis, will monitor the work of the Sub-Committees to be established in the following areas:
  - Political Consultation
  - Environment
  - Trade and Economic Cooperation
  - Culture
  - Health
  - Agriculture, Livestock and Agro-Industry
  - Transportation
  - Consular Matters.

A meeting of Officials will be convened within forty five (45) days to finalise

the Terms of Reference and work programme. The date and venue will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

Acknowledging the importance of the development and rational exploitation of living marine resources, both Presidents agreed to assign technical Working Groups, through diplomatic channels, for the purpose of identifying specific areas for the exploration and exploitation of living marine resources. This includes the establishment of joint enterprises for the processing and marketing of these resources.

Aware of the threat of drug trafficking and its related crimes, the Presidents acknowledged the need to collaborate in this area within the Hemispheric Anti-Drug Strategy. They agreed to give priority status to the meeting of the Guyana/Venezuela Mixed Commission for the Prevention, Control and Suppression of Consumption and Illicit Trafficking of drugs and other psychotropic substances.

They urged that greater efforts be made to pursue cooperation in the health sector and encouraged the relevant organisations to continued joint endeavours under the programme agreed to by the two countries, particularly in the area of malaria and other vector control diseases.

Both Presidents agreed that, at the bilateral level, measures should be encouraged for enhancing cooperation and exchanges between their Armed Forces.

Both Presidents expressed the opinion that the fight against crime requires joint action by the parties, and that increased cooperation between the police authorities of both countries will result in providing protection and more tranquility

to their respective communities.

During her visit, President Jagan met with the authorities of the Venezuelan Investment Fund with whom Her Excellency exchanged views with regard to the continuation of Economic Cooperation Agreements and the exploration of other possibilities for financing development programmes. President Jagan also met with the President of the Bank of Foreign Trade. The discussions included the feasibility for a line of credit for the financing of exports of non-traditional Venezuelan goods and services. A meeting was also held with the Board of Directors of Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A. (PDVSA). Representatives of the Guyanese private sector were present at these meetings.

The President of Guyana held a meeting with Venezuelan and Guyanese businessmen convened under the auspices of FEDECAMARAS. As a result of this meeting a Binational Entrepreneurial Committee was created.

President Caldera expressed his satisfaction with the presence of the private sector delegation that accompanied President Jagan to Venezuela. The discussions with their Venezuelan counterparts augured well for the improvement of the commercial and economic relations between the two countries, particularly in the promotion of trade, investment and the consolidating of their institutional links.

Aware of the importance to their two countries, of educational and cultural links, both Presidents agreed to give emphasis to the work of the Venezuelan Institute for Culture and Cooperation in Georgetown in the teaching of the Spanish language and other cultural activities.

Both Heads of State considered as favourable for bilateral relations, the

further enhancement of cultural activities which could benefit both communities. They also encouraged the promotion of youth exchanges between the two countries, including the system of infant and juvenile orchestras of Venezuela.

Both Presidents expressed their satisfaction with the decision adopted by the Heads of State and Government during the II Summit of the Americas held last April in Santiago de Chile, to commence negotiations for the establishment of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). They expressed their strong desire for special attention to be given to the needs and peculiarities of the small and vulnerable economies as well as those of intermediate developing countries to allow them to effectively participate in the free trade process. In that context, President Jagan pointed out that the establishment of a Regional Integration Fund would help alleviate the plight of the smaller and vulnerable economies.

They acknowledged the role of the Organisation of American States (OAS) in the Summit of the Americas process. In exchanging ideas on the subject of the Inter American Convention Against Corruption, the Presidents expressed their satisfaction with the advances made and expressed their wish for the Convention to be signed and ratified by all countries of the Hemisphere.

In acknowledging the need to increase the links between the two countries within the framework of the Caribbean Basin, the Presidents expressed their commitment to support the activities of the Association of Caribbean States. In this regard, both Heads of State were of the view that an ACS Summit should be convened early next year to give further impetus to the work carried out by the Association.

President Jagan noted with appreciation the attendance of President Caldera at the Nineteenth Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Governments of

to July 4, 1998. The Caribbean Community CARICOM which was held in St. Lucia from June 30 to July 4, 1998.

The Presidents took note of the progress being made by the CARICOM countries for the creation of a Single Market and Economy which would facilitate the removal of barriers to free trade amongst the countries of the Community and contribute to the further enhancement of the integration process of the sub-region.

The two Presidents also manifested their interest in identifying different ways to contribute to the economic growth of the region, through the expansion of bilateral and multilateral trade. In this regard, they were in favour of facilitating the negotiation of a Free Trade agreement between CARICOM and Venezuela.

They expressed their satisfaction with the ongoing discussions between the Andean Community and the Caribbean Community towards the negotiation for a free trade area between the two sub-regions.

They reaffirmed their commitment to the eradication of poverty and unemployment. President Jagan took the opportunity to reiterate the call for a New Global Human Order with universal improvement of economic, social and political conditions.

During her visit President Jagan took the opportunity to meet with Guyanese nationals residing in Venezuela.

The President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana expressed her sincere appreciation for the warm hospitality extended to her and her delegation by the Government and People of the Republic of Venezuela.





## **Annex 71**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Guyana (24 Dec. 1998)



Folder  
# 6 - 7

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of Venezuela and has the honour to advise that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has received a report to the effect that at 10:50 hours on Thursday, December 24, 1998 two F 16 Venezuelan Aircraft circled the Guyana Defence Force location at Eteringbang, at the confluence of the Wenamu and Cuyuni Rivers for a period of eight minutes at a height of one hundred metres. The aircraft approached the Guyana Defence Force location from a North Westerly direction and left in the same direction.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to formally protest this violation of the airspace of Guyana and would appreciate if the Embassy of Venezuela could seek clarification of this breach from the relevant authorities in Caracas.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the Republic of Venezuela the assurances of its highest consideration.

GEORGETOWN  
December 24, 1998





PHONE GEORGETOWN, 6924-68645  
FAX 692-2-60049  
MAIL ADDRESS - GDF GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
HEADQUARTERS  
GUYANA DEFENCE FORCE  
CAMP AYANG ANNA  
GEORGETOWN  
GUYANA

11 702/58

TO: MR CLEMENT ROHEE, MP  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FAX: 59192

FROM: BRIGADIER J G SINGH  
CHIEF OF STAFF  
GUYANA DEFENCE FORCE

FAX: 592-2-60049

DATE: 90-12-24

TEXT: AT 1050 HOURS ON THURSDAY DEC 90 TWO (2) F 16  
AIRCRAFT CIRCLED THE GDF LOCATION AT  
ETERING BANG FOR EIGHT (8) MINUTES AT A HEIGHT  
OF ONE HUNDRED (100) METRES

THEY CAME FROM AN UNKNOWN DIRECTION AND LEFT IN  
THE SAME DIRECTION.

CONTACT MADE WITH COLONEL SEAL, DEFENCE  
ATTACHÉ AND MINISTER ROHEE

LOCATION COMMANDER AND LOCATION ARE  
MAINTAINING ALERT.

## **Annex 72**

U.N. Secretary-General, *Press Release: Oliver Jackman Appointed Personal Representative of Secretary-General in Border Controversy Between Guyana and Venezuela*, U.N. Doc SG/A/709 (26 Oct. 1999)





**Press Release**  
**SG/A/709**

2/2/4

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**OLIVER JACKMAN APPOINTED PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF SECRETARY-GENERAL IN BORDER CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GUYANA AND VENEZUELA**

19991026

The Secretary-General has decided to appoint Oliver Jackman of Barbados as his Personal Representative on the Border Controversy between Guyana and Venezuela.

Mr. Jackman will succeed Sir Alister McIntyre, of Grenada, who has acted as the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General since 1990.

Mr. Jackman, an attorney-at-law of Barbados, was elected in 1995 for a six-year term as Judge of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. He was entrusted with many responsibilities in the field of Human rights: from 1986 to 1993, he served as a member of the Haitian Truth and Justice Commission; and more recently as a member of the Barbados Social Justice Commission and member of the Barbados Constitution Review Commission.

During his twenty years in the Barbados diplomatic service, from 1967 to 1986, Mr. Jackman held various positions. Among others, he was Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1984-1986), Ambassador to the European Community and Belgium (1981-1984), Ambassador to the United States and Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States (1977-1981), High Commissioner to Canada (1971-1975), and Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1969-1971).

From 1961 to 1967, Mr. Jackman served the United Nations in the United Nations Operation in the Congo as Chief Information Officer at the Economic Commission for Africa.

Mr. Jackman's appointment as Personal Representative of the Secretary-General on the Border Controversy between Guyana and Venezuela will be effective on 1 November.

The Secretary-General wishes to express his gratitude to Sir Alister McIntyre for the distinguished manner in which he conducted the Secretary-General's Good Offices.

\* \* \* \* \*

\*\*\* Conversion terminated at this point (TRIAL version of software). □





**Annex 73**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Foreign Minister of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (3 Aug. 2000)



Fax No. 59192

EXTERNAL GUYANA



## MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

"Takuba Lodge"  
254 South Road & New Garden Street,  
Georgetown,  
Guyana.

August 3, 2000

His Excellency  
José Vicente Rangel Vale  
Foreign Minister of the  
Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela  
Caracas, Venezuela

Excellency

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter number 000674 of 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2000, in which Your Excellency has expressed the views of the illustrious Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela on the concession granted to Jilin Industries Guyana, Inc. in the Essequibo County of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

The Government of ~~Guyana~~ and people of Guyana are firm in our belief and our established position that Essequibo forms an integral and indivisible part of the sovereign territory of Guyana. Guyana reiterates that the boundary between Venezuela and Guyana was settled by the Paris Award of 1899 and has since been accorded recognition by the international community. As such, no one can pretend that this valid Award does not exist.

The Government and people of Guyana completely reject the notion that the pursuit of our developmental objectives within our national territory for the benefit of our people deviates in any way from the Good Officer process or from the spirit of the Geneva Agreement

My Government considers that the section of Article 5 of the Geneva Agreement referred to by Your Excellency is not applicable to the concession being discussed. Moreover, I wish to refer to the other section of Article 5 which provides that in order to facilitate the greatest possible measure of cooperation and mutual understanding, nothing contained in the Agreement shall be interpreted as a renunciation or diminution by Guyana of any basis of claim to territorial sovereignty or of any previously asserted rights to such sovereignty.

2.

The Government and people of Guyana consider that recent misleading and inflammatory remarks attributed to high ranking Venezuelan officials concerning concessions in the Essequibo create an undesirable atmosphere between our two countries.

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela's recent heightened posture of threatening and attempting to discourage investors from investing in Guyana, is indeed interference in Guyana's internal affairs – a position that is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, the objectives of the Group of 77 and China, the Organisation of American States and the international community in general.

Guyana remains committed to dialogue and diplomacy to resolve controversy. The Government of Guyana sincerely hopes that the Government of Venezuela would cease to conduct such activities that are clearly aimed at undermining the efficacy of the Geneva Agreement, the UN Secretary General's 'Good Officer' Process, and the Charter of the United Nations and return to the spirit of co-operation and friendship which had resulted in the establishment of the Guyana/Venezuela High Level Bilateral Commission.

Please allow me to reiterate, Excellency, the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

Minister of Foreign Affairs (ag)

#### **Annex 74**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Guyana, No. DG/2/11/2007 (15 Nov. 2007)



FM: 2/7/11.

Note No: DG/2/11/2007

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and has the honour to register the Government of Guyana's grave concern about the following:

At approximately 09:30 hours on Thursday November 15, 2007 a Venezuelan General led a party of thirty-six (36) soldiers into the Cuyuni River which, using C4 explosives proceeded to destroy two (2) pontoons that were not in operation at the time.

At approximately 10:45 hours a brown and green helicopter (registration number YN 5499) flew over the area where the pontoons were destroyed and this was followed by another helicopter over-flight over the same area at approximately 13:00 hours. The latter helicopter was yellow and white in colour. However its registration number was not noticeable.

It is the understanding of the Government of Guyana that it is the intention of the General and his military contingent to destroy all pontoons found in the area and that the operation is expected to continue on Friday November 16, 2007.

The Government of Guyana is extremely disturbed by these unauthorized incursions into its territory and wishes to request that the operations by the Venezuelan armed forces on Guyana's territory and air space cease forthwith. The Government of Guyana wishes to remind the Government of Venezuela that a similar operation in October 2006 resulted in the fatal shooting of a Guyanese national on Guyana's territory by Venezuelan military personnel. The Government of Guyana wishes to draw to the attention of the authorities of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela that these incursions

have the potential to seriously impair the good relations that exist between Guyana and Venezuela.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela the assurances of its highest consideration.

Georgetown  
November 15, 2007





**Annex 75**

Caribbean Community (CARICOM), *Statement: Thirtieth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana (July 2009)*



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 [Print Page](#)

## Guyana/Venezuela Controversy

 [Posted in: Key Issues | \(https://caricom.org/key-issues\)](#)  13 October 2015 |  4394



(<https://caricom.org/images/uploads/images/13495/guyana-venezuela-border-controversy.jpg>)

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) maintains its full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana.

Guyana's border controversy with its western neighbour Venezuela relates to more than a century-old dispute which arose as a result of Venezuela's contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 was null and void. The 1899 Award had definitely settled the boundary between the two countries. (See infographic of timeline)

In more recent developments on this issue, on 26 May 2015 Venezuela issued a decree titled Presidential Decree 1.787 of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela which was revised on 8 June 2015. This decree laid claim to all the Atlantic waters off the Essequibo coast of Guyana, and affected the maritime space of not only Guyana but also of a number of other Member States.

In response to this act by Venezuela, CARICOM emphasised "the need for peace and stability" as the basis for enhancing regional cooperation and the development of both countries. Speaking on the issue at the Thirty-Sixth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, in Barbados, the Rt. Hon. Freundel Stuart, then Chair of CARICOM, reiterated CARICOM's position of "total support for the integrity of Guyana's territory and maritime space."

**“We are committed to assisting Venezuela and Guyana in this dispute, preferring at all times a peaceful solution... But as of now, having regard to the fact that there was an arbitral award in 1899 and having regard to the fact that the Geneva Agreement of 1966 has not yielded the kind of results that either Venezuela or Guyana expected, CARICOM’s formal position has to be a commitment to the territorial integrity of Guyana,”** he said.

*“We cannot contemplate such an end if we do not have a mechanism in place. For in the event the peaceful solution we prefer does not happen, an alternative mechanism can be sprung into action that can settle the matter by judicial means”, he also said.*

Guyana’s pursuit of a peaceful settlement, over the years, has yielded mixed results. A founding member of the almost 44-year grouping, many of its diplomatic interventions have rested on the pillar of foreign policy coordination, one of five pillars which underpin CARICOM integration and one of eight strategic priorities in the Community’s Strategic Plan (2015-2019).

The following chronology presents a snapshot of CARICOM’s position on this issue over the last three decades:

## **A SNAPSHOT OF CARICOM’S POSITION**

### **2017 (July): Twenty- Ninth Intersessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

Heads of Government received an update from the President of Guyana on recent developments on the controversy between the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and the efforts of United Nations Secretary General, H.E. Antonio Guterres, to find a final and binding solution.

Heads of Government welcomed the appointment of His Excellency Dag Nylander as Personal Representative of the UN Secretary General in the Good Offices Process for the duration of 2017, with a strengthened mandate of mediation. They noted that “if by the end of 2017, the Secretary-General concludes that significant progress has not been made toward arriving at a full agreement for the solution of the controversy, he will choose the International Court of Justice as the next means of settlement,” unless the Governments of Guyana and Venezuela “jointly request that he refrain from doing so”. They recognised the strong commitment of the Secretary-General to the process and joined Guyana in acknowledging his efforts.

Heads of Government reiterated the firm and unequivocal support of the Caribbean Community for the maintenance and preservation of Guyana’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

### **2017 (February): Twenty-Eighth Intersessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

“Heads of Government received an update from the President of Guyana on the most recent developments on the controversy between the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the particular efforts of former United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki Moon, to find a way forward under the Geneva Agreement – as they had exhorted at their Meeting in July 2016. They joined President Granger in acknowledging these efforts.

Heads of Government welcomed the decision taken by Mr. Ban Ki Moon before demitting Office and the resulting prospect of 2017 as a ‘final year’ of the ‘Good Offices Process’ of the Secretary-General, to be followed by a referral of the controversy to the International Court of Justice “if, by the end of 2017, the Secretary-General concludes that significant progress has not been made toward arriving at a full agreement for the solution of the controversy”.

Heads of Government welcomed Guyana’s unqualified acceptance of the UN Secretary–General’s decision, and expressed the hope that its implementation in good faith by both parties will lead to the resolution of the controversy and the release of the parties and of the entire Caribbean Region from its unwanted implications.

Heads of Government also welcomed the proposal of Mr. Ban Ki Moon for ‘confidence building measures’ and President Granger’s assurance of Guyana’s willingness to explore all possibilities consistent with Guyana’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. To the extent that any such measures require regional support, Heads of Government pledged their best efforts to that end.

**Heads of Government reiterated their firm support for the preservation of Guyana’s sovereignty and territorial integrity”.**

### **2016 (July) Thirty-Seventh Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

"Heads of Government received a report on recent development in the relations between Guyana and Venezuela. They also received a report on the current efforts of the SG of the United Nations proposing a way forward to the two countries towards a decisive end to the controversy.

Heads of Government noted with appreciation that the SG of the United Nations attaches the highest priority to finding a solution to the controversy which arose out of Venezuela's contention that the Arbitral award of 1899 which definitively settled the land boundary between Guyana and Venezuela is null and void.

In that regard they signalled their full confidence in the Secretary-General to exercise urgently his authority under the 1966 Geneva Agreement for a choice of options that would bring the controversy to a definitive and judicial conclusion that would be beneficial not only to Guyana but the Caribbean Community as a whole.

**Heads of Government reiterated their full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all CARICOM States and their entitlement to rights regarding maritime zones under international law.**

### **2016 (February): Twenty-Seventh Intersessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Belize**

"Heads of Government received an update on the recent developments with respect to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela.

They noted that February 17, 2016, marks the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreement of 1966 between the Parties, which was intended to provide a solution to the controversy arising from Venezuela's contention that the 1899 Arbitral Award, which definitively settled the land boundary between Guyana and Venezuela, is null and void.

Heads of Government also noted that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, having had discussions with the Heads of State of Guyana and Venezuela in September 2015, has since made a proposal to the two countries on the way forward towards a decisive end to the controversy.

Heads of Government expressed their full support for the role of the United Nations Secretary General and his efforts, in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement, to bring the controversy to a definitive and judicious conclusion.

**Heads of Government reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the maintenance and preservation of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity".**

### **2015 (July): Thirty-Sixth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Barbados**

"Heads of Government viewed with deep concern the Presidential Decree 1.787 of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela of 26 May 2015 and revised on 8 June 2015 because of its effect on the maritime space of not only Guyana but also of a number of Member States of the Caribbean Community." They issued the following statement -

#### STATEMENT ON THE DECREE 1787 OF VENEZUELA

"CARICOM Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the longstanding, deep and wide-ranging friendship between CARICOM and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

They recalled the numerous agreements in the area of trade, investment, tourism and people-to-people contacts which bind the Governments and peoples of CARICOM and Venezuela together.

They discussed in detail Decree No: 1.787 of 26 May 2015 issued by the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Heads noted in particular the negative implications which the Decree has for the peace, security and development of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

They recalled that just under a year ago on 8th September 2014, the Honourable Gaston Browne, Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda, in his capacity as Chairman of Conference, had written to His Excellency Nicolás Maduro Moros, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, encouraging Venezuela to redouble its efforts at an early delimitation of the maritime boundary between Guyana and Venezuela. Prime Minister Browne had also encouraged Venezuela to assist in the finding of an early solution to the controversy that has emerged from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 3rd October 1899 that established the boundary with Guyana, is null and void.

In that context, Heads of Government reaffirmed the inviolability of international treaties, agreements, awards and legal instruments and made particular reference to those international legally binding instruments that establish international boundaries.

Heads of Government further noted the negative implications of the decree for several other CARICOM countries.

Heads of Government called for adherence to accepted principles of international law in relation to the delineation and delimitation of the Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf in the region. CARICOM states do not accept any unilateral proclamation which is inconsistent with international law.

They emphasized that CARICOM states have legitimate territorial and maritime entitlements that conform to international law and that must be respected.

As a result of these concerns, and in an effort to have the rights and entitlements of the affected Community Member States fully respected, a delegation of Heads met with the Vice President and Foreign Minister of Venezuela to express the Community's grave concern about Decree 1787.

**Heads of Government therefore call upon the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, in the spirit of friendship and cooperation, to withdraw those elements of Decree 1787 insofar as they apply to the territory and maritime space of CARICOM States".**

#### **2015 (March): Twenty-Sixth Inter-Sessional Meeting of Heads of Government, The Bahamas**

"Heads of Government received an overview of the relations between Guyana and Venezuela with regard to the existing controversy which arose as a result of Venezuela's contention that the arbitral award of 1899, which definitely settled the boundary between the two countries, is null and void. They noted that Guyana had commenced a review of the options available under Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, as provided by the 1966 Geneva Agreement, that could serve to bring an end to the controversy.

**Heads of Government expressed their continued support for the maintenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana".**

#### **2014 (July): Thirty-Fifth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Antigua and Barbuda**

"**Heads of Government reiterated their firm support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana and for the unhindered economic and social development of all of Guyana.** They expressed their hope for an early resolution of the controversy which arose as a result of Venezuela's contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which definitely settled the boundary between the two countries, is null and void.

Heads of Government also expressed their concern over the lack of progress towards the consideration of options, within the context of international law, in delimiting the maritime boundary between Guyana and Venezuela as agreed by the Foreign Ministers following their meeting on 17 October 2014. They called upon the two sides to pursue the negotiations with greater expediency towards the conclusion of a maritime delimitation agreement".

#### **2013 (July): Thirty-Fourth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Trinidad and Tobago**

"The Heads of Government expressed satisfaction over the excellent state of relations between Guyana and Venezuela which has enabled the two countries to continue to implement a vibrant programme of cooperation. The Heads of Government noted that both countries remained committed to the Good Offices Process of the United Nations Secretary General under the Geneva Agreement of

1966 and **reaffirmed their support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana**".

**2012 (March): Twenty-Third Inter-Sessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Suriname**

"Heads of Government took note of the continued growing relations between the Republic of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. They expressed the hope that the existing friendly relations will aid the efforts towards a resolution of the controversy that emerged from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, that definitively established the boundary with Guyana, is null and void.

**Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the maintenance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Guyana**".

**2013 (May): Sixteenth Meeting of the Council for Foreign and Community Relations, Trinidad and Tobago**

"The Ministers noted that Guyana and Venezuela continued to enjoy excellent relations conducted through regular high level political consultations and a vibrant programme of functional cooperation.

They noted that both countries remained committed to the Good Offices Process of the United Nations Secretary-General under the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and **reaffirmed their support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana**".

**2011 (July): Thirty-Second Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, St. Kitts and Nevis**

"Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction that Guyana and Venezuela continued to enjoy exceptionally good relations.

They noted that the two (2) countries remained committed to the Good Officer Process of the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) in seeking a peaceful solution to the border controversy.

**They reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana**".

**2011 (May): Fourteenth Meeting of the Council for Foreign and Community Relations, St. Kitts and Nevis**

"Ministers noted with satisfaction the continued growth, maturity and deepening of relations between the Republic of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and expressed the view that this positive and sustained friendly climate in the relationship between the two countries was conducive to the realization of the mandate of the Good Offices Process.

**Ministers reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the maintenance and safeguarding of Guyana's territorial integrity and sovereignty**".

**2013 (May): Sixteenth Meeting of the Council for Foreign and Community Relations, Trinidad and Tobago**

"The Ministers noted that Guyana and Venezuela continued to enjoy excellent relations conducted through regular high level political consultations and a vibrant programme of functional cooperation.

They noted that both countries remained committed to the Good Offices Process of the United Nations Secretary General under the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and **reaffirmed their support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana**".

**2010 (July): Thirty-First Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Jamaica**

"Heads of Government expressed satisfaction that since their last meeting, the United Nations Secretary-General had appointed Professor Norman Girvan as his Personal Representative to support him in his role as Good Officer to assist Guyana and Venezuela in the search for a solution to the controversy that arose from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, that definitively delimited the territory between Guyana and Venezuela, is null and void.

Heads of Government noted the positive developments in the relations between Guyana and Venezuela and the efforts being made by the two countries to further strengthen those relations and **reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the maintenance and safeguarding of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity**".

**2010 (March): Twenty-First Intersessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Dominica**

"The Conference received an update on the controversy that arose from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, that definitively delimited the territory between Guyana and Venezuela, is null and void. It noted the positive public statement made by His Excellency President Hugo Chavez eschewing conflict with Guyana regarding the controversy and reiterating Venezuela's commitment to the Good Offices Process of the United Nations Secretary-General.

The Conference expressed satisfaction with the efforts being made by both States and the United Nations Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to support him in his role to assist Guyana and Venezuela in the search for a means of settlement of the controversy.

**The Conference reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the safeguarding of Guyana's territorial integrity and sovereignty and its right to develop its resources in the entirety of its territory**".

**2009 (July): Thirtieth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

"Heads of Government noted the impending consultations between Guyana and Venezuela on the identification of a candidate to perform the duties of a Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General with respect to the Good Offices Process and underscored the critical importance of the Special Representative in assisting the Secretary-General in the search for a practical solution to the controversy which was initiated by the contention of Venezuela that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which settled the boundary between Guyana and Venezuela, was null and void. Heads of Government reaffirmed their view that the post needed to be filled at the earliest possible time.

**Heads of Government re-affirmed their unequivocal support for the safeguarding of Guyana's territorial integrity, sovereignty and its right to develop its resources in the entirety of its territory**".

**2009 (March): Twentieth Inter-Sessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Belize**

"Guyana Heads of Government received an update on the relations between Guyana and Venezuela and in particular the efforts between the two sides to identify a new Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to advance the Good Offices Process. They underscored the need for that post to be filled at the earliest possible time.

**Heads of Government reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the safeguarding of Guyana's territorial integrity and sovereignty and its right to develop its resources in the entirety of its territory**".

**2008 (July): Twenty-Ninth Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government, Antigua and Barbuda**

"Heads of Government took note of the recent developments in Guyana/Venezuela relations and the efforts being made to resuscitate the United Nations Good Offices Process which is aimed at finding a solution to the controversy that arose from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void.

They expressed the view that it was therefore critical for a new Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to be appointed as soon as possible in order to advance the Good Offices Process.



**Heads of Government re-affirmed their unequivocal support for the safeguarding of Guyana's territorial integrity and sovereignty and its right to develop its resources in the entirety of its territory".**

**2007 (July): Twenty-Eighth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Barbados**

"The Conference expressed satisfaction with the efforts made by Guyana and Venezuela to maintain good relations

The Conference further noted the endeavours being made by the two countries within the ambit of the Geneva Agreement, to find a means of settlement of the controversy that arose from the Venezuelan contention that the 1899 Arbitral Award is null and void.

**The Conference reiterated the full support of the Caribbean Community for the maintenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana".**

**2006 (July): Twenty-Seventh Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, St. Kitts and Nevis**

"Heads of Government were encouraged by the level of dialogue and engagement which now characterise the relations between Guyana and Venezuela. They noted in particular the agreements reached by the two countries in several areas of functional cooperation under the aegis of the High Level Bilateral Commission which last met in March 2006 and their renewed commitment to the United Nations Good Offices Process with the view to achieving a peaceful settlement to the controversy which exists between them. Heads of Government **reiterated their firm support for the maintenance of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity and for its right to the development of its entire territory".**

**2005 (July): Twenty-Sixth Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, Saint Lucia**

"Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that relations between Guyana and Venezuela continued to be cordial.

They underscored the importance of the ongoing dialogue at the level of Heads of State and Ministers of Foreign Affairs in promoting this cordiality, and noted that such dialogue had resulted in a renewal of commitment to a peaceful settlement of the controversy through the mechanism of the United Nations Good Offices Process (GOP) and to functional cooperation under the aegis of the Guyana-Venezuela High-Level Bilateral Commission.

**Heads of Government reiterated their full support for the preservation of Guyana's sovereignty and its right to the unrestricted development of all its territory for the benefit of its people".**

**2004 (May): Fourth UK/Caribbean Ministerial Forum, England**

"...Ministers expressed satisfaction at the renewed commitment of Guyana and Venezuela to continue to avail themselves of the U.N. Good Offices Process for a peaceful settlement of their border controversy and to promote functional and economic cooperation under the aegis of the Guyana/Venezuela High Level Bilateral Commission. **They expressed their strong support for the work of the Commonwealth Ministerial Group on Guyana/Venezuela aimed at maintaining the country's sovereignty and its right to develop all its territory".**

**2003 (March): Fourteenth Inter-Sessional Meeting of Heads of Government, Trinidad and Tobago**

"The Conference reaffirmed its support for Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as its right to develop all of its territory.

With regard to the controversy arising from Venezuela's claim to almost two-thirds of Guyana's territory, the Conference noted with satisfaction that the parties remain committed to the Good Offices process under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General to assist in the search for a peaceful solution.

The Conference also noted the progress made by the two countries, within the High Level Bilateral Commission established by them, towards closer economic and technical cooperation.

**The Conference reaffirmed its support for the maintenance of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity".**

### **2001 (July): Twenty-Second Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government, The Bahamas**

"Heads of Government reaffirmed their solidarity with Guyana in its determination to counter the threat posed to its sovereignty and territorial integrity as a result of Venezuela's non-acceptance of the Arbitral Award of 1899, which definitively settled the border between the two countries.

They regretted the constraints posed by Venezuela's claim to Guyana's development, particularly in the Essequibo region. They supported the position taken by Guyana that the Geneva Agreement does not preclude it from fully exploiting all of its natural resources.

Heads of Government welcomed the continuing commitment of the Governments of Guyana and Venezuela to the Good Offices procedure established under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General.

They encouraged both countries to continue to avail themselves of this mechanism with a view to finding a peaceful settlement of the existing controversy".

### **2001 (May): Fourth Meeting of the Council for Foreign and Community Relations (COFCOR), Guyana**

"Ministers noted with satisfaction the continuing commitment of the Governments of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, both to the deepening and strengthening of their bilateral relations, including in areas of functional cooperation, and to the continuation of the Good Officer Process under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as the means for the peaceful settlement of the controversy between the two countries.

Ministers however noted with concern Venezuela's continuing attempts to deter foreign investment in the Essequibo.

Ministers were also concerned by reports of Venezuela's intention to execute an exploratory programme for hydrocarbons in an offshore area that comprises part of Guyana's maritime zone and noted that any such action would constitute a violation of Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity and would be in breach of accepted norms of international law.

Ministers welcomed the support of the Commonwealth Ministerial Group on Guyana for the maintenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana.

**Ministers reiterated their unswerving support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana".**

### **2000 (July): Twenty-First Regular Meeting of Heads of Government, St. Vincent and the Grenadines**

"Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction with the continued efforts being made by Guyana and Venezuela in advancing their programmes of functional cooperation under the High Level Bilateral Commission.

They noted the importance of this mechanism to the strengthening of relations between the two countries.

Heads of Government noted with concern however, reports that Venezuela had protested against the signing of an Agreement in May 2000 establishing the company Beal-Guyana Launch Services, for the development of a rocket launch site in the Essequibo which has attracted much needed foreign investment to contribute to Guyana's national development efforts.

**Heads of Government reaffirmed their full support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Guyana and for a peaceful and satisfactory resolution of the controversy under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General, a process to which both Guyana and Venezuela remained committed.**

They welcomed the news conveyed by the Commonwealth Secretary-General that a Meeting of the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Guyana would be convened in September 2000".

**1999 (October): Seventh Special Meeting of Heads of Government of CARICOM, Trinidad and Tobago**

"Heads of Government noted that 3 October 1999 had marked the 100th Anniversary of the Paris Arbitral Award by which the existing boundary between Guyana and Venezuela was defined by unanimous judgement.

They also viewed with concern the fact that Venezuela had reiterated its contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void and continues to advance its claim to the Essequibo region of Guyana.

Heads of Government further noted the commitment of the two countries to the good offices process of the United Nations Secretary-General.

In this regard, Heads of Government fully endorsed the Resolution approved by the Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians in Grenada on 15 October 1999, a copy of which is appended to this Communique.

**They reiterated their firm support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana and their desire for a peaceful settlement to the controversy".**

**1999 (July): Twentieth Meeting of Heads of Government, Trinidad and Tobago**

"Heads of Government noted the existing friendly relations between Guyana and Venezuela conducted in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect.

In this regard, they welcomed the official visit to Venezuela in 1998 of Her Excellency, President Janet Jagan and her attendance at the inauguration of the President of Venezuela, His Excellency, Hugo Chavez Frias.

They also noted with pleasure that the Foreign Minister of Venezuela, the Honourable Jose Vincente Rangel, had paid an official visit to Guyana in March, 1999.

They anticipated that the implementation of the Work Programme of the High Level Bilateral Commission that had been officially established in March 1999, during the visit of Minister Rangel, would contribute in a significant and positive manner to the enhancement of functional cooperation between the two countries.

They expressed satisfaction over the progress being made under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General, through his good officer, Sir Alistair McIntyre, for a solution to the controversy.

**They reaffirmed their firm support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Guyana and desire for a peaceful settlement to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela".**

**1998 (July): Nineteenth Meeting of Heads of Government, Saint Lucia**

"Heads of Government noted the existing climate of friendly relations between Guyana and Venezuela conducted in an atmosphere of respect and mutual understanding.

In that context, they noted further, that the Government of Venezuela was the first to send its congratulations to President Janet Jagan following the general and regional elections which took place in December 1997.

They expressed satisfaction over the progress being made under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General through his good officer, Sir Alistair McIntyre, for a solution of the controversy.

**They reaffirmed their firm support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Guyana and desire for a peaceful settlement to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela”.**

**1997 (July): Eighteenth Meeting of Heads of Government, Jamaica**

“Heads of Government noted that the relations between Guyana and Venezuela were cordial and continued to progress through dialogue and mutual understanding although certain irritants continued to be present in these relations.

They expressed their satisfaction that the solution to the controversy continued to be dealt with under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and in this regard, they welcomed the role of the good officer, Sir Alister McIntyre, in this process.

**They reaffirmed their full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana and reiterated their desire for a peaceful settlement of the Guyana-Venezuela controversy”.**

**1996 (July): Seventeenth Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government, Barbados**

“Heads of Government noted the status of Guyana/Venezuela relations and expressed their support for the McIntyre Process, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, as the mechanism for peacefully resolving the border controversy.

**They also reaffirmed their strong support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana.”**

**1995 (July): Sixteenth Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

“Heads of Government noted the report of the President of the Guyana on recent developments in Guyana-Venezuela relations and took note of Guyana’s apprehension at the concept of “globality” being advanced by Venezuela to guide the management of Guyana-Venezuela relations.

Heads of Government welcomed Guyana’s intention to establish a Parliamentary Select Committee on Border Affairs to deal with this issue. They also welcomed Guyana’s continued commitment to the McIntyre Process as the means of resolving the border controversy and **reaffirmed their support for Guyana’s sovereignty and territorial integrity”.**

**1993 (July): Fourteenth Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government, The Bahamas**

“Heads of Government noted the continuing cordial development in Guyana-Venezuela relations. They took note of the contribution of the official visit by President Cheddi Jagan to Venezuela to that process, and the fruitful exchanges which have taken place in both the public and private sectors since then.

Heads of Government welcomed the decision of the Governments of Guyana and Venezuela to pursue actively the search for a peaceful resolution to the controversy over the border under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General through the Good Offices of Sir Alister Mc Intyre. They expressed the hope that discussions within the Good Offices procedure would continue to be valuable.

**Heads of Government reaffirmed support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana”.**

**1991:(July) Twelfth meeting of Heads of Government, St. Kitts and Nevis**

“Heads of Government reviewed the status of relations between Guyana and Venezuela, recording their satisfaction with the continued expansion of functional cooperation in several areas, including the private sector, the military, health, education, and energy sectors.

Heads of Government welcomed the efforts undertaken by the personal representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Alister McIntyre, to maintain and advance the search for a solution to the controversy.

In taking note of these several developments, Heads of Government **reaffirmed support for the territorial integrity of Guyana, and expressed confidence that the fulfilment of the McIntyre Process would lead to a resolution of the controversy to the satisfaction of both countries**”.

#### **1987 (July): Eighth Meeting of Heads of Government, Saint Lucia**

“The Heads welcomed the present state of improved relations between Guyana and Venezuela as reflected in the successful visit by His Excellency President Hugh Desmond Hoyte to Venezuela, as well as in the agreements signed and the increase in cooperation in several areas.

The Conference particularly welcomed the fact the both President Hoyte and President Jaime Lusinchi of Venezuela reiterated the determination of their respective Governments to cooperate fully with the United Nations Secretary-General in his efforts to assist the parties in finding an acceptable solution to the existing problem. **The Heads reaffirmed their desire for a peaceful settlement of the controversy in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1966**”.

#### **1986 (July): Seventh Meeting of Heads of Government, Guyana**

“Heads of Government adhered to their previously stated position on the controversy which had arisen as a result of the territorial claim advanced by Venezuela against Guyana.

They noted the attempts being made by the two countries to resolve the issues and encouraged their continuing search for a peaceful solution. They commended the parties for cooperating fully with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the discharge of the mandate, given under the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1966, to choose a means of settlement.

**Heads of Government welcomed the recent improvement in Guyana/Venezuela relations and expressed the hope that this would lead to increased friendship and cooperation between them**”.

#### **1985 (July): Sixth Meeting of Heads of Government, Barbados**

“On receiving a report on recent developments in the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela, the Heads of Government reaffirmed their previously stated position on the issue.

They noted with satisfaction that relations between the two countries had improved and that both sides had declared their firm intention to maintain this new climate through dialogue and ready cooperation.

They welcomed that determination as well as the steps being taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to choose, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement, a means of peaceful settlement of the controversy which had arisen as a result of the Venezuela contention that the 1899 Arbitral Award was null and void.

They regretted the maintenance of exclusionary provisions in some regional treaties and arrangements, despite previous calls for their removal. They urged, once again, in accordance with the principle of universality, that these restrictions be eliminated to allow those States, which are desirous of adhering to those regional treaties and arrangements, to do so”.

#### **1983 (July): Fourth Meeting of Heads of Government, Trinidad and Tobago**

"The Conference deplored the increasing resort to violence as a means of resolving conflicts and disputes between States. It called on all States to abstain from all forms of aggression and to use dialogue and negotiation to settle those conflicts which now threaten the peace and security of the Region. In particular, it renewed its commitment to the adoption of a unified approach in dealing with economic aggression and to the establishment of a scheme of mutual assistance.

Recalling and reiterating the statement which it made on the Guyana/Venezuela controversy at the Third CARICOM Summit at Ocho Rios on 15 November 1982, the Conference reviewed developments in the controversy and noted in particular that the Governments of the two countries had now referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in accordance with the Provisions of Article IV (2) of the Geneva Agreement.

Noting the statement by the President of Guyana that Venezuela is continuing certain activities inconsistent with Guyana's territorial integrity, the Heads of Government recalled their previously expressed concern for the sanctity of treaties and their respect for defined and demarcated boundaries, and expressed the hope that the controversy would be quickly and peacefully resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement".

### **1982 (July): Third Meeting of Heads of Government, Jamaica**

"In recalling the resolution passed at the Eighth Meeting of the Heads of Government held in Georgetown in April 1973, which, in dealing with mutual assistance against external aggression, declared inter alia that political independence and territorial integrity of Member States are essential prerequisites for the achievement of the economic objectives of the Community, the Conference discussed developments in the relations between Guyana and Venezuela in the light of the controversy which had arisen as a result of the Venezuelan contention that the 1899 Arbitral Award, on the basis of which the boundary between Guyana and Venezuela was settled, was null and void.

Recalling its concern for the sanctity of treaties and for defined and demarcated boundaries, the Conference noted the grave effect that this controversy is having on the relations between CARICOM States and Venezuela and took note of the unqualified undertaking given by the Venezuelan Government to eschew the use of force as a means of settling the controversy. The Conference also called upon Venezuela to desist from further action or threats of action likely to affect the economic development of Guyana.

The Conference urged Guyana and Venezuela to continue their pursuit of a peaceful settlement of the controversy in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1966 so as to arrive at a final decision as promptly as possible".

### **1981 (May): Sixth Meeting of the Standing Committee responsible for Labour, Antigua and Barbuda**

"Noting that the Foreign Ministers of CARICOM had agreed at their meeting in Barbados in July 1979 to recommend to their Governments that they should support Guyana in the dispute with Venezuela and noting that the matter may be raised again at the proposed meeting of Foreign Ministers in Grenada next month –

The Standing Committee:

**Agreed to support the Foreign Ministers' decision of July 1979 and to recommend to their Governments that every support should be given to Guyana in the dispute, especially in view of the fact that the matter may be raised at the International Labour Conference next month and that every step should be taken to reach a peaceful solution to this question with full territorial integrity for our sister CARICOM State".**

Prepared by Volderine Hackett

**Updated April 2017**

**Resources**

Communiqués from Meetings of:

The Conference of Heads of Government,

The Council for Foreign and Community Relations

Fourth UK/Caribbean Ministerial Forum

Standing Committee responsible for Labour

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**Annex 76**

U.N. Secretary-General, *Press Release: Secretary-General Appoints Norman Girvan of Jamaica as Personal Representative on Border Controversy Between Guyana, Venezuela*, U.N. Doc. SG/A/1230-BIO/4183 (21 Apr. 2010)



**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

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## **Secretary-General Appoints Norman Girvan of Jamaica as Personal Representative on Border Controversy Between Guyana, Venezuela**

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has appointed Norman Girvan of Jamaica as his Personal Representative on the Border Controversy between Guyana and Venezuela.

Mr. Girvan's role will be to assist Guyana and Venezuela in resolving this long-standing controversy. His appointment responds to a request from the parties to resume the Secretary-General's good offices, which were suspended in 2007 due to the death of the Secretary-General's last Personal Representative, Oliver Jackman. The Secretary-General commends the parties for seeking to resolve their differences through dialogue, and looks forward to learning of the progress that they make with the assistance of Mr. Girvan.

Mr. Girvan is a respected diplomat who possesses deep knowledge of the Caribbean region. He has travelled extensively in Latin America and is well known for his advocacy of greater cooperation between the Caribbean and Latin America. He was Secretary General of the Association of Caribbean States from 2000-2004, and is currently a Professorial Research Fellow at the University of the West Indies' Institute of International Relations. Mr. Girvan has worked as Senior Officer and Consultant at the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations and as Senior Research Fellow of the United Nations African Institute for Development and Planning in Dakar, Senegal. Additionally, he has served as Chief Technical Director of Jamaica's National Planning Agency. An economist by training, Mr. Girvan has also served on the Board of Directors of the Bank of Jamaica and in the Economic Council of the Cabinet of the Government of Jamaica.

Mr. Girvan is fluent in English and Spanish. He was born in 1941.

**!** For information media. Not an official record.

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**Annex 77**

*Oxford English Dictionary* (7th ed., 2012), “Resolve”



## Definition of *resolve* in English:

# resolve

## VERB

**1** *with object* Settle or find a solution to (a problem or contentious matter)

*'the firm aims to resolve problems within 30 days'*

**1.1** *Medicine with object* Cause (a symptom or condition) to heal or subside.

*'endoscopic biliary drainage can rapidly resolve jaundice'*

**1.2** *no object* (of a symptom or condition) heal or subside.

*'symptoms resolved after a median of four weeks'*

**1.3** *Music* (with reference to a discord) pass or cause to pass into a concord during the course of harmonic change.

*no object* *'dissonant notes resolve conventionally by rising or falling to form part of a new chord'*

*with object* *'you would not want to resolve a melodic line on to the minor sixth interval'*

**2** *no object* Decide firmly on a course of action.

*with infinitive* *'she resolved to ring Dana as soon as she got home'*

**2.1** *with clause* (of a legislative body or other formal meeting) make a decision by a formal vote.

*'the executive resolved that a strike would be detrimental to all concerned'*

*with infinitive* *'the conference resolved to support an alliance'*

**3** *Chemistry*

Separate or cause to be separated into constituent parts or components.

*with object* *'alpha-zein is often resolved into two major size components'*

*no object* *'the Labyrinth's design resolves into a number of distinct functional areas'*

**3.1** **resolve something into** *with object* Reduce a subject, statement, etc. by mental analysis into (separate elements or a more elementary form)

*'the ability to resolve facts into their legal categories'*

**3.2** *Physics with object* Analyse (a force or velocity) into components acting in particular directions.

**4** *no object* (of something seen at a distance) turn into a different form when seen more clearly.

*'the orange light resolved itself into four roadwork lanterns'*

**4.1** *with object* (of optical or photographic equipment) separate or distinguish between (closely adjacent objects)

*'Hubble was able to resolve six variable stars in M31'*

**4.2** *with object* Separately distinguish (peaks in a graph or spectrum).





**Annex 78**

D. Scott Chabrol, “Venezuelan soldiers weren’t allowed entry-govt”, *Demerara Waves*  
(13 Sept. 2013)



FTU: 2/7/1

## Venezuelan soldiers weren't allowed entry- govt

Friday, 13 September 2013 16:34 Denis Scott Chabrol

A group of Venezuelans, who recently crossed the border into Essequibo for research purposes, had reported to Guyanese authorities there but soldiers from the Spanish-speaking neighbour were not allowed entry.

"This visit was a visit that obtained the approval of the appropriate authorities at the point at which the delegation entered Guyana," Head of the Presidential Secretariat, Dr. Roger Luncheon told a news conference.

He explained that based on reports by Guyanese officials, the Venezuelans sought and received permission to engage members of Guyanese communities on the border who might have had some assumed relationship with Guyana. An International Relations expert said the fact alone that they sought permission meant that group recognized the legitimacy of the border which was settled in 1899 by an Arbitral Tribunal.

The 45 persons, who entered Guyana on August 31-the same day that their President, Nicolas Maduro was on an official visit here- had told authorities that the purpose of the visit was to research the linkages between residents in Venezuela's San Martin and persons at Eteringbang in Guyana.

The estimated six uniformed and armed Venezuelan soldiers, Luncheon said, were not permitted to enter Guyana. "They were not allowed was the official report provided by the Guyanese authorities and it was as far as the authorities there were concerned a breach of the agreement, the understanding under which they were allowed to enter Guyana, a breach once drawn to their attention they made the suitable apologies and corrected," he said.

Demerara Waves Online News ([www.demwaves.com](http://www.demwaves.com)) was told that the soldiers were told they could not have entered Guyana with their weapons but were later seen in the Eteringbang area with them. They were alerted to the violation and they apologised.

The Venezuelan newspaper later reported that the visitors were members of a group named "My Map of Venezuela also Includes Our Essequibo".

"We came here to carry out a civil exercise of sovereignty, but we do not understand what was Nicolás Maduro doing there (in Guyana)," said Law student Ricardo de Toma, a member of an organization called "My Map of Venezuela also Includes Our Essequibo" who took part in the expedition, along with administrator Jorge Luis Fuguett, and internationalist Rajihv Morillo. Sources said that at least three ex Venezuelan military generals were part of the group.

Maduro and his Guyanese counterpart have recommitted to using the United Nations process to find a lasting and peaceful solution to the controversy over the mineral and forest-rich Essequibo region.

Guyanese security experts are, however, said to be paying keen attention to rumblings in sections of the Venezuelan military and the opposition there that the Hugo Chavez cum Maduro administration has been taking a soft line on the territorial sovereignty of Essequibo.

FTU: 2/7/1

## GDF objected to armed Venezuelan soldiers entering Essequibo

- Monday, 09 September 2013 12:47
- [Comments \(78\)](#)

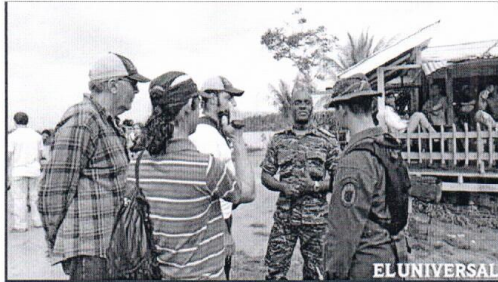


A Guyanese officer received the boat with Venezuelans on board (Handout photo).

Guyana Defence Force (GDF) soldiers had objected to several Venezuelan soldiers eventually landing on Guyanese soil with their weapons although they were advised not to do so, officials here said Monday.

The group arrived on August 31, the same day that Venezuelan President, Nicolas Maduro was on a one-day state visit.

Speaking on strict condition of anonymity, the source said the GDF Commanding Officer at Eteringbang had advised the Venezuelan soldiers that they could not disembark the boat at Eteringbang with their guns.



While they agreed, sources said the several soldiers were later seen in Guyana with their guns, resulting in a remonstrance between the soldiers of the two neighbouring countries. The Venezuelans subsequently apologised.

The source said the 45-member group included at least six uniformed Venezuelan soldiers, three ex-Venezuelan generals and others civilian-dressed persons.

Guyanese security services are said to be paying keen attention to growing unease among sections of the Venezuelan army that the Hugo Chavez cum Maduro administration has been taking a soft approach to sovereignty over the Essequibo Region.

While Guyanese police and soldiers followed the necessary border immigration and security controls, authorities in Georgetown believed that the Venezuelan group lied when they informed that they were visiting Eteringbang to investigate the origin of the people at San Martin, a

Venezuelan community opposite Eteringbang.



The Venezuelan newspaper, El Universal, on Monday reported that the Venezuelans went on a mission crossing the Cuyani River and into the Guyana-Venezuela disputed area accompanied by officers of the Venezuelan Army.

"We came here to carry out a civil exercise of sovereignty, but we do not understand what was Nicolás Maduro doing there (in Guyana)," said Law student Ricardo de Toma, a member of an organization called "My Map of Venezuela also Includes Our Essequibo" who took part in the expedition, along with administrator Jorge Luis Fuguett, and internationalist Rajihv Morillo.

De Toma recalled that in spite of the mining projects Guyana has been developing in the Essequibo disputed area with Venezuela, plus the granting of oil concessions in front of the Venezuelan Atlantic front, President Maduro "paid a visit (to Guyana) only to spread an ideological model."





**Annex 79**

*Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (23d ed., 2014), “Resolver”



resolve | Definition of resolve – Spanish Dictionary

Spanish Real Academy  
Logo

Updated 2017

## Resolve

[...]

1. Solve a problem, doubt or difficulty or something that entails them. *The detective resolved the case.* U.  
t. c. prnl. *The enigma is not solved until the end.*

[...]



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Edición del Tricentenario ∨ RAE.es

## Actualización 2017

## resolver

Del lat. *resolvĕre*, de *re-* 're-' y *solvĕre* 'soltar, desatar'.

Conjug. actual c. *mover*; part. irreg. resuelto.

1. tr. Solucionar un problema, una duda, una dificultad o algo que los entaña. *El detective resolvió el caso. U. t. c. prnl. El enigma no se resuelve hasta el final.*
2. tr. Decidir algo o formar la idea o el propósito firme de hacerlo. *Resolvimos pernoctar allí. El tribunal resolvió su ingreso en prisión. U. t. c. intr. El juez resolvió a su favor.*
3. tr. Determinar el resultado de algo. *Su jugada resolvió el partido.*
4. tr. Reducir una cosa a otra de menor importancia en relación con lo que se creía o temía. *U. t. c. prnl. Todo se resolvió EN unos gritos.*
5. tr. *Med.* Hacer desaparecer algo, especialmente un tumor o una inflamación, restableciendo el estado normal. *U. t. c. prnl.*
6. tr. *Mús.* Llevar a efecto una **resolución** (|| paso de un acorde a otro).
7. tr. *p. us.* Deshacer o disolver algo. *Los rayos del sol resuelven la niebla. U. t. c. prnl.*
8. tr. *desus.* Resumir o recapitular algo.
9. *prnl.* Decidirse a hacer algo. *Se resolvió A hablar con la prensa.*

## **Annex 80**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, No. 000802 (8 Apr. 2014)



**NON-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION**

000802

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana in the opportunity to refer to the hydropower development projects Upper/Middle Mazaruni and Amaila Falls.

In this regard, The Ministry wishes to highlight the information published on March 25, 2014 by the Government Information Agency of Guyana (GINA), which refers to the Joint Partnership between the Governments of Guyana and Brazil to develop a hydroelectric complex in the Mazaruni.

On that occasion, GINA published statements offered by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, about the project and their implications for Venezuela, which is reproduced below: "Asked about the Venezuelan stance towards the potential investment in the Essequibo area, the Foreign Affairs Minister noted that while she cannot predict the future, she does not foresee any issues developing with the neighboring nation since the area is no longer regarded as 'disputed'".

The Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela expresses its rejection and deep concern on the statements attributed to the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, since its considered that are not consistent with the Good Offices Process, which are being conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and does not conform to the spirit of understanding and cooperation established in the Geneva Agreement, or corresponds to the traditional good relations between Caracas and Georgetown.

As it is well known by the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is not nor has been forced ever by the Arbitral Award of 1899, given that such an act is null and void and therefore does not produce legal effects. In that sense, the Government of Venezuela considers that the possessions by Guyana of the territory situated to the West of the Essequibo River, as well as acts pursuant to it carried out or performs that possession, are lack any basis in law and justice. It is necessary to make clear that no have been made negotiations, arrangements or bilateral agreements by which both States have decided to put an end to the dispute, reason by which the Venezuelan claim remains in full effect.

The border dispute is currently governed by the Geneva Agreement and is assisted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through the Good Offices Process; a peaceful dispute settlement that both Countries have agreed to follow and respect, in order to find a practical solution to the dispute.

In light of Article V, paragraph 2) of the Geneva Agreement of 1966, "No acts or activities taking place while this Agreement is in force shall constitute a basis for asserting, supporting or denying a claim to territorial sovereignty in the territories of Venezuela or British Guiana or create any rights of sovereignty in those territories; except in so far as such acts or activities result from any agreement reached by the Mixed Commission and accepted in writing by the

Government of Guyana and the Government of Venezuela. No new claim, or enlargement of an existing claim, to territorial sovereignty in those territories shall be asserted while this Agreement is in force, nor shall any claim whatsoever be asserted otherwise than in the Mixed Commission while that Commission is in being".

Based on the foregoing, the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana has neither informed nor consulted officially with the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, on the hydroelectric projects of the Upper Mazaruni or Amaila Falls and the development of both projects are not the result of any agreement reached by the Joint Committee or agreed to in writing by the Government of Venezuela and the Government of Guyana.

For this reason, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela expresses its rejection on the manner in which foreign companies authorized unilaterally by the Government of Guyana have started developments in the Essequibo, in particular with respect to prefeasibility and prospecting studies of the basin of the Mazaruni, Amaila and Kuribrong rivers, as well as in all the surrounding territorial area.

The Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela also wishes to express its strongly disagreed with the developments for the establishment of the Amaila Falls hydropower plant, which involved various foreign companies and multilateral financial institutions that support this venture, in open disregard of the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and the Good Offices Process conducted in the framework of the UN.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela invites to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to provide a satisfactory explanation about this disquieting issue and to take the corrective actions according to the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and of the Good Offices process currently underway.

Finally, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reiterates its pacifist nature and its willingness to not return into situations of confrontation with the sister Republic of Guyana, as well as continue to persevere in the way started by Commander Hugo Chávez aiming to foster relations of cooperation among the peoples and strengthening the Latin American and Caribbean integration.

Caracas, April 8, 2014



REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA  
MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA  
RELACIONES EXTERIORES  
DESPACHO DE LA VICEMINISTRA PARA  
AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE

00802

El Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela saluda atentamente al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Guyana en la oportunidad de referirse a los proyectos de desarrollo hidroeléctrico Alto Mazaruni y Amaila Falls.

Sobre el particular desea resaltar la información publicada el pasado 25 de marzo del 2014 por la Agencia de Información del Gobierno de Guyana (GINA), mediante la cual se hace referencia a la Asociación Conjunta entre los Gobiernos de Guyana y Brasil para desarrollar un complejo hidroeléctrico en el Mazaruni.

En esa ocasión GINA publicó declaraciones ofrecidas por la Honorable Ministra de Relaciones Exteriores de Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, sobre el mencionado proyecto y sus repercusiones para Venezuela, la cuales se reproducen a continuación: "Al preguntarle sobre la posición de Venezuela acerca de esta potencial inversión en el Esequibo, la Ministra resaltó que, si bien es cierto no podría predecir el futuro, no se vislumbra el surgimiento de ningún asunto sobre el particular con el país vecino en vista de que esa zona ya no se encuentra en disputa".

El Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela expresa su rechazo con respecto a las declaraciones atribuidas a la Honorable Ministra de Relaciones Exteriores de Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, las cuales causan una seria preocupación para Venezuela pues no las considera cónsonas con el Proceso de los Buenos Oficios que se adelanta bajo los auspicios del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas; y no se ajusta al espíritu de entendimiento y cooperación establecido en el Acuerdo de Ginebra ni se corresponde con las tradicionales buenas relaciones entre Caracas y Georgetown.

Como es conocido por el ilustrado Gobierno de la República de Guyana, la República Bolivariana de Venezuela no está ni ha estado obligada nunca por el Laudo Arbitral de 1899, en vista de que dicho acto es nulo e írrito y por lo tanto no produce efectos jurídicos. En ese sentido, el Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela considera que la detentación por parte de Guyana del territorio situado al Oeste del Río Esequibo, así como los actos que en virtud de ella haya realizado o realice, carecen de toda base en derecho y en justicia. Es necesario dejar claro que no se han efectuado negociaciones, arreglos o convenios bilaterales mediante los cuales ambos Estados hayan decidido poner fin al diferendo, razón por la cual la reclamación venezolana se mantiene en plena vigencia.

Actualmente el diferendo limítrofe se encuentra regido por el Acuerdo de Ginebra y es asistido por el Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas mediante el Proceso de los Buenos Oficios; mecanismo de solución pacífica que ambos países han acordado seguir y respetar, con la finalidad de encontrar una solución práctica a la controversia existente.

A la luz del Artículo V, numeral 2) del Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966, "Ningún acto o actividad que se lleve a cabo mientras se halle en vigencia este Acuerdo constituirá fundamento para hacer valer, apoyar o negar una reclamación de soberanía territorial en los Territorios de Venezuela o la Guayana Británica, ni para crear

derechos de soberanía en dichos territorios, excepto en cuanto tales actos o actividades sean resultado de cualquier convenio logrado por la Comisión Mixta y aceptado por escrito por el Gobierno de Venezuela y el Gobierno de Guyana. Ninguna nueva reclamación o ampliación de una reclamación existente a soberanía territorial en dichos territorios será hecha valer mientras este Acuerdo esté en vigencia, ni se hará valer reclamación alguna sino en la Comisión Mixta mientras tal Comisión exista”.

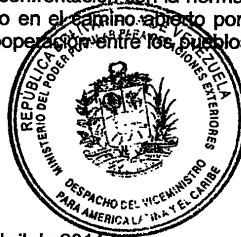
En función de lo anterior, el Gobierno de la República de Guyana no ha informado ni consultado oficialmente con el Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela, sobre los proyectos hidroeléctricos del Alto Mazaruni o Amaila Falls y el emprendimiento de ambos proyectos no son el resultado de ningún convenio logrado por la Comisión Mixta o aceptado por escrito por el Gobierno de Venezuela y el Gobierno de Guyana.

Por tal razón, la República Bolivariana de Venezuela expresa su rechazo a la manera en que empresas extranjeras autorizadas unilateralmente por el Gobierno de Guyana han iniciado desarrollos en el Esequibo, en especial con respecto a los estudios de pre factibilidad y exploración de la cuenca de los ríos Mazaruni, Amaila y Kuribrong, así como de toda el área territorial circundante.

El Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela también desea expresar su profundo desacuerdo por el desarrollo de los trabajos para el establecimiento de la central hidroeléctrica Amaila Falls, en el cual participan distintas empresas extranjeras e instituciones financieras multilaterales que avalan este emprendimiento, en franco desconocimiento del Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966 y del Proceso de los Buenos Oficios adelantado en el marco de la ONU.

El Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela invita al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Guyana a que facilite una explicación satisfactoria sobre este preocupante hecho y a que tome los correctivos a que hubiere lugar en función de lo establecido en el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966 y el Proceso de los Buenos Oficios actualmente en curso.

Finalmente, la República Bolivariana de Venezuela reitera su vocación pacifista y la voluntad de no volver a las situaciones pasadas de confrontación con la hermana República de Guyana, así como de seguir perseverando en el camino abierto por el Comandante Hugo Chávez de fomentar relaciones de cooperación entre los pueblos y fortalecer la integración latinoamericana y caribeña.



Caracas, 08 de abril de 2014

## **Annex 81**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, No. DG/07/04/2014 (14 Apr. 2014)





FTO: 2/7/5

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Note No: DG/07/04/2014

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and has the honour to refer to the latter's Note Verbale No.: 000802 dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 2014.

The Ministry wishes to clarify that the quotation attributed to the Honourable Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana, is not accurate. What was said by the Honourable Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett was: "I cannot predict the future, but I do not foresee any issues developing with our neighbour and even so, Guyana's position is that it does not have a territorial dispute with Venezuela." This has been the consistent position of the Republic of Guyana as is again explained immediately hereunder.

The Ministry wishes to take this opportunity to reiterate that while the Venezuelan Government regards the Arbitral Award of October 3, 1899 as null and void, that is not and never was the position of the Republic of Guyana nor the United Kingdom of Great Britain to which the Republic of Guyana is successor. In fact, the Government of Guyana wishes to remind that the Government of Venezuela accepted and acted upon the said Award for some sixty years, including by joining in the demarcation of the bilateral land boundary between Guyana and Venezuela between 1901 and 1905, before unilaterally seeking to impugn the integrity of the Arbitrators in an effort to undermine its validity.

The Ministry wishes to emphasize and reiterate that the Republic of Guyana does not accept that there is a dispute regarding the Essequibo. What exists, according to Article 1 of the Geneva Agreement of 17<sup>th</sup> February 1966, is a "...controversy ...which has arisen as a result of the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award ... is null and void." The United Kingdom and the Republic of Guyana have sought to encourage the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to prove its case of nullity. Successive Venezuelan Governments have never done so.

The tone of the Note Verbale under reference is disturbing since both countries have had excellent brotherly relations in recent times. This was greatly facilitated by the broad vision and understanding of the late President of Venezuela Hugo Chavez Frias. He, on more than one occasion, in speaking of the border issue, described it as the machinations of imperialism with its origins in the Cold War's efforts at preventing unity in Latin America.

The Ministry wishes to indicate that it was encouraged to remind itself of a statement made by His Excellency President Nicolas Maduro in February 2008, in his capacity as Foreign Minister of Venezuela, that prior to President Chavez "a policy of hatred was fostered against ...Guyana, the militaries were educated to militarily recover Essequibo, while we cultivate love for the Guyanese people." The Note Verbale is clearly not in the spirit of what the Republic of Guyana has come to expect from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

The Government of Guyana submits that the interpretation of Article V (2) of the Geneva Agreement, as contained in the Ministry's Note Verbale under reference, is not accurate, nor is it acceptable to the Government of the Republic of Guyana. In fact, nothing in the said Article precludes either Guyana or Venezuela from developing their respective territory in keeping with the Arbitral Award and their internationally recognized boundaries. If the interpretation contained in the said Note were to be fact, then it would mean that neither State would be able to develop any part of its territory, a consequence that could not be the intention of the drafters and more so its signatories. The Government of Guyana views the position taken by Venezuela regarding investment activities in its country as a regressive step which has the potential of affecting Guyana's social and economic development in a negative way. That in Guyana's view departs from the stated policy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. As a small State, as a member of the Union of South American Nations, and indeed as a member State of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, Guyana expected and expects Venezuela to be supportive of its endeavours at economic development, not return to policies that can only divide Latin America and the Caribbean and indeed prevent the goals of eradicating poverty and underdevelopment in this region from being achieved.

The Ministry wishes to unequivocally state that, in light of the foregoing, the Government of Guyana reaffirms that Guyana is sovereign over its internationally recognized territory.

The Ministry wishes to emphasize the Government of Guyana's commitment to the peaceful settlement of misunderstandings between and amongst States, especially neighbouring States, as is exemplified by the numerous reminders for the convening of the meeting of the technical group to discuss a mechanism for the negotiation of the maritime boundary with the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. This being a commitment which was undertaken by both Governments at the level of the Foreign Ministers.

The Ministry wishes to clarify that, in its considered view, the role of the Good Offices Process is consistent with Article 1 of the Geneva Agreement. Guyana's activities in the Essequibo do not fall under the remit of the Good Offices Process. The contention that the Award is null and void does however fall under its remit.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela the assurances of its highest consideration.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
GEORGETOWN  
APRIL 14, 2014



**Annex 82**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (15 Apr. 2014)







## Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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April 15, 2014

His Excellency Ban Ki Moon  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
Headquarters of the United Nations  
New York.

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you of a recent development which has the potential to affect, negatively, the relations between the Republic of Guyana and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Before doing so, permit me to express my personal and sincere sorrow and deep regret, as well as that of the Government of Guyana, on the passing of Professor Norman Girvan who was your Representative under our Good Offices Process. Professor Girvan demonstrated exceptional tact and superb understanding in his efforts on your behalf, to assist Guyana and Venezuela in the search for a mutually acceptable solution to the controversy that has arisen from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 which definitively settled the land boundary between our two countries is null and void. We will miss his informed guidance in this effort.

Excellency,

The development to which I refer is contained in a Note Verbale dated 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2014, which we received from the Government of Venezuela, objecting to plans which the Government of Guyana has for the development of our country. I have provided a copy of that communication for your information.

In the context of programmes for the further integration of South America and in the spirit of cooperation which these have engendered, the Government of Guyana, in association with the Government of Brazil, has initiated, inter alia, a number of projects for public-private sector partnerships. These include a road link from Brazil in the south to Guyana's coast, the construction of a deep water harbor and hydro-electricity facilities in the Mazaruni. The Government of Guyana has embarked separately on the development of a hydro-electricity facility at Amaila Falls. The Mazaruni region and the Amaila Falls are located in the western section of Guyana.

Guyana remains a small developing country with a GDP of US\$2.851 billion in 2012 as compared with Venezuela's GDP of US\$382.42 billion for the same period. The projects referred to, are among several which when completed will make a significant contribution to our poverty eradication strategies and to our overall programmes for national development.

Any objection to these development plans, whether taken as a whole or in part, can only be construed as an attempt by Venezuela to thwart Guyana's development objectives and to frustrate our programmes for increased economic empowerment. Your Excellency will recall that on several occasions in the past, including our letter of 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2013, Guyana had found it necessary to bring to the attention of the United Nations the occurrence of these clear acts of economic aggression by Venezuela and their implications for Guyana's development.

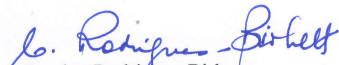
This recent action by Venezuela is of particular significance in that the Geneva Agreement of 1966 has been specifically invoked in justification of such action. Venezuela is contending that Article 5, paragraph 2, of this Agreement precludes Guyana from developing, without Venezuela's implied or expressed consent, any portion of Guyana's territory that lies west of the Essequibo River. It is clearly a preposterous assertion which the United Kingdom Government as a principal signatory to the Agreement would never have assented to or even contemplated having only that same year agreed to grant independence to a Guyana with an already clearly defined boundary with Venezuela.

This action also calls into question the good faith of the Government of Venezuela within the Good Offices Process suggesting as it does that a unilateral declaration of nullity is enough to invalidate the Arbitral Award of 1899 and as a consequence that Venezuela has no intention of addressing, as an important step within the Good Office Process, whether its contention of nullity has any validity prior to addressing the issue of 'seeking satisfactory solutions'.

Excellency,

In the context of the foregoing I wish to express the hope that you will use your immeasurable influence both as Secretary General of the United Nations and as the Good Officer within the settlement process identified under Article 5 of the Geneva Agreement to encourage the Government of Venezuela to renounce its policy of economic aggression and intimidation against Guyana.

Please accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Attached:

Note Verbale dated 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2014 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana

### **Annex 83**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Ministry of People's Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, No. 815/2014 (1 July 2014)



FTS: 2/2/1

**NOTE NO.: 815/ 2014**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana presents its compliments to the Ministry of Popular Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and has the honour to inform that the Ministry has received an official report from the Guyana Defence Force that members of the Venezuelan armed forces recently illegally entered the territory of Guyana and perpetrated various nefarious acts against Guyanese citizens.

The report states that on Wednesday, June 25, 2014, Venezuelan ranks based at Wausa crossed into Guyana at "Bruk-up" Landing, a Guyanese settlement on the border, and held its occupants captive for three days, seizing satellite phones, radios and boats, essentially preventing anyone from leaving or communicating with anyone on the outside of that community.

Following an encounter, on Guyana's territory, with members of the Guyana Defence Force on Friday, June 27, 2014 that Venezuelan military contingent was persuaded to release four Guyanese citizens whom they had abducted but one male Guyanese citizen was taken against his will across the border to Venezuela by the same team of Venezuelan military officers.

The Government of Guyana wishes to register its grave concern over these provocative acts committed by the Venezuelan military. They are a violation of the territory of Guyana as well as the human rights of its people and will undoubtedly serve to heighten tensions on the border between Guyana and Venezuela.

In this regard, the Government of Guyana hereby calls on the Government of Venezuela to address these illegal incursions into the territory of Guyana. It also requests that the Guyanese citizen who has been detained be immediately released and returned to Guyana.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Popular Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela the assurances of its highest consideration.

**GEORGETOWN**  
**July 1, 2014**





## **Annex 84**

*Letter* from F. Patterson, Anadarko Petroleum Co., to R.M. Persaud, Minister of Natural Resources and the Environment of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (20 Aug. 2014)





ANADARKO PETROLEUM CORPORATION

1201 LAKE ROBBINS DRIVE • THE WOODLANDS, TEXAS 77380  
P.O. Box 1330 • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77251-1330

20 August 2014

VIA EMAIL AND INTERNATIONAL COURIER

The Honorable Robert M. Persaud  
Minister of Natural Resources and the Environment  
Upper Brickdam, Georgetown  
Republic of Guyana

Re: Anadarko Guyana Company ("Anadarko") - Petroleum Agreement dated 25 June 2012 between the Government of the Republic of Guyana (the "Government") and Anadarko (the "Petroleum Agreement")

Dear Minister Persaud:

We have received the proposal from the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment of the Republic of Guyana, dated 25 March 2014.

Anadarko is sensitive to the dilemma faced by the Republic of Guyana given the international boundary dispute that has been asserted by the Republic of Venezuela (the "Boundary Dispute") over the territorial waters that include and encompass the entirety of the Contract Area, as that term is defined in the Petroleum Agreement. Anadarko believes that the Government recognizes that the actions of the Republic of Venezuela have made it impossible for Anadarko to discharge its contractual obligations vis-à-vis the Government given the very real threat of armed interference with the seismic, drilling and other activities that are required for Anadarko to meet its contractual prospecting obligations in the Contract Area.

Taking into account the facts resulting from the Boundary Dispute and our mutual interest to eventually resume operations once a settlement has been reached between the sovereigns with respect to the disputed territorial waters, we propose the following terms in lieu of exercising our right to declare Force Majeure as is Anadarko's right pursuant to Article 24 of the Petroleum Agreement:

1. The Initial Period of the Petroleum Agreement shall be suspended retroactively from 10 October 2013, the date of the commencement of the Republic of Venezuela's actions, referenced above, and shall continue until a definitive settlement of the Boundary Dispute has been promulgated and finalized by and between the representatives of the Republic of Guyana and the Republic of Venezuela and ratified as may be necessary and/or required by their respective legislative bodies, that allows unhindered access by Anadarko to and in the Contract Area without the possibility of any further interference by the Republic of Venezuela (the "Period of Suspension").
2. Both parties recognize and acknowledge that Anadarko has no obligation to resume activities in the Contract Area for so long as the Boundary Dispute remains unresolved.
3. The Annual License Rental Charge(s) set forth in Article 10 of the Petroleum Agreement and payable during each year of the Period of Suspension shall be US\$50,000.
4. The Employment and Training Charge(s) set forth in Article 19 of the Petroleum Agreement and payable during each year of the Period of Suspension shall be US\$20,000.
5. Should the Boundary Dispute be settled in such manner that allows unhindered access by Anadarko to and in the Contract Area and eliminates the possibility of any further interference by the Republic of Venezuela, the Annual License Rental, and Employment and Training Charge(s) shall be reinstated, without retroactive effect.
6. In the event that the Boundary Dispute remains unresolved for three (3) years from execution of an amendment to the Petroleum Agreement reflecting the terms of this letter, Anadarko may, at any time thereafter and at its sole discretion and without any further obligation, terminate the Petroleum Agreement.

If the foregoing terms are acceptable, we would welcome the opportunity to present for your consideration an amendment to the Petroleum Agreement reflecting our understanding and agreement on the foregoing points.

Sincerely,



Frank Patterson  
Senior Vice President, Exploration

**Annex 85**

*Note Verbale* from the Ministry of the People's Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana, No. I.DDM. 005568 (22 Sept. 2014)



FRO: 2/7/15

*(non-official translation)*

BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA  
MINISTRY OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

I.DDM. 005568

**THE MINISTRY OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana and takes the opportunity to refer to its Note 976/2014 of 25 August 2014, whereby Guyana intends to deny, once again, the existence of a border dispute between both countries over the territory of Essequibo. In this regard, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ratifies the position of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela concerning the null and void character of the Arbitral Award of 1899. Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reiterates that Venezuela has not waived its territorial claim on the Essequibo and ratifies its validity.

In that sense, the Ministry of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs wishes to express its deep concern and rejection regarding the language used in the aforementioned Note, which is unprecedented, unbelievable and unacceptable both for its aggressiveness and for its scope. Unfortunately, Guyana has misunderstood the goodwill of Venezuela to reach a practical and peaceful solution to the controversy. Based on a misleading statement, Guyana has unilaterally assumed the right to indiscriminately undertake diverse projects of exploitation in the Essequibo, denying Venezuela's rights on the disputed area, as well as the stipulations of the Geneva Agreement of 1966, which remains in full force. But what is even more serious is that in Note 976/2014 it is absolutely neglected that in the maps presented by the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission to grant mining lands in the Essequibo, some areas overlap with the states of Bolivar and Delta Amacuro, an area of undeniable Venezuelan sovereignty.

To the Honourable  
**Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
**of the Republic of Guyana**  
Georgetown.-

As in the incident involving the *Teknik Perdana* seismic survey vessel which intended to infringe the maritime sovereignty of the Venezuelan Atlantic seaboard, this time there would be an attempt to disrespect Venezuela's sovereignty over its land.

The Ministry of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs would also like to express its deepest rejection of the assertion made in the aforesaid Note, according to which "*Venezuela intends, once more, to interrupt and hamper Guyana's economic development*". That allegation would seem to be aimed at discrediting Venezuela's international image and denying our efforts in favour of the development of the sister Republic of Guyana deployed through different cooperation programmes such as Petrocaribe.

Likewise, the Ministry of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs reiterates the request made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana through Note 004796 of 15 August 2014, in order to have an explanation concerning the unilateral granting of mining concessions on the borders of Bolívar and Delta Amacuro states.

Similarly, the Ministry of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs reiterates the invitation made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana to appoint, as soon as possible, the Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Good Offices Process. This is considered a crucial step to resume the bilateral agenda on this issue.

Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to ratify its unyielding commitment to peace and the respect for international law, consistent with the legacy of Latin-American and Caribbean Integration fostered by Supreme Commander Hugo Chávez.

**THE MINISTRY OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** avails itself of the occasion to reiterate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana the assurances of its highest and most distinguished consideration.

Caracas, 22 September 2014



Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela  
to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana



II.2.G12.E1.P.60.3/267

**THE EMBASSY OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA** presents its compliments to the Honorable Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, and has the honour to refer to its Note Verbal n° II.2.G12.E1.P.60.3/254, dated 23/09/2014, regarding the Communication n° 005568, sent by the Ministry of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

**THE EMBASSY OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA** has the honour to enclose herewith the original Communication n° 005568.

**THE EMBASSY OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA** avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the assurances of its highest consideration to the Honorable Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. D



Georgetown, September 29, 2014.

To the Honorable  
**Ministry of Foreign Affairs of  
the Republic of Guyana**  
Georgetown

HD in KV -  
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REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA  
MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA  
RELACIONES EXTERIORES

005568

I.DDM.

**EL MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA RELACIONES EXTERIORES**, saluda atentamente al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Guyana en la oportunidad de hacer referencia a su Nota 976/2014 del 25 de agosto del 2014, mediante la cual Guyana pretende desconocer, una vez más, la existencia de un diferendo limítrofe entre ambos países por el territorio Esequibo. Sobre el particular, el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores ratifica la posición de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela de que el Laudo Arbitral de 1899 es nulo e irritó. De esta manera, el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores reitera que Venezuela no ha renunciado a su reclamación sobre el Esequibo y ratifica su vigencia.

En ese sentido, el Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores desea expresar profunda preocupación y rechazo por el lenguaje utilizado en la referida Nota, el cual resulta inaudito, insólito e inaceptable tanto por su agresividad, como por su alcance. Desafortunadamente, Guyana ha mal interpretado la buena voluntad de Venezuela para alcanzar una solución práctica y pacífica sobre la controversia. Sobre la base un discurso falaz, Guyana se ha abrogado unilateralmente el derecho a emprender indiscriminadamente diversos proyectos de explotación en el Esequibo, desconociendo los derechos de Venezuela sobre la zona en reclamación, así como lo estipulado en el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966, el cual se encuentra en plena vigencia. Pero más grave aún, es que en la Nota 976/2014 se obvia por completo el hecho de que en los mapas presentados por la Comisión de Geología y Minas de Guyana para otorgar terrenos mineros en el Esequibo, se muestran áreas superpuestas a los estados Bolívar y Delta Amacuro, zona bajo indiscutible soberanía venezolana.

Al igual que sucedió con el incidente que involucró al buque de exploración sísmica Teknik Perdana, que pretendió vulnerar la soberanía marítima de la fachada atlántica venezolana, en esta oportunidad se intentaría irrespetar la soberanía terrestre de Venezuela.

Al Honorable  
**Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores  
de la República de Guyana**  
Georgetown.-



El Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores también desea expresar su más profundo rechazo al planteamiento realizado en la Nota *in comento*, según el cual "Venezuela pretende, una vez más, interrumpir e impedir el desarrollo económico de Guyana". Ese argumento pareciera orientado a desprestigiar la imagen internacional de Venezuela y pretendería desconocer los esfuerzos realizados en pro del desarrollo de la hermana República de Guyana, a través de distintos programas de cooperación, entre los que se encuentra Petrocaribe.

De igual manera, el Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores reitera la solicitud realizada al Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de Guyana mediante su Nota 004796 de fecha 15 de agosto del 2014, a fin de que facilite una explicación sobre el otorgamiento unilateral de concesiones mineras sobre los límites con los estados Bolívar y Delta Amacuro.

Asimismo, el Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores reitera la invitación realizada al Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de Guyana a fin de que se designe lo antes posible al Representante Personal del Secretario General de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas para el Proceso de los Buenos Oficios. Este es considerado un paso fundamental para retomar la agenda bilateral en esta materia.

Finalmente, el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores desea ratificar su inquebrantable compromiso con la paz y el respeto al derecho internacional, en concordancia con el legado de integración Latinoamérica y caribeña impulsado por el Comandante Supremo Hugo Chávez Frías.

**EL MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA RELACIONES EXTERIORES**, hace propicia la ocasión para reiterar al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la Republica de Guyana, las seguridades de su más alta y distinguida consideración.



Caracas, 22 SEP 2014



**Annex 86**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Minister of the People's Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela  
(2 Dec. 2014)





# Ministry of Foreign Affairs

254 South Road & Shiv Chanderpaul Dr.,  
 Georgetown, Guyana  
 Telephone: 592-226-9080 Fax: 592-223-5241  
 Email: [minister@minfor.gov.gy](mailto:minister@minfor.gov.gy)  
 Website: [www.minfor.gov.gy](http://www.minfor.gov.gy)

2<sup>nd</sup> December 2014

His Excellency Rafael Ramirez  
 Minister of the People's Power for External Relations  
 of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela  
 Caracas  
 Venezuela.

Excellency,

It has been just over one year since I met with your predecessor, Minister Elias Jaua, in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago immediately following the detention, by the Venezuelan navy, of the "Technic Perdana", a seismic vessel that was operating in an area which Guyana considers to be its territory under the applicable rules of international law.

In recognising that the delimitation of the maritime boundaries between our two States remained an outstanding issue to be addressed with some urgency to avoid the recurrence of such incidents, we had agreed that we would explore mechanisms, within the context of international law, to address the issue. It was with that understanding that we further determined that technical teams from our respective countries would meet within four months of October 17, 2013 to exchange views on how such delimitation could proceed. Regrettably that timeframe was not met.

A meeting eventually took place on June 20, 2014 in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. It became evident from that meeting that while Guyana had come prepared to discuss the issue of maritime delimitation, the Venezuelan delegation took the position that the maritime issue could not be divorced from its claim that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which had definitively settled the question of the boundary between Guyana and Venezuela, was null and void. This was both a surprising and an unfortunate development. It was my hope that this meeting, and hopefully subsequent meetings relating thereto, would have definitively advanced the relations between our two countries.

Further, I must convey my Government's disappointment over the statements contained in Note Verbale I.DDM. 005568 of September 23, 2014. These statements unfortunately only serve to underscore yet again the continuing refusal of the Government of Venezuela to recognise that the Geneva Agreement does not attempt in any way to limit or restrict the inalienable right of

Guyana to develop its sovereign territory, the western boundary of which was definitively settled by the Arbitral Award of 1899.

The Government of Guyana is deeply disturbed by these actions being taken by Venezuela as they represent a denial of the recent history of respect, friendship and cooperation between our two countries and contradict Venezuela's assertions, as contained in the Note under reference, of its "goodwill" "to reach a practical and peaceful solution to the controversy".

The impasse resulting from the technical meeting that had been convened specifically to discuss the issue of maritime delimitation, coupled with the escalation of Venezuela's objections to development projects being undertaken by Guyana within Guyana, have caused the Government of Guyana to re-examine the ongoing controversy and its retardation of Guyana's development. This includes a thorough review of Guyana's position with regard to the Good Offices process. It is our conclusion that after twenty five years it has brought us no closer to the resolution of the controversy as spelled out in the Geneva Agreement of 1966. That controversy, I again wish to emphasise, is not a dispute over territory. It has come about as a direct result of Venezuela's contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void – a contention which Guyana vigorously rejects. The Geneva Agreement was signed in this context and provides for the Parties to search for satisfactory solutions for the practical settlement of this controversy; and it does so by setting out a clear path to be pursued, with the direct intervention of the Secretary General of the United Nations, to resolve the issue.

I am therefore writing to let you know that the Government of Guyana is presently reviewing the other options under Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, as provided for by the 1966 Geneva Agreement, that could serve to bring to an end the controversy.

I will of course advise you when we communicate our position, following the review of these options, to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

**Annex 87**

*Letter* from the Minister of the People's Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana (29 Dec. 2014)







Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela  
to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana

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Office of the  
DIRECTOR GENERAL

**URGENT-IMPORTANT**

II.2.G12.E1.Q.10 / 346

**THE EMBASSY OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA** presents its compliments to the Honorable Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana and has the honour to refer to the latter Note dated on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 endorsed by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett.

The Embassy, in this regard, has the Honour to transmit herewith a copy of the Note N° 001039 dated on December 29, 2014 addressed to the Honourable Foreign Affairs Minister of Guyana, Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett, from the Minister of the People's Power for Foreign Affairs of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Delci Eloina Rodríguez Gómez. The original Note will be forwarded at short notice.

**THE EMBASSY OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA** avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Honourable Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana the assurances of its highest consideration. *A*

Georgetown, December 30, 2014.



IMMEDIATE

COPIES

① Hon. Minister

② Mr. [unclear]

③ DG

*A* 70/12/14

To the Honourable  
**Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Republic of Guyana**  
Georgetown.



*El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
Relaciones Exteriores  
de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*

191039

Caracas, 29 de diciembre de 2014

Excelencia,

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a Usted en la oportunidad de referirme a su Comunicación S/N de fecha 2 de diciembre del 2014, mediante la cual hace referencia al Diferendo limítrofe sobre el Esequibo que actualmente mantienen Venezuela y Guyana.

Al respecto, Honorable Ministra, debo mencionar que he leído con detenimiento la referida Comunicación, observando en detalle sus planteamientos y preocupaciones. En ese sentido, debo informarle que me encuentro sorprendida por el lenguaje y el alcance de su misiva. Por lo tanto, trataré de enumerar los aspectos referidos por Usted, aludiendo a una supuesta posición de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela en cada uno de ellos:

- 1) *Delimitación marítima:* La República Bolivariana de Venezuela mantiene su posición histórica de considerar nulo e irritó el Laudo Arbitral de 1899. En consecuencia, la delimitación marítima dependerá de un acuerdo integral para la solución del Diferendo sobre el territorio Esequibo reconocido por su ilustre Gobierno en el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 17 de febrero de 1966. Esta posición venezolana ha sido reafirmada, una vez más, por la Delegación técnica de Venezuela, el pasado 20 de junio del 2014 en la reunión sostenida en Trinidad y Tobago.
- 2) *Nota 005568 del 22 de septiembre del 2014:* Sobre este particular, deseo expresarle que el Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela ratifica el contenido de la referida Nota, así como su voluntad de continuar construyendo el camino para resolver definitivamente el diferendo limítrofe mediante el Proceso de Buenos Oficios.

Su Excelencia  
**Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett**  
Ministra de Asuntos Exteriores  
República Cooperativa de Guyana  
Georgetown.-

3) *Proceso de Buenos Oficios*: Resulta insólita la argumentación esgrimida en la Comunicación referida mediante la cual Guyana pretende justificar el abandono del Proceso de Buenos Oficios, debido a una supuesta escalada propiciada por Venezuela, según la cual el Gobierno Bolivariano estaría impidiendo el desarrollo de Guyana, y rechazando los mecanismos de diálogo para abordar aspectos vinculados con la delimitación marítima inherentes al Diferendo.

En ese sentido, deseo hacer referencia a las reiteradas peticiones por escrito y verbales del Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela al Gobierno de Guyana a fin de que se designe al Representante del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas para continuar el Proceso de Buenos Oficios, luego del penoso y lamentable fallecimiento del querido compañero Norman Girvan. Al respecto, deseo enfatizar que sobre este tema hemos experimentado un constante rechazo por parte de su Gobierno, el cual se ha evidenciado una vez más en el contenido de su Comunicación del 2 de diciembre del 2014.

Como lo expresó en distintas oportunidades el Comandante Supremo, Hugo Chávez Frías, Venezuela está dispuesta a alcanzar una solución práctica, pacífica y satisfactoria a la controversia surgida en torno a que el Laudo de París de 1899 es nulo e irritó. El Acuerdo de Ginebra del 17 de febrero de 1966 así lo dispone en su artículo primero. Además, la voluntad de nuestro país para lograr un acuerdo definitivo respecto al Diferendo territorial, siempre ha estado vigente y el Comandante Chávez lo expresó y evidenció en todo momento. Esa línea de acción ha sido ratificada por el Presidente Nicolás Maduro, quien ha realizado un importante esfuerzo para estrechar aún más las relaciones bilaterales entre Venezuela y Guyana en todos los campos, con particular énfasis en las relaciones de cooperación y comercio justo a través de Petrocaribe.

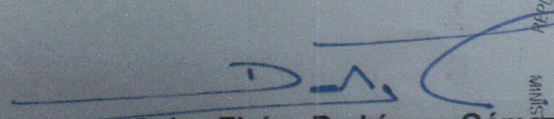
El Gobierno Bolivariano dirigido por el Presidente Nicolás Maduro Moros tiene la mejor voluntad y la esperanza de alcanzar una solución que cierre de una vez y para siempre, esa herida que el colonialismo perpetró en el corazón de nuestra América del Sur, para mantenernos divididos, con el afán de impedir la anhelada unión latinoamericana, tal y como lo avizó el Gigante de América, El Libertador Simón Bolívar y lo evidenció con sus acciones el Comandante Eterno Hugo Chávez Frías.

Deseo reiterarle, mi bien estimada Ministra, que una buena señal para continuar avanzando decididamente en esa dirección, es la pronta designación del nuevo Representante Personal del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas para la continuación del Proceso de Buenos Oficios. Venezuela cree firmemente que este mecanismo sigue siendo la vía política y jurídicamente adecuada para abordar el Diferendo. De allí la importancia que reviste para la buena marcha del mencionado Proceso que el Ilustrado Gobierno de Guyana atienda la solicitud realizada por Venezuela para acordar, lo antes posible, la designación del Buen Oficiante.

Finalmente, deseo resaltar que Venezuela considera que reabrir la evaluación sobre los mecanismos de solución de controversias establecidos en el artículo 33 de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, para abordar el diferendo limítrofe, tal y como lo estipula el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966, significaría un incomprensible retorno al pasado poniendo en riesgo los importantes avances alcanzados durante los últimos 15 años en la evolución positiva de las relaciones bilaterales entre Guyana y Venezuela.

Apreciada Ministra, el Comandante Supremo Hugo Chávez Frías marcó una nueva etapa en las relaciones políticas, económicas y de cooperación con Suramérica. Sobre esa base y con el compromiso de auspiciar y mantener la paz internacional, el Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela expresa una vez más su voluntad de profundizar las relaciones de amistad y solidaridad con sus hermanos suramericanos, orientado por el principio rector de la unión Latinoamericana y el legado de nuestros Libertadores.

Aprovecho la oportunidad para reiterar a Su Excelencia la expresión de mi más alta consideración y aprecio.

  
**Delcy Eloína Rodríguez Gómez**  
Ministra



**NON OFFICIAL TRANSLATION**

001039

Caracas, December 29, 2014.

Excellency,

I have the honor to address you on the opportunity to refer to the Communication S/N dated on December 2, 2014, regarding refers with the border dispute over the Essequibo that currently holds Venezuela and Guyana.

In this regard, Honourable Minister, I should mention that I have read that communication carefully, noting in detail its proposals and concerns. In this regard, I must inform you that I'm surprised by the language and scope of your letter. Therefore, I will try to list the aspects referred by you, alluding to a supposed position of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in each of them:

1) *Maritime Delimitation*: The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela maintains its historic position considered null and void the Arbitral Award of 1899. Consequently, the maritime delimitation depends on a comprehensive agreement to resolve the Dispute over the Essequibo territory recognized by your Government in the Geneva Agreement of February 17, 1966. The Venezuelan position was reaffirmed, once again, by the Technical Delegation of Venezuela, at the meeting held in Trinidad and Tobago on June 20, 2014.

2) *Note 005568 of September 22, 2014*: In this regard, I wish to express that the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela ratifies the content of that Note and its willingness to continue building the road to definitively resolve the border dispute through Good Offices Process.

Her Excellency  
**Carolyn Rodrigues-Birkett**  
Foreign Affairs Minister  
Cooperative Republic of Guyana  
Georgetown.-

3) *Good Offices Process*: It is astounding the arguments referred in the Communication through which Guyana seeks to justify abandoning the Good Offices Process due to an alleged escalation promoted by Venezuela, whereby the Bolivarian Government is impeding the development of Guyana and rejecting the dialogue mechanisms to address the aspects related to the maritime delimitation that are inherent to the Dispute.

In that regard, I would like refer to the multiple written and verbal requests made by the Bolivarian Government of Venezuela to the Government of Guyana to agree on the designation of the Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue the Good Offices Process, after the painful and unfortunate death of our beloved comrade Norman Girvan. In this regard, I wish to emphasize that on this issue we have experienced a constant rejection of your Government which has been evident in the content of your communication of December 2, 2014.

As expressed on several occasions by the Supreme Commander Hugo Chavez, Venezuela is willing to achieve a practical, peaceful and satisfying settlement to the controversy surrounding that the Award of Paris of 1899 is null and void. The Article 1 of the Geneva Agreement of February 17, 1966 provides so. Moreover, the willingness of our country to reach a final agreement on the territorial Dispute has always been in place and Commander Chavez expressed and demonstrated at all times. This line of action has been ratified by President Nicolas Maduro, who has made significant endeavors to further strengthen bilateral relations between Venezuela and Guyana in all fields, with particular emphasis on partnerships and fair trade through Petrocaribe.

The Bolivarian Government led by President Nicolas Maduro Moros has the best will and the hope of reaching a solution to close once and for all, that wound that colonialism perpetrated in the heart of our South America, to keep us divided, with the desire to prevent the long awaited Latin American unity, as was foresaw by the Giant of America, El Libertador Simón Bolívar and was evidenced by the actions taken by the Eternal Commander Hugo Chavez.

I wish to reiterate, dear Minister, that a good signal to make further progress in that direction is the early appointment of a new Personal Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Good Offices Process. Venezuela believes that this mechanism remains politically and legally appropriate to address the Dispute. Hence the importance for the proper conduction of the Process, that the Government of Guyana consider the request made by Venezuela to agree, as soon as possible, the designation of the Good Officer.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that Venezuela believes that reopens the assessment of the dispute settlement mechanisms set out in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, to address the border dispute, as stipulated in the 1966 Geneva Agreement, means an incomprehensible return to the past, jeopardizing the substantial progress made over the last 15 years in the positive development of the bilateral relations between Guyana and Venezuela.

Dear Minister, the Supreme Commander Hugo Chavez marked a new stage in the political, economic and cooperation relations with South America. On this basis and with the commitment to foster and maintain international peace, the Bolivarian Government of Venezuela expresses once again its willingness to deepen relations of friendship and solidarity with their South American brothers, guided by the principle of the Latin-American Unity and the legacy of our Liberators.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

**Delcy Eloína Rodríguez Gómez**





**Annex 88**

M. Shaw, ROSENNE'S LAW AND PRACTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT 1920-2015, Vol. II  
(5th ed., 2015)



Rosenne's Law and Practice of  
the International Court:  
1920–2015

VOLUME II  
JURISDICTION

*Fifth Edition by*

Malcolm N. Shaw QC



BRILL  
NIJHOFF

LEIDEN • BOSTON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Rosenne, Shabtai, author. | Shaw, Malcolm N. (Malcolm Nathan), 1947-  
Title: Rosenne's Law and practice of the international court, 1920-2015.  
Other titles: Law and practice of the international court, 1920-2005 | Law  
and practice of the international court, 1920-2015  
Description: Fifth Edition / by Malcolm N. Shaw QC. | Leiden ; Boston : BRILL  
NIJHOFF, 2016. | Includes index.  
Identifiers: LCCN 2016028965 (print) | ISBN  
9789004217980 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004217911 (hardback :  
alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004217959 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN  
9789004217966 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004217973 (hardback :  
alk. paper)  
Subjects: LCSH: International Court of Justice. | International Court of  
Justice--History. | International Court of Justice--Rules and practice. |  
International courts. | Procedure (Law)  
Classification: LCC KZ6275 .R67 2016 (print) | DDC  
341.5/520904--dc23  
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016028965>

ISBN 978-90-04-21798-0 (Set)

ISBN 978-90-04-21791-1 (Vol. I)

ISBN 978-90-04-21795-9 (Vol. II)

ISBN 978-90-04-21796-6 (Vol. III)

ISBN 978-90-04-21797-3 (Vol. IV)

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Printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.



order, of 31 July 1947, the letter of the Albanian Government to the Court was regarded by the President as constituting the document mentioned in Article 36 of the 1946 Rules (now Article 41), in that way rendering Albania subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, having regard to the Security Council's resolution 22 (1947), 9 April 1947.<sup>130</sup> In its judgment on the preliminary objection the Court saw, in the acceptance by Albania of the Security Council's resolution, recognition of 'its obligation to refer the dispute to the Court in accordance with the provisions of the Statute'.<sup>131</sup> The preamble to the special agreement of 25 March 1948, which replaced the original *forum prorogatum* jurisdiction as established by the Court, stated that the special agreement had been 'drawn up as a result of the Resolution' of the Security Council. In the judgment on the merits the Court interpreted the intentions of the parties as expressed in the special agreement in the light of the aim of that resolution, and of what the Security Council 'undoubtedly intended'; and it interpreted the special agreement so as to 'give full effect' to the resolution and 'not leave open the possibility of a further dispute'.<sup>132</sup> Here the Court used as an aid in elucidating the intentions of the parties to the special agreement such evidence as it found of their intentions vis-à-vis the resolution of the Security Council; and this required first an ascertainment of the intention of the Security Council in reaching its decision. The Court refused to interpret the consent of the parties in such a way as would frustrate the intentions of the Security Council as expressed in a recommendation which they had accepted.<sup>133</sup> This is an example of a liberal interpretation of the requirement of consent, rather than of dispensing with the requirement.

**II.155. THE EXPRESSION OF CONSENT.** The Statute contains no provision regulating the form or manner in which the consent to confer jurisdiction on the Court should be expressed. The silence of the Statute regarding

<sup>130</sup> [1947-48] 4, 5 (see ch. II, § II.180). At the same time, it is, in retrospect, to be noted that seven of the sixteen judges who rendered that judgment found it necessary to append a joint separate opinion which refused to see in the Charter any reason to relax the traditional rule of the consensual basis of jurisdiction. *Ibid.* 31.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* 26.

<sup>132</sup> [1949] 4, 23-26.

<sup>133</sup> See further as to this incident, and some other implications, Sh. Rosenne, 'United Nations Treaty Practice', 86 *RADI* 275, 336 (1954-II) A similar teleological approach towards the interpretation of its title of jurisdiction was adopted by the Permanent Court in the *Chorzów Factory* (Jurisdiction) case, A9 (1927) 21-22.

the manner of expressing the consent stands in contrast to the rigidity of the application of the substantive demand for a consensual basis of jurisdiction, and has produced a radical transformation in the ways of expressing that consent. The language of Article 36, paragraph 1, of the Statute – all cases which the parties refer to the Court and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force – embodies the fundamental principle that the parties must agree to submit the matter to the Court, without laying down any requirements as to the form of that agreement. It embodies both jurisdiction *ratione personae* (the parties) and jurisdiction *ratione materiae* (all cases ... and all matters). The application of this rule to the act of conferring jurisdiction on the Court was stated by the Permanent Court, in the following passage:

The acceptance by a State of the Court's jurisdiction in a particular case is not, under the Statute, subordinated to the observance of certain forms, such as, for instance, the previous conclusion of a special agreement.<sup>134</sup>

The present Court amplified this in the *Corfu Channel* (Preliminary Objection) case:

While the consent of the parties confers jurisdiction on the Court, neither the Statute nor the Rules require that this consent should be expressed in any particular form.<sup>135</sup>

Nevertheless this principle is subject to one general condition, namely, that the initial expression of consent, or purported consent, must emanate from the authority of a State in which the treaty-making power is vested. If it is in writing, the form of the writing is immaterial. Consent that the Court should exercise jurisdiction is a form of international agreement, and on the international level it is governed by the general principles of international law which govern the exercise of the treaty-making power on the international plane.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>134</sup> *Minority Schools* case, A15 (1928) 23. For the extension of the doctrine, *mutates mutandis*, to the compulsory jurisdiction, see ch. 12, § II.197.

<sup>135</sup> [1948] 15, 27. See also *Certain Questions of Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters* (Djibouti v France) [2008] 177, 203 (para. 60), stating that: 'However, neither the Statute of the Court nor its Rules require that the consent of the parties which thus confers jurisdiction on the Court be expressed in any particular form'.

<sup>136</sup> *Aegean Sea Continental Shelf* case, [1978] 3, 39 (para. 96); *Maritime Delimitation and Territorial Questions between Qatar and Bahrain* (Jurisdiction and Admissibility) case,

Although the Statute imposes no requirements concerning the manner in which consent that the Court should adjudicate be expressed, practice envisages several methods. These partly have their origins in older arbitral practice (this refers particularly to the special agreement, the modern equivalent of the arbitral *compromis*). On the other hand, the organic permanence of the Court and the constantly changing patterns and methods of work of modern diplomacy have developed new systems by which States assume binding obligations. These follow on the combination of the express provisions of the Statute and their application by States in the process of bringing particular cases before the Court. As a result it is desirable to reclassify the different types of title of jurisdiction – a generic term to cover the authority of the Court to exercise jurisdiction in any particular case.<sup>137</sup>

What is termed *conventional jurisdiction* or *treaty jurisdiction* consists of all jurisdiction which rests upon an express, written agreement of the litigating States. Article 36, paragraphs 2 and 5, of the Statute provide a special form for this jurisdiction, known as the *compulsory jurisdiction* (a misleading expression as if it means that the jurisdiction is not based on consent) or *optional clause jurisdiction*.<sup>138</sup> Where the agreement is not in this form but is reached after an application has been filed, the Court will become competent by what is frequently called *prorogated jurisdiction*.<sup>139</sup> There have been cases in which agreement has been reached in diplomatic negotiations that a dispute may be referred to the Court by unilateral application.<sup>140</sup> Whatever method is employed

[1994] II.2, 120 (para. 23), both applying Art. 2 (1) (a) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 1969, on the meaning given to the word *treaty* for the purposes of that Convention; *Application of the Genocide Convention* (Prel. Objs.) case, [1996-II] 595, 621 (para. 44). This is without prejudice to the requirements of the internal law of the State as regards the making of a treaty to bind that State.

<sup>137</sup> See further in ch. 14 regarding the title of jurisdiction.

<sup>138</sup> See ch. 12. If the compromissory clause of a treaty permits the unilateral institution of proceedings by application, that creates a form of ‘compulsory jurisdiction’ based, however, on the narrower approach of Art. 36 (1) of the Statute, not on paras. 2 and 5. Here the jurisdiction is limited *ratione personae* to the parties to the treaty (subject to any established reservations), and *ratione materiae* to the exact terms and requirements of the treaty. The *Border and Transborder Armed Actions* case has drawn attention to the need not to confuse the statutory basis of the Court’s jurisdiction.

<sup>139</sup> This term is derived from the Latin *forum prorogatum*, but it is not a technical term of Roman law. Cf. B. Winiarski, ‘Quelques réflexions sur le soi-disant forum prorogatum en droit international’, *Festschrift für Jean Spiropoulos* 445 (1957). See ch. 11, §II.181 n. 84.

<sup>140</sup> Something like this appears to have occurred in the *Fisheries* and *ELSI* cases. On *Fisheries*, ‘L’affaire a été introduite par une requête du gouvernement britannique.

to express the necessary consent to confer jurisdiction on the Court, they all have the effect of creating, as between the parties, the necessary conditions to permit the Court to deliver a final and binding judgment in the case.

The development of new methods of expressing consent to the jurisdiction of the Court is welcome. By not insisting upon any rigid requirements of form the Court has probably made it easier for States to have recourse to it than might otherwise have been possible. A State can contemplate a reference to the Court without necessarily requiring formal action by its domestic political organs, while not excluding that process when it is positively required by the relevant internal law or political practice. Ratification by the full constitutional process is required before a State becomes a party to the Statute, and this makes it unnecessary to consider whether this is a requirement of customary international law (see chapter 10, § II.165). This supplies a broad and general measure of domestic political control. But the fact that a State is a party to the Statute is not in itself, as has been seen, sufficient to confer jurisdiction on the Court: this is governed by Article 36 of the Statute. However, save in the exceptional instances of recourse to the Court by a State not a party to the Statute, to be a party to the Statute is normally the major step towards accepting the jurisdiction of the Court.

These remarks only apply to the requirements of international law. They have no relation to the requirements of the internal law. The question whether international validity attaches to an expression of consent to the jurisdiction of the Court allegedly in violation of a provision of the internal law is not one peculiar to the practice and procedure of the Court, but is an aspect of the wider problem of the validity of a treaty alleged to have been concluded in violation of a provision of the internal law of the State.<sup>141</sup> Something like this occurred in the *Nottebohm* (Preliminary

Mais c'est en pleine entente avec la Norvège que cette procédure unilatérale fût choisie.' M. Bourquin, 'La portée générale de l'arrêt rendu ... dans l'affaire ... des Pêcheries', 22 *Acta Scandinavica Juris Gentium* 130 (1952). See also G. Fitzmaurice, II *The Law and Practice of the International Court of Justice* 505 n. 5. This has led to the *framework agreement*, see ch. 11, § II.175.

<sup>141</sup> See now Art. 46 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1155 UNTS 331. For the refusal of the Court to examine this question in the circumstances of the case, see *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua* (Jurisdiction and Admissibility) case, [1984] 391, 421 (para. 66). In the *Maritime Delimitation and Territorial Questions between Qatar and Bahrain* (Jurisdiction and Admissibility) case, the Court rejected a contention that Bahrain's constitutional provisions regarding 'treaties concerning



Objection) case. One of the reasons given by Guatemala for its inability to appear before the Court was that it would be contrary to the domestic law of that country. Commenting on this, the Court said:

In the opinion of the Court, the Government of Guatemala, on the premise that the Court lacked jurisdiction in an absolute manner, meant that, by reason of the Court's lack of jurisdiction, the laws of Guatemala did not authorize that Government to be represented before a court which had no power to adjudicate. The Court does not consider it necessary to ascertain what the laws of Guatemala provide in this connection. It will confine itself to stating that, once its jurisdiction has been established by the present Judgment with binding force on the Parties, the difficulty, in which the Government of Guatemala considered that it had been placed, will be removed and there will be nothing to prevent that Government from being represented before the Court in accordance with the provisions of the Statute and Rules.<sup>142</sup>

The communication of the Government of Guatemala had concluded with a reservation of its right to be represented in subsequent stages of the litigation if the Court should reach a negative decision on its objection. It also contained an express declaration to the effect that the Government did not regard itself as being in default, but as being unable to appear before the Court. There is no doubt that those sentiments influenced the Court, which saw in the declaration confirmation of its interpretation of the meaning of Guatemala's objection. Nevertheless, the Court's reasoning is of considerable interest to the general problem that is raised. By taking a slightly longer path than that urged by Judge Klaestad, the Court avoided the pitfalls of a doctrinal controversy on the question of the supremacy of international law and the relations between international and internal law. Instead, tacitly relying (as it is entitled to do) on the presumption of international law, and particularly of the

the territory of the State' had not been observed. [1994] 112, 121 (para. 26). Similarly, in both the provisional measures and the preliminary objection phases of the *Application of the Genocide Convention* case the Court relied on the Vienna Convention. [1993] 3, 11 (para. 13); [1996-II] 595, 621 (para. 44).

<sup>142</sup> [1953] 111, 123. A declaration by Judge Klaestad would have rejected this argument by the Government of Guatemala on the simple ground that such national provisions cannot be invoked against rules of international law (as had been argued by the Government of Liechtenstein). *Ibid.* 125. The fact that the Court dealt with the argument at somewhat greater length is significant.

Court's law, that a State will observe its treaty obligations (see chapter 4, §I.40), it interpreted Guatemala's treaty obligations – including the treaty obligation to comply with a binding judgment – in such a way as to make it easier for that country's Government to overcome any hesitation which may have been due to doubts of a domestic political or legal character.

**II.156. THE TEMPORAL FACTOR IN JURISDICTION.** Time is a factor that influences the Court's jurisdiction in several ways. *Ratione personae* it is necessary that the parties to the case are parties to the Statute or have undertaken the obligations of a non-party to the Statute at the time of the institution of the proceedings. As the Court has said: 'The question whether the applicant State was or was not a party to the Statute of the Court at the time of the institution of the present proceedings is a fundamental one.'<sup>143</sup> The same holds good for the respondent State. It is necessary that the parties be under the obligation to accept the jurisdiction of the Court at the time at which the determination of the existence of that obligation has to be made, normally the date of the institution of the proceedings. *Ratione materiae* it is necessary that the events which gave rise to the reference to the Court occurred during the space of time in respect to which jurisdiction had been conferred on the Court. In either event the Court's jurisdiction can be perfected in the course of the proceedings (*forum prorogatum*). The temporal element in the jurisdiction of the Court is therefore to be regarded as part of the problem of jurisdiction *ratione personae* or *ratione materiae* as the case may be. It relates to the scope of the jurisdiction.<sup>144</sup>

This has given rise to special terminology to express the element of time in the Court's jurisdiction. For the link of time with the jurisdiction *ratione personae*, the period within which acceptance of the jurisdiction is in force is bounded by two dates called respectively the *commencement date* and the *terminal date*. For the association of time with the material scope of the jurisdiction, the relevant date is usually termed the *exclusion date* or the *critical date* (a term which in this context must not be confused

<sup>143</sup> *Legality of Use of Force* (Prel. Objs.) cases, case against Belgium, [2004] 279, 293 (para. 30). See also H. Thirlway, *The Law and Procedure of the International Court of Justice* 1667 (2013).

<sup>144</sup> *Application of the Genocide Convention* (Prel. Objs.) case, [1996-II] 595, 617 (para. 34).

**Annex 89**

Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Decree No. 1.787 (26 May 2015), published in *The Official Gazette of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela* (27 May 2015)



#14

**UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION****OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA****Decree No 1.787****May 26, 2015****Nicolas Maduro Moros****President of the Republic**

With the supreme commitment and will to achieve the greatest effectiveness of the nation's policies and revolutionary zeal in the construction of socialism, the perfecting of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, based on humanistic principles and sustained on moral and ethical principles underlying the progress of our country and our people, by mandate of the people and in accordance with Article 226 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and in exercise of the attributes conferred on me by paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Article 236 ejusdem, in accordance with Articles 19, 24, 44 and 45, 48 and 49 of the Decree with Rank, Standing and Force of the Organic Law of the Bolivarian National Armed Forces, in the Council of Ministers,

**WHEREAS**

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is built on the bases of a Democratic and Social State of Law and Justice, which has as its paramount concern the protection and safeguarding of the rights and needs of the Venezuelan people, to ensure a just, efficient and equitable provision of essential public services; and

**WHEREAS**

It is the duty of the State to adopt necessary measures to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, security and integrity of its geographic space on the basis of strategic planning for its national defence besides planning, managing and executing operations of integral defence and national development with the supreme objective of ensuring the defence and protection of the rights of our citizens; and

**WHEREAS**

**The territory and other geographical spaces of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela are those which correspond to the Captaincy General of Venezuela before the political transformation initiated on April 19, 1810, with the modifications resulting from the treaties, agreements and arbitral awards not vitiated by nullity.**

**WHEREAS**

The need has arisen to adapt to new realities and to structure the Bolivarian National Armed Forces, to respond to the new organisational model and to situations in the area of security, defence and integral development, in light of the philosophical guidelines established by the Supreme and Eternal Commander of the Bolivarian Revolution in the National Plan which provides for : *“The consolidation of a territorial defence system capable of directing the country in times of war and in times of peace, that is strategically defensive and involving the people at all levels”*, a mandate which requires efficient coordination among institutions and organs of integral defence of the nation, for the deployment of national power and rejection of threats or aggressions against our country, at all levels of public power in the area of armed and non armed conflict; and

**WHEREAS**

It is necessary to achieve the greatest comprehensiveness of military operations in the new territorial defence system and strengthen territorial armed units, with the objective of continuing the process of organisation and consolidation of the Territorial Defence System, based on the new Bolivarian military doctrine and the Operational Strategy for Integral National Defence, it is necessary to establish new Integral Operational Defence Zones (ZODI) and Integral Defence Areas (ADI).

**WHEREAS**

**The Venezuelan state recognises the existence of maritime areas which are pending delimitation in accordance with the international agreements and treaties subscribed to by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and which have to be addressed by the Venezuelan state until a definitive demarcation is achieved in a friendly manner.**

**HEREBY DECREES**

**Article 1.** The following Integral Operational Maritime and Insular Defence Zones (ZODIMAIN) are hereby established and activated, under the purview of the Integral Maritime and Insular Strategic Defence Region (REDIMAIN), as listed below:

1. **ATLANTIC DEFENCE ZONE**, which includes the marine and sub marine areas of the Atlantic coast defined to the north by the line due east which starts from the Promontory of Paria to the boundary with Trinidad and Tobago and the low water line running south along the coast in the continental space of the Sucre and Delta Amacuro States and the international maritime limits defined with Trinidad and Tobago, besides the marine and submarine areas which correspond to the territory under claim by Venezuela (zona en reclamacion). This Defence Zone includes Patos Island and other islands, islets, reefs and banks situated in or emerging within the territorial sea, as well as the airspace above, as delimited by the following geographical coordinates:

POINT

"A" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 44' 02.3''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 50' 49.3''$  W

POINT

"B" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 44' 02.3''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 47' 43.9''$  W

Corresponding to Punta Pena (Promontory of Paria)

POINT

"C" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 42' 40.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 48' 16.2''$  W

POINT

"D" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 35' 08.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 48' 16.2''$  W

POINT

"E" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 35' 07.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 51' 51.2''$  W

POINT

"F" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 02' 034.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $062^{\circ} 05' 05.2''$  W

POINT

"G" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 00' 17.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 58' 31.2''$  W

POINT

"H" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 59' 00.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 51' 24.2''$  W

POINT

"I" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 59' 00.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 37' 56.2''$  W

POINT

"J" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 59' 00.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 30' 06.1''$  W

POINT

"K" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 52' 21.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 13' 30.1''$  W

POINT

"L" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 5' 043.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $060^{\circ} 53' 33.1''$  W

POINT  
"M" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 49' 43.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $060^{\circ} 39' 57.0''$  W

POINT  
"N" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 53' 14.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $060^{\circ} 16' 08.0''$  W

POINT  
"O" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 57' 05.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $059^{\circ} 59' 22.0''$  W

POINT  
"P" LATITUDE  $09^{\circ} 57' 59.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $059^{\circ} 55' 27.0''$  W

POINT  
"Q" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 09' 47.9''$  N LONGITUDE  $058^{\circ} 49' 17.9''$  W

POINT  
"R" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 15' 49.9''$  N LONGITUDE  $058^{\circ} 49' 17.9''$  W

POINT  
"S" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 58' 35.4''$  N LONGITUDE  $057^{\circ} 07' 03''$  W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Area between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago Article 2 18 April 1990, are the following coordinates:

POINT  
"T" LATITUDE  $11^{\circ} 35' 24.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $055^{\circ} 27' 12.0''$  W,  
( $35^{\circ}$  MN TO  $067^{\circ}$  FROM THE STRAIGHT BASE LINE),

POINT  
"U" LATITUDE  $08^{\circ} 56' 03.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $052^{\circ} 51' 10.0''$  W,  
( $35^{\circ}$  MN TO  $070^{\circ}$  FROM THE ESSEQUIBO RIVER),

POINT  
"V" LATITUDE  $06^{\circ} 58' 54.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $058^{\circ} 23' 28.0''$  W,  
(Mouth of the Essequibo River),

**However there is a maritime area to be delimited, which will be determined once the pending controversy is resolved between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1966, which is defined by the points "T", "U" and "V"**



2. **EASTERN DEFENCE ZONE**, its jurisdiction includes the marine and submarine areas of the eastern Caribbean coast, including the maritime space corresponding to the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), delimited to the south from the low water line in the continental space from the Boca de Uchire, Anzoátegui and Sucre States to the straight line which begins at the east from the Promontory of Paria to the international maritime limit established with Trinidad and Tobago. From this interception northwards it continues with the international maritime limits established with Trinidad and Tobago and France to the east. From this interception it continues westwards with the international maritime limits established to the north with the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of America (Puerto Rico), up to the interception with the eastern boundary of the Maritime and Central Insular Defence Zone. This Defence Zone includes the Island of Tortuga the Island of Blanquilla, the Los Hermanos Archipelago, Archipelago of Los Testigos, Aves (Bird) Island, Sola Island and other islands, islets, reefs and banks situated or which emerge in the territorial sea, as well as the airspace above, as delimited by the following geographical coordinates:

## POINT

"A" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 08' 23.1''$  N LONGITUDE  $65^{\circ} 25' 48.5''$  W

Corresponding to the Boca de Uchire,

## POINT

"B" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 00' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $65^{\circ} 25' 48.5''$  W

## POINT

"C" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 23' 32.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 45' 52.0''$  W

## POINT

"D" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 35' 21.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 23' 37.0''$  W

## POINT

"E" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 41' 45.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 10' 05.0''$  W

## POINT

"F" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 42' 42.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 08' 04.0''$  W

## POINT

"G" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 43' 12.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 06' 57.0''$  W

## POINT

"H" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 43' 24.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 06' 29.0''$  W

## POINT

"I" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 44' 51.6''$  N LONGITUDE  $64^{\circ} 01' 06.0''$  W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the United States of America Article 2 28 MARCH 1978 are the following coordinates:

POINT

"J" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 4' 39.1''$  N LONGITUDE  $063^{\circ} 37' 56.6''$  W

POINT

"K" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 39' 50.1''$  N LONGITUDE  $063^{\circ} 35' 26.6''$  W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Kingdom of the Netherlands Article 2 31 MARCH 1978 are the following coordinates:

POINT

"L" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 30' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $062^{\circ} 48' 50''$  W

POINT

"M" LATITUDE  $14^{\circ} 00' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $062^{\circ} 48' 50''$  W

POINT

"N" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 00' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $062^{\circ} 48' 50''$  W

(They don't have geographic references)

POINT

"O" LATITUDE  $11^{\circ} 10' 18.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 43' 52.2''$  W

POINT

"P" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 54' 28.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 43' 52.2''$  W

POINT

"Q" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 54' 03.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 43' 58.2''$  W

POINT

"R" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 48' 29.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 45' 53.2''$  W

POINT

"S" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 47' 26.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 46' 23.2''$  W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago Article 2 18 APRIL 1990 are the following coordinates:

POINT

"T" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 44' 02.3''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 47' 43.9''$  W

(They don't have geographic references)

POINT

"U" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 44' 02.3''$  N LONGITUDE  $061^{\circ} 50' 49.3''$  W

Corresponding to Punta Pena (Promontory of Paria).

3. **CENTRAL DEFENCE ZONE**, its jurisdiction includes the marine and submarine areas of the central Caribbean coast of the Republic, including the maritime space corresponding to the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), defined on the north by the international maritime limit with the Southern Netherlands, continuing by the international maritime border to the north of the Las Aves archipelago, defined by the Dominican Republic and the United States of America (Puerto Rico). In a south-west direction from the low water coastal line from Boca de Aroa it continues through the States of Falcon, Yaracuy, Carabobo, Aragua, Vargas and Miranda to Boca de Uchire, from where a line continues northwards perpendicular with the international maritime limits with the United States of North America. It includes the archipelago of Las Aves, archipelago of Los Roques and archipelago of La Orchila, as well as other islands, islets, reefs and banks situated or which emerge within the territorial sea and airspace above, as delimited by the following geographic coordinates:

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Kingdom of the Netherlands Article 2 31 MARCH 1987 are the following coordinates:

POINT

"A" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 40' 52.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $068^{\circ} 17' 52.4''$  W

Corresponding to the Boca de Aroa

POINT

"B" LATITUDE  $11^{\circ} 39' 48.6''$  N LONGITUDE  $067^{\circ} 59' 29.6''$  W

POINT

"C" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 26' 48.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $067^{\circ} 59' 29.9''$  W

POINT

"D" LATITUDE  $15^{\circ} 14' 16.8''$  N LONGITUDE  $068^{\circ} 51' 51.1''$  W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Netherlands Article 2 31 MARCH 1978 are the following coordinates:

POINT

"E" LATITUDE  $15^{\circ} 14' 31.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $068^{\circ} 51' 42.4''$  W

POINT

"F"	LATITUDE 15 ° 12'54.0"N	LONGITUDE 068° 28' 54.3"W
POINT		
"G"	LATITUDE 15 ° 12'36.0"N	LONGITUDE 068° 27' 30.3"W
POINT		
"H"	LATITUDE 15 ° 11' 09.0"N	LONGITUDE 068° 09' 19.3"W
POINT		
"I"	LATITUDE 15 ° 10' 41.0"N	LONGITUDE 068° 03' 44.3"W
POINT		
"J"	LATITUDE 15 ° 05' 10.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 36'.21.3"W
POINT		
"K"	LATITUDE 15 ° 02' 35.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 23'.38.3"W
POINT		
"L"	LATITUDE 14 ° 59' 13.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 06' 58.2"W
POINT		
"M"	LATITUDE 14 ° 59' 01.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 06' 095.2"W
POINT		
"N"	LATITUDE 14 ° 58' 48.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 05' 15.2"W
POINT		
"O"	LATITUDE 14 ° 58' 30.0"N	LONGITUDE 067° 04' 17.2"W
POINT		
"P"	LATITUDE 14 ° 56' 09.0"N	LONGITUDE 066° 51' 38.2"W
POINT		
"Q"	LATITUDE 14 ° 55' 51.0"N	LONGITUDE 066° 34' 28.2"W
POINT		
"R"	LATITUDE 15 ° 14' 08.9"N	LONGITUDE 066° 19' 55.2"W
POINT		
"S"	LATITUDE 15 ° 30'12.9"N	LONGITUDE 066° 07' 07'.1"W
POINT		
"T"	LATITUDE 15 ° 39'33.9"N	LONGITUDE 065° 58' 39'.1"W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the United States of America Article 2 28 MARCH 1978 are the following coordinates:

## POINT

"U" LATITUDE  $16^{\circ} 00' 00.0''$  N LONGITUDE  $065^{\circ} 25' 48.5''$  W  
 (It does not have geographic references)

## POINT

"V" LATITUDE  $10^{\circ} 08' 23.1''$  N LONGITUDE  $065^{\circ} 25' 48.5''$  W  
 (Corresponding to the Boca de Uchire),

4. **WESTERN DEFENCE ZONE**, its jurisdiction includes the marine and submarine areas of the western Caribbean coast of the Republic, including the maritime space corresponding to the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), to the north, and to the east by the international maritime limit defined with the Dominican Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands of the south, to the south from the low water line of Zulia State above latitude  $11^{\circ} 00' 00''$  N, and the coasts (low water line) of Falcon State to Boca de Aroa, from where a straight line is drawn to the point or right lower vertex of the international boundary with the Netherlands. It includes the archipelago of Las Monjas and other islands, islets, reefs and banks situated or which emerge within the territorial sea and air space above, as delimited by the following geographic coordinates:

## POINT

"A" LATITUDE  $11^{\circ} 51' 29.7''$  N LONGITUDE  $071^{\circ} 19' 30''$  W

Corresponding to Castilletes

## POINT

"B" LATITUDE  $11^{\circ} 57' 30''$  N LONGITUDE  $070^{\circ} 55' 45''$  W

## POINT

"C" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 03' 30''$  N LONGITUDE  $070^{\circ} 54' 25''$  W

## POINT

"D" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 09' 30''$  N LONGITUDE  $070^{\circ} 55' 15''$  W

## POINT

"E" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 11' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $071^{\circ} 00' 00''$  W

## POINT

"F" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 18' 10''$  N LONGITUDE  $071^{\circ} 05' 15''$  W

## POINT

"G" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 24' 00''$  N LONGITUDE  $071^{\circ} 05' 55''$  W

## POINT

"H" LATITUDE  $12^{\circ} 28' 15''$  N LONGITUDE  $071^{\circ} 07' 13''$  W  
 They don't have geographic references

POINT "I"	LATITUDE 14 ° 57' 54.9"N	LONGITUDE 071 ° 24' 17.6"W
POINT "J"	LATITUDE 15 ° 02' 10.9"N	LONGITUDE 070 ° 52' 48.5"W
POINT "K"	LATITUDE 15 ° 15' 52.9"N	LONGITUDE 070 ° 08' 07.5"W
POINT "L"	LATITUDE 15 ° 19' 06.9"N	LONGITUDE 069 ° 56' 16.4"W
POINT "M"	LATITUDE 15 ° 22' 47.8"N	LONGITUDE 069 ° 41' 48.4"W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Dominican Republic Article 2 03 MARCH 1979 are the following coordinates:

POINT "N"	LATITUDE 15 ° 24' 50.8" N	LONGITUDE 069° 34' 36.4"W
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Corresponding to the common point in both treaties,

POINT "O"	LATITUDE 12 ° 48' 48.6" N	LONGITUDE 070° 25' 07.1"W
POINT "P"	LATITUDE 12 ° 20' 48.6" N	LONGITUDE 070° 25' 07.1"W
POINT "Q"	LATITUDE 12 ° 20' 48.6" N	LONGITUDE 070° 09' 58.1"W
POINT "R"	LATITUDE 12 ° 21' 42.6" N	LONGITUDE 070° 08' 32.1"W
POINT "S"	LATITUDE 12 ° 15' 53.0" N	LONGITUDE 069° 44' 06.8"W
POINT "T"	LATITUDE 12 ° 11' 56.5" N	LONGITUDE 069° 37' 21"W
POINT "U"	LATITUDE 11 ° 52' 51.8" N	LONGITUDE 069° 04' 39.3"W
POINT "V"	LATITUDE 11 ° 45' 36.9" N	LONGITUDE 068° 57' 09.5"W

POINT  
 "W" LATITUDE 11 ° 44' 36.4" N LONGITUDE Ø68° 49' 39.6"W

POINT  
 "X" LATITUDE 11 ° 39' 48.6" N LONGITUDE Ø68° 35' 54.9"W

POINT  
 "Y" LATITUDE 11 ° 39' 48.6" N LONGITUDE Ø67° 59' 29.6"W

Corresponding to the Treaty on Delimitation of Marine and Submarine Areas between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Kingdom of the Netherlands Article 2 31 MARCH 1987 are the following coordinates:

POINT  
 Z" LATITUDE 10 ° 44' 02.3" N LONGITUDE 61° 47' 43.9"W

Corresponding to Boca de Aroa

**Article 2.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), Nueva Esparta of the Integral Maritime and Insular Strategic Defence Region (REDIMAIN) are established and activated as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI GUAQUERI	MARCANO, GOMEZ, ANTOLIN, DEL CAMPO AND ARISMENDI
ADI CHARAIMA	DIAZ, GARCIA, MARINO AND MANEIRO
ADI PARAGUACHOA	PENINSULA OF MACANAO, TUBORES AND VILLALBA

**Article 3.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), Apure of (REDI LOS LLANOS) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI PUME	JOSE ANTONIO PAEZ
ADI CUIVA	ROMULO GALLEGOS, MUNOZ AND ACHAGUAS
ADI YARURO	PEDRO CAMEJO
ADI JIWI	BIRUACA AND SAN FERNANDO

**Article 4.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), Barinas of (REDI LOS LLANOS) are established and activated, as listed below:

ADI	Municipalities
ADI ZAMORA	EZEQUIEL, ZAMORA, ANT尼奥 JOSE DE SUCRE, ANDRES ELOY BLANCO AND

	PEDRAZA
<b>ADI SANTA INES</b>	BOLIVRA, CRUZ PAREDES, BARINAS AND OBISPOS
<b>ADI FLORENTINO</b>	ALBERTO ARVELO TORREALBA AND ROJAS
<b>ADI MAISANTA</b>	SOSA AND ARISMENDI

**Article 5.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), PORTUGUESA of (REDI LOS LLANOS) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI COROMOTO</b>	JOSE VICENTE DE UNDA, SUCRE, GUANARE AND SAN GENARO OF BOCONOITO
<b>ADI GUANARE</b>	OSPINO, ESTELLAR AND TUREN
<b>ADI CENTAURO</b>	ARAURE, AGUAS BLANCAS, SAN RAFAEL DE ONOTO AND PAEZ
<b>ADI PIONERO</b>	PAPELON, SANTA ROSALIA AND GUANARITO

**Article 6.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), COJEDES of (REDI LOS LLANOS) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI BATALLA DE TAGUANES</b>	FALCON, LIMA BLANCO AND TINACO
<b>ADI EZEQUIEL ZAMORA</b>	SAN CARLOS, ANZOATEGUI, ROMULO GALLEGOS AND RICAURTE
<b>ADI EL BAUL</b>	PAO DE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA AND GIRARDOT

**Article 7.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), GUARICO of (REDI LOS LLANOS) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI CONOPOIMA</b>	ROSCIO, ORTIZ AND JULIAN MELLADO
<b>ADI CHIRIMARA</b>	MIRANDA, CAMAGUAN AND SAN GERONIMO DE GUAYABEL
<b>ADI CARAPAICA</b>	LAS MERCEDES, INFANTE AND EL SOCORRO
<b>ADI GUARAMENTAL</b>	JOSE FELIX RIBAS, PEDRO ZARAZA AND SANTA MARIA DE IPIRE
<b>ADI TAMANACO</b>	MONAGAS, SAN JOSE DE GAURIBE AND CHAGUARAMA

**Article 8.** The Integral Defence Areas of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), CAPITAL of (REDI CENTRAL) are established and activated, activated as listed below;



ADI	Municipalities or Parishes
ADI CATIA	SUCRE, EL JUNQUITO, AND LA PASTORA
ADI EZEQUIEL ZAMORA	SAN BERNARDINO, SAN JOSE, ALTAGRACIA, CATEDRAL, SAN JUAN, SANTA TERESA, 23 DE ENERO AND LA CANDELARIA
ADI TIUNA	EL RECREO, SAN AGUSTIN, SAN PEDRO, SANTA ROSALIA, EL VALLE AND COCHE
ADI CARICUAO	EL PARAISO, LA VEGA, ANTIMANO, CARICUAO AND MACARAO
ADI CHACAO	CHACAO
ADI SUCRE	SUCRE
ADI BARUTA	BARUTA
ADI EL HATILLO	EL HATILLO

**Article 9.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), VARGAS of (REDI CENTRAL) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Parishes
ADI CATIA LA MAR	EL JUNKO, CARAYACA AND CATIA LA MAR
ADI GUAIACAMACUTO	URIMARE, CARLOSE SOUBLETTE, MAIQUETIA, MACUTO, CARABELLADA AND LA GUAIRA
ADI NAIGUATA	NAIGUATA AND CARUAO

**Article 10.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), MIRANDA of (REDI CENTRAL) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI ALTOS MIRANDINOS	LOS SALIAS, CARRIZAL AND GUAICAIPURO
ADI VALLES DEL TUY	PAZ CASILLO, CRISTOBAL ROJAS, SIMON BOLIVAR, INDEPENDENCIA, RAFAEL URDANETA AND TOMAS LANDER
ADI BARLOVENTO	LUIS BRION, ACEVEDO, EULALIA BUROZ, ANDRES BELLO, JOSE ANTONIO PAEZ AND PEDRO GUAL
ADI GAURENAS-GUATIRE	AMBROSIO PLAZA AND EZEQUIEL ZAMORA

**Article 11.** The Integral Defence Areas of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI) ARAGUA, of (REDI CENTRAL) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI MARACAY	OCUMARE DE LA COSTA DE ORO, MARIOBRICENO IRAGORRY, GIRARDOT, FRANCISCO LINARES ALCANTARA Y SANTIAGO MARINO
ADI TUCUTUNEMO	LIBERTADOR, JOSE ANGEL LAMAS, SUCRE AND ZAMORA
ADI RICAURTE	BOLIVAR, TOVAR, JOSE FELIX RIBAS, JOSE RAFAEL REVENGA AND SANTOS MICHELINA
ADI TAGUAY	SAN SEBASTIAN DE LOS REYES, SAN CASIMIRO, CAMATAGUA AND RAFAEL URDANETA

**Article 12.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), CARABOBO of (REDI CENTRAL) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI CACIQUE MAMACURI	JAUN JOSE MORA AND PUERTO CABELLO
ADI VIGIRIMA	GUACARA, SAN JOAQUIN AND DIEGO IBARRA
ADI TACARIGUA	VALENCIA, CARLOS ARVELO AND LOS GUAYOS
ADI LIBERTADOR	MIRANDA, MONTALBAN, BEJUMA AND LIBERTADOR
ADI PARAMACAY	NAGUANAGUA AND SAN DIEGO

**Article 13.** The Integral Defence Areas of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), ANZOATEGUI of (REDI EASTERN) are established and activated, as listed below;

ADI	Municipalities
ADI CACIQUE NAIGUATA	SOTILLO, GUANTA, BOLIVAR AND DIEGO BAUTISTA URBANETA
ADI JOSE ANTONIO ANZOATEGUI	SAN JUAN DE CAPISTRANO, PENALVER, PIRITU, CARVAJAL, BRUZUAL AND CAJIGAL
ADI CACIQUE PARAMACAY	LIBERTAD, NCGREGOR, SANAT ANA, ANACO, FREITES AND ARAGUA DE BARCELONA
ADI CACIQUE CONOPOIMA	MIRANDA AND MONAGAS
ADI CACIQUE ARAMAIPURO	SIMON RODRIGUEZ, GUANIPA AND INDEPENDENCIA

**Article 14.** The Integral Defence Areas of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), MONAGAS of (REDI EASTERN) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI GUACHARO</b>	ACOSTA, CARIBE, PIAR, BOLIVAR AND PUNCERES
<b>ADI LUCAS DE ZARAGOZA</b>	MATURIN
<b>ADI UYAPARI</b>	LIBERTADOR, URACOA AND SOTILLO
<b>ADI CHAIMA</b>	CEDENO, EZEQUIEL ZAMORA, SANTA BARBARA AND AGUASAY

**Article 15.** The Integral Defence Areas of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), SUCRE of (REDI EASTERN) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI ANTONIO JOSE DE SUCRE</b>	CRUZ SALMERON ACOSTA AND SUCRE
<b>ADI CAYAURIMA</b>	BOLIVAR, MONTES, MEJISA AND RIBERO
<b>ADI JOSE FRANCISCO BERMUDEZ</b>	BERMUDEZ, ABDRES MATA AND ANDRSE ELOY BLANCO
<b>ADI PARAMAIBOA</b>	VALDEZ, MARINO, ARISMENDI, CAJIGAL, LIBERTADOR AND BENITEZ

**Article 16.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), Delta Amacuro of (REDI GUAYANA) are established and activated, as listed below:

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI CACIQUE PREOCUNATE</b>	PEDERNALES AND TUCUPITA
<b>ADI CUYUBINI</b>	CASACOIMA AND ANTONIO DIAZ

**Article 17.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), BOLIVAR of (REDI GUAYANA) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI MANAURE</b>	SIFONTES AND GRAN SABANA
<b>ADI TARABAY</b>	PADRE CHIEN, EL CALLAO, ROSCIO AND PIAR
<b>ADI CARONI</b>	CARONI
<b>ADI MAKERAN</b>	HERES AND BOLIVARIANO ANGOSTURA
<b>ADI NASICAGUA</b>	CEDENO AND SUCRE

**Article 18.** The Integral Defence Areas (ADI) of Integral Operational Defence Zone (ZODI), AMAZONAS of (REDI GUAYANA) are established and activated, as listed below;

<b>ADI</b>	<b>Municipalities</b>
<b>ADI ATURES</b>	ATURES AND AUTANA
<b>ADI ATABAPO</b>	ATABAPO
<b>ADI RIO NEGRO</b>	MAROA AND RIO NEGRO
<b>ADI ALTO ORINOCO</b>	ALTO ORINOCO
<b>ADI MANAPIARE</b>	MANAPIARE

**Article 19.** The Minister of People's Power for Defence is responsible for the execution of this Decree.

**Article 20.** Any disposition which contradicts this Decree is repealed.

**Article 21.** This Decree will enter into effect from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Issued in Caracas on the twenty sixth day of May of two thousand and fifteen 205 Years of Independence, 156 years of the Federation and 16 years of the Bolivarian Revolution.

To be Executed

(L.S.)

Signed

Nicolas Maduro Moros

Endorsed

Executive Vice President  
Of the Republic and First Vice President  
Of the Council of Ministers

(L.S.)

Jorge Alberto Arreaza Montserrat

Endorsed

The Minister of People's Power of  
The Office of the Presidency and Monitoring of the  
Management of Government and Sixth Sectoral Vice President of  
Political Sovereignty, Security and Peace

(L.S.)

Carmen Teresa Melendez Rivas

<p>Endorsed  The Minister of People's Power  For Internal Relations, Justice and Peace  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Gustavo Enrique Gonzalez Lopez</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Minister of People's Power for  Foreign Affairs  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Delcy Eloina Rodriguez Gomez</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Minister of People's Power for  Economy and Finance  and Second Sectoral Vice President for  Economy and Finance  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Rodolfo Clemente Marco Torres</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Minister of People's Power for  Defence  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Vladimir Padrino Lopez</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Minister of People's Power for  Trade  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Isabel Cristina Delgado Arria</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Head of the Ministry of People's Power for  Industries  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Jose David Cabello Rondon</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Ministry of People's Power for  Tourism  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Marleny Josefina Contreras Hernandez</p>
<p>Endorsed  The Ministry of People's Power for  Agriculture and Lands  (L.S.)</p>	<p>Jose Luis Berroteran Nunez</p>

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Education and Fifth Sectoral Vice President for  
Social Development and the Revolution of the Missions  
(L.S.)

Hector Vicente Rodriguez Castro

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Health  
(L.S.)

Henry Ventura Moreno

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
The Social Process of Work  
(L.S.)

Jesus Rafael Martinez Barrios

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Habitat and Housing  
(L.S.)

Ricardo Antono Molina Penaloza

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Eco-socialism and Water  
(L.S.)

Guillermo Rafael Barreto Esnal

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Petroleum and Mining  
(L.S.)

Asdrubal Jose Chavez Jimenez

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Planning and Fourth Sectoral Vice President for  
Planning and Knowledge  
(L.S.)

Ricardo Jose Menendez Prieto

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
University Education, Science and Technology  
(L.S.)

Manuel Angel Fernandez Melendez

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Communication and Information  
(L.S.)

Desire Santos Amaral

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
The Communes and Social Movements and  
Seventh Vice President for  
The Development of Territorial Socialism  
(L.S.)

Elias José Jaua Milano

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power for  
Food and Third Sectoral Vice President  
For Security, Agri-Food Sovereignty  
and Economic Provision  
(L.S.)

Carlos Alberto Osorio Zambrano

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Culture  
(L.S.)

Reinaldo Antonio Iturriza Lopez

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Youth and Sport  
(L.S.)

Pedro Jose Infante

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Indigenous Peoples  
(L.S.)

Aloha Joselyn Nunez Gutierrez

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Women and Gender Equality  
(L.S.)

Gladys Del Valle Requena

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Penitentiary Service  
(L.S.)

Maria Iris Varela Rangel

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Aquatic and Aerial Transport  
(L.S.)

Giuseppe Angelo Carmelo Yofreda Yorio

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Land Transport and Public Works  
(L.S.)

Haiman El Troudi Douwara

Endorsed

The Ministry of People's Power  
For Electrical Energy  
(L.S.)

Jesse Alonso Chacon Escamillo



# GACETA OFICIAL

## DE LA REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

AÑO CXLII – MES VIII

Caracas, miércoles 27 de mayo de 2015

Número 40.669

### SUMARIO

#### ASAMBLEA NACIONAL

Ley Aprobatoria del Convenio de Cooperación Específico para la Ejecución de la Misión Milagro entre el Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y el Gobierno de Antigua y Barbuda.

#### PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPÚBLICA

Decreto N° 1.779, mediante el cual se nombra al ciudadano Haiman El Troudi Douwara, Séptimo Vicepresidente Sectorial de Desarrollo del Socialismo Territorial, en calidad de Encargado.- (Se reimprime por fallas en los originales).

Decreto N° 1.781, mediante el cual se nombra a la ciudadana Rosángela Crozco Rondón, Ministra del Poder Popular para las Comunas y los Movimientos Sociales, en calidad de Encargada.- (Se reimprime por fallas en los originales).

Decreto N° 1.786, mediante el cual se ordena la adquisición forzosa de los bienes muebles, inmuebles y demás bienhechurías, que constituyen o sirven para el funcionamiento de los Hoteles Ausonia y Edwards.

Decreto N° 1.787, mediante el cual se crean y activan las Zonas Operativas de Defensa Integral Marítima e Insular (ZODIMAIN), bajo la circunscripción de la Región Estratégica de Defensa Integral Marítima e Insular (REDIMAIN), que e en él se mencionan.

Decreto N° 1.788, mediante el cual se nombra al ciudadano Dante Rafael Rivas Quijada, como Director General del Servicio Administrativo de Identificación, Migración y Extranjería (SAIME), en calidad de Encargado, ente adscrito al Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Interiores, Justicia y Paz.

Decreto N° 1.789, mediante el cual se nombra Presidenta del Órgano Superior de la Gran Misión Hogares de la Patria, en calidad de Encargada, a la ciudadana Gladys del Valle Requena.

Decreto N° 1.790, mediante el cual se nombra al ciudadano Américo Alex Mata García, Presidente de la Corporación de Desarrollo de la Cuenca del Río Tuy «Francisco de Miranda», S.A., CORPOMIRANDA, S.A., en calidad de Encargado, desde el 27 de mayo de 2015 hasta el 1° de julio del mismo año, o hasta el cese de la ausencia de su titular.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA RELACIONES EXTERIORES

Resolución mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Augusto Vladimir Montiel Medina, como Embajador Extraordinario y Plenipotenciario, de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela ante la República de la India.

Resolución mediante la cual se nombra, con carácter Interino, al ciudadano José Gustavo Contreras Roa, como Director General de Auditoría Interna, de este Ministerio.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR DE ECONOMÍA Y FINANZAS

##### ONAPRE

Providencia mediante la cual se designa a la ciudadana Yvelisse Josefina Herrera Barrientos, como Directora General de Administración y Servicios, de este Organismo.

Providencia mediante la cual se constituye, con carácter permanente, la Comisión de Contrataciones de este Organismo, integrada por las ciudadanas y ciudadanos que en ella se mencionan.

Providencias mediante las cuales se procede a la publicación de los Traspasos Presupuestarios de Gastos Corrientes para Gastos de Capital, de los Ministerios que en ellas se mencionan, por las cantidades que en ellas se especifican.

##### Superintendencia Nacional de Valores

Providencia mediante la cual se cancela la autorización otorgada al ciudadano Gustavo Antonio Marturet Medina, para actuar como Corredor Público de Títulos Valores, hoy Operador de Valores Autorizado.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR

##### PARA LA AGRICULTURA Y TIERRAS

Resolución mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Jesús Alfredo Rodríguez Hernández, como Coordinador del Instituto Nacional de Salud Agrícola Integral (INSAI) del estado Guárico, adscrita a la Sociobiorregión (Llanos Centrales), ente adscrito a este Ministerio.

Resolución mediante la cual se designa a la ciudadana Zuleyma de las Mercedes Fernández Carrillo, como Coordinadora de la Fundación de Capacitación e Innovación para Apoyar la Revolución Agraria (CIARA) en el estado Trujillo, ente adscrito a este Ministerio.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR

##### PARA LA SALUD

Resolución mediante la cual se delega en el ciudadano José Alfredo Cruz González, en su carácter de Director General de Seguridad, adscrito al Despacho del Director General de la Oficina de Gestión Administrativa de este Ministerio, la gestión de las atribuciones y la firma de los documentos y actos que en ella se indican.

Resolución mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Ricardo Julio Sánchez Niño, Director General de Producción de Insumos, dependiente del Despacho del Viceministro de Recursos, Tecnología y Regulación de este Ministerio.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR

##### PARA LA ALIMENTACIÓN

##### MERCAL, C.A.

Resolución mediante la cual se designa la Comisión de Contrataciones permanente de este Organismo, la cual estará integrada por las ciudadanas y ciudadanos que en ella se mencionan.

##### PDVAL, S.A.

Decisión mediante la cual se aprueba la Estructura para la Ejecución Financiera del Presupuesto de Ingresos y Gastos de este Organismo, para el Ejercicio 2015, la cual estará conformada por la Gerencia General de Administración y Finanzas como Unidad Administradora Central y las 24 Jefaturas Estadales como las Unidades Administradoras Desconcentradas que en ella se especifican.

Decisión mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Omar José Lozano Buelvas, como Responsable de la Unidad Administradora Central de la Estructura para la Ejecución Financiera del Presupuesto de Gastos de este Organismo, para el Ejercicio Fiscal 2015, conjuntamente con los ciudadanos que en ella se señalan.

Decisión mediante la cual se designa la Comisión de Contrataciones Públicas de esta Empresa, integrada por las ciudadanas y ciudadanos que en ella se indican.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR

##### PARA LA CULTURA

Resolución mediante la cual se procede a la publicación del Traspaso Presupuestario Interno de este Ministerio, por la cantidad que en ella se menciona.

#### MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR

##### PARA LA JUVENTUD Y EL DEPORTE

Resolución mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Alfredo José Abud Rodríguez, como Director General de la Oficina de Gestión Administrativa de este Ministerio.

##### IND

Providencia mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Edilio Urbina Camejo, como Director General de la Oficina de Administración y Finanzas de este Instituto.

#### TRIBUNAL SUPREMO DE JUSTICIA

##### Dirección Ejecutiva de la Magistratura

Resolución mediante la cual se designa al ciudadano Julián Wuilfredo Marichales Franco, como Jefe de la División de los Servicios Administrativos y Financieros y Cuentadante de la Dirección Administrativa Regional del estado Bolívar, de este Organismo.- (Se reimprime por error de Imprenta).

##### Escuela Nacional de la Magistratura

Resolución mediante la cual se Encarga al ciudadano Luis Fernando Damiani Bustillos, como Coordinador General del Instituto de Investigación y Postgrado de este Organismo.

Resoluciones mediante las cuales se designa a la ciudadana y al ciudadano que en ellas se mencionan, para ocupar los cargos que en ellas se especifican, de este Organismo.

#### MINISTERIO PÚBLICO

Resoluciones mediante las cuales se designa a la ciudadana y los ciudadanos que en ellas se mencionan, para ocupar los cargos que en ellas se señalan.

Resoluciones mediante las cuales se traslada a las ciudadanas que en ellas se indican, a las Direcciones y Fiscalías que en ellas se especifican, de este Organismo.

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
la Comunicación y la Información  
(L.S.)

DESIRE SANTOS AMARAL

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
las Comunas y los Movimientos Sociales y  
Séptimo Vicepresidente Sectorial  
de Desarrollo del Socialismo Territorial  
(L.S.)

ELÍAS JOSÉ JAUA MILANO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Alimentación y Tercer Vicepresidente Sectorial  
para la Seguridad, Soberanía Agroalimentaria  
y Abastecimiento Económico  
(L.S.)

CARLOS ALBERTO OSORIO ZAMBRANO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Cultura  
(L.S.)

REINALDO ANTONIO ITURRIZA LÓPEZ

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Juventud y el Deporte  
(L.S.)

PEDRO JOSE INFANTE

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
los Pueblos Indígenas  
(L.S.)

ALOHA JOSELYN NÚÑEZ GUTIÉRREZ

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular  
para la Mujer y la Igualdad de Género  
(L.S.)

GLADYS DEL VALLE REQUENA

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular  
para el Servicio Penitenciario  
(L.S.)

MARÍA IRIS VARELA RANGEL

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
Transporte Acuático y Aéreo  
(L.S.)

GIUSEPPE ANGELO CARMELO YOFRÉDA YORIO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
Transporte Terrestre y Obras Públicas  
(L.S.)

HAIMAN EL TROUDI DOUWARA

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para la Energía Eléctrica  
(L.S.)

JESSE ALONSO CHACÓN ESCAMILLO

Decreto N° 1.787

26 de mayo de 2015

**NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS**  
Presidente de la República

Con el supremo compromiso y voluntad de lograr la mayor eficacia política y calidad revolucionaria en la construcción del socialismo, la refundación de la República Bolivariana de

Venezuela, basado en principios humanistas, sustentado en condiciones morales y éticas que persiguen el progreso de la Patria y del colectivo, por mandato del pueblo de conformidad con lo establecido en el artículo 226 de la Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y en ejercicio de las atribuciones que me confieren los numerales 5 y 6 del artículo 236 *eiusdem*, en concordancia con los artículos 19, 24, 44, 45, 48 y 49 del Decreto con Rango, Valor y Fuerza de Ley Orgánica de la Fuerza Armada Nacional Bolivariana, en Consejo de Ministros,

#### CONSIDERANDO

Que la República Bolivariana de Venezuela se construye sobre las bases de un Estado Democrático y Social de Derecho y Justicia, que tiene como norte la protección y el resguardo de los derechos y las necesidades del pueblo venezolano, para asegurar una prestación justa, eficiente y solidaria de los servicios públicos esenciales,

#### CONSIDERANDO

Que es competencia del Estado la adopción de medidas necesarias para garantizar la independencia, soberanía, seguridad e integridad del espacio geográfico sobre la base de la concepción estratégica defensiva nacional además la de planificar, conducir y ejecutar operaciones de defensa integral y desarrollo nacional, con el fin supremo de coadyuvar a la defensa, y protección de los derechos de los ciudadanos y ciudadanas,

#### CONSIDERANDO

Que surge la necesidad de adaptarse a las nuevas realidades y estructura de la Fuerza Armada Nacional Bolivariana, para responder al nuevo modelo organizativo y dar respuestas en materia de seguridad, defensa y desarrollo integral, a la luz de los lineamientos filosóficos establecidos por el Comandante Supremo y Eterno de la Revolución Bolivariana en el Plan de la Patria, el cual establece: "*Consolidar un sistema defensivo territorial capaz de dirigir al país en tiempos de guerra desde tiempo de paz, estratégicamente defensivo y eminentemente popular*", mandato que impone la coordinación eficiente entre las instituciones y los órganos en función de la defensa integral de la nación, para el despliegue del poder nacional y rechazar las amenazas o agresiones contra la Patria, en todos los niveles del poder público en el campo de la lucha armada y no armada,

#### CONSIDERANDO

Que es necesario alcanzar la mayor integridad en las operaciones militares en el nuevo sistema defensivo territorial y fortalecer las agrupaciones territoriales de fuerzas, con el objeto de continuar el proceso de organización y consolidación del Sistema Defensivo Territorial, basado en la Nueva Doctrina Militar Bolivariana y el Concepto Estratégico Operacional para la Defensa Integral de la Nación, se hace necesaria la creación de nuevas ZODI y ADI.

#### DECRETO

**Artículo 1º.** Se crean y activan las Zonas Operativas de Defensa Integral Marítima e Insular (ZODIMAIN), bajo la circunscripción de la Región Estratégica de Defensa Integral Marítima e Insular (REDIMAIN), que a continuación se mencionan;

1. ZODIMAIN ATLÁNTICA, que comprende las áreas marinas y submarinas de la fachada atlántica definida al norte por la línea al este franco que nace desde el Promontorio de Paria hasta el límite con Trinidad y Tobago y la línea de costa (bajamar) hacia el sur en el espacio continental de los estados Sucre y Delta Amacuro y los límites marítimos internacionales definidos con Trinidad y Tobago, además de las áreas marinas y submarinas que corresponden a la zona en reclamación. Esta ZODI incluye Isla de Patos y demás islas, islotes, cayos y bancos situados o que emerjan dentro del mar territorial, así como el espacio aéreo supra yacente, siendo las delimitaciones los siguientes puntos geográficos:

PUNTO "A"	LATITUD 10° 44' 02.3" N	LONGITUD 061° 50' 49.3" W,
PUNTO "B"	LATITUD 10° 44' 02.3" N	LONGITUD 061° 47' 43.9" W,
Correspondiente a Punta Peña (Promontorio de Paria),		
PUNTO "C"	LATITUD 10° 42' 40.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 48' 16.2" W,
PUNTO "D"	LATITUD 10° 35' 08.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 48' 16.2" W,
PUNTO "E"	LATITUD 10° 35' 07.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 51' 51.2" W,
PUNTO "F"	LATITUD 10° 02' 34.8" N	LONGITUD 062° 05' 05.2" W,
PUNTO "G"	LATITUD 10° 00' 17.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 58' 31.2" W,
PUNTO "H"	LATITUD 09° 59' 00.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 51' 24.2" W,
PUNTO "I"	LATITUD 09° 59' 00.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 37' 56.2" W,
PUNTO "J"	LATITUD 09° 58' 00.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 30' 06.1" W,
PUNTO "K"	LATITUD 09° 52' 21.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 13' 30.1" W,
PUNTO "L"	LATITUD 09° 50' 43.8" N	LONGITUD 060° 53' 33.1" W,
PUNTO "M"	LATITUD 09° 49' 43.8" N	LONGITUD 060° 39' 57.0" W,
PUNTO "N"	LATITUD 09° 53' 14.8" N	LONGITUD 060° 16' 08.0" W,
PUNTO "O"	LATITUD 09° 57' 05.8" N	LONGITUD 059° 59' 22.0" W,
PUNTO "P"	LATITUD 09° 57' 59.8" N	LONGITUD 059° 55' 27.0" W,
PUNTO "Q"	LATITUD 10° 09' 47.9" N	LONGITUD 058° 49' 17.9" W,
PUNTO "R"	LATITUD 10° 15' 49.9" N	LONGITUD 058° 49' 17.9" W,
PUNTO "S"	LATITUD 10° 58' 35.4" N	LONGITUD 057° 07' 03" W,

Correspondientes al tratado delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y Trinidad y Tobago artículo 2 18ABR1990, están:

PUNTO "T"	LATITUD 11° 35' 24.0" N	LONGITUD 055° 27' 12.0" W,
(350 MN AL 067° DESDE LA LÍNEA DE BASE RECTA),		
PUNTO "U"	LATITUD 08° 56' 03.0" N	LONGITUD 052° 51' 10.0" W,
(350 MN AL 070° DESDE RIO ESEQUIBO),		
PUNTO "V"	LATITUD 06° 58' 54.0" N	LONGITUD 058° 23' 28.0" W,
(Desembocadura del Rio Esequibo).		

2. ZODIMAIN ORIENTAL, su jurisdicción contempla las áreas marinas y submarinas de la fachada caribeña oriental, incluyendo el espacio marítimo correspondiente a la Zona Económica Exclusiva (ZEE), definida al sur desde la línea de costa (bajamar) en el espacio continental desde Boca de Uchire, los estados Anzoátegui y Sucre hasta la línea recta que nace al este franco desde el Promontorio de Paria hasta el límite marítimo internacional definida con Trinidad y Tobago. Desde esa intercepción hacia el norte continua con los límites marítimos internacionales definidos con Trinidad y Tobago y Francia por el este. Desde esa intercepción hacia el oeste con los límites marítimos internacionales definidos al norte con el Reino de los Países Bajos del Norte y los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica (Puerto Rico), hasta la intercepción con el límite oriental de la ZODI Marítima e Insular Central. Esta ZODI incluye la Isla de La Tortuga, la Isla de La Blanquilla, el archipiélago Los Hermanos, archipiélago de Los Testigos, Isla de Aves, Isla Sola y demás islas, islotes, cayos y bancos situados o que emerjan dentro del mar territorial, así como el espacio aéreo supra yacente, siendo las delimitaciones los siguientes puntos geográficos:

PUNTO "A"	LATITUD 10° 08' 23.1" N	LONGITUD 065° 25' 48.5" W,
Correspondiente a Boca de Uchire,		
PUNTO "B"	LATITUD 16° 00' 00" N	LONGITUD 065° 25' 48.5" W,
PUNTO "C"	LATITUD 16° 23' 32.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 45' 52.0" W,
PUNTO "D"	LATITUD 16° 35' 21.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 23' 37.0" W,
PUNTO "E"	LATITUD 16° 41' 45.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 10' 05.0" W,
PUNTO "F"	LATITUD 16° 42' 42.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 08' 04.0" W,
PUNTO "G"	LATITUD 16° 43' 12.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 06' 57.0" W,
PUNTO "H"	LATITUD 16° 43' 24.7" N	LONGITUD 064° 06' 29.0" W,
PUNTO "I"	LATITUD 16° 44' 51.6" N	LONGITUD 064° 01' 06.0" W,

Correspondiente al tratado delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y Estados Unidos de Norteamérica artículo 2 28MAR1978 están:

PUNTO "J"	LATITUD 16° 40' 39.1" N	LONGITUD 063° 37' 56.6" W,
PUNTO "K"	LATITUD 16° 39' 50.1" N	LONGITUD 063° 35' 26.6" W,

Correspondiente al tratado de delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y el Reino de los Países Bajos artículo 2 31MAR1978, están:

PUNTO "L"	LATITUD 16° 30' 00" N	LONGITUD 062° 48' 50" W,
PUNTO "M"	LATITUD 14° 00' 00" N	LONGITUD 062° 48' 50" W,
PUNTO "N"	LATITUD 12° 00' 00" N	LONGITUD 062° 48' 50" W,
(No tienen referencias geográficas),		
PUNTO "O"	LATITUD 11° 10' 18.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 43' 52.2" W,
PUNTO "P"	LATITUD 10° 54' 28.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 43' 52.2" W,

PUNTO "Q"	LATITUD 10° 54' 03.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 43' 58.2" W,
PUNTO "R"	LATITUD 10° 48' 29.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 45' 53.2" W,
PUNTO "S"	LATITUD 10° 47' 26.8" N	LONGITUD 061° 46' 23.2" W,

Correspondiente al Tratado de delimitación de Áreas Marinas y Submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y Trinidad y Tobago artículo 2 18ABR1990, están:

PUNTO "T"  
LATITUD 10° 44' 02.3" N LONGITUD 061° 47' 43.9" W,

(No tienen referencias geográficas),

PUNTO "U"  
LATITUD 10° 44' 02.3" N LONGITUD 061° 50' 49.3" W,

Correspondiente a Punta Peña (Promontorio de Paria).

3. ZODIMAIN CENTRAL, su jurisdicción comprende las áreas marinas y submarinas de la fachada caribeña central de la República, incluyendo el espacio marítimo correspondiente a la Zona Económica Exclusiva (ZEE), definida al norte por el límite marítimo internacional con los países bajos del sur, continuando por el límite marítimo internacional al norte del archipiélago Las Aves, definido con la República Dominicana y los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica (Puerto Rico). Por el sur en dirección oeste – este desde la línea de costas (bajamar) desde Boca de Aroa, continúa por los estados Falcón, Yaracuy, Carabobo, Aragua, Vargas y Miranda hasta Boca de Uchire, desde donde se continúa una línea al norte franco perpendicular con los límites marítimos internacionales con los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Comprende el archipiélago de Las Aves, archipiélago Los Roques y archipiélago de La Orchilla, así como demás islas, islotes, cayos y bancos situados o que emerjan dentro del mar territorial y el espacio aéreo supra yacente, siendo las delimitaciones los siguientes puntos geográficos:

PUNTO "A" LATITUD 10° 40' 52,0" N LONGITUD 068° 17' 52,4" W,  
Correspondiente a Boca de Aroa,

PUNTO "B" LATITUD 11° 39' 48,6" N LONGITUD 067° 59' 29,6" W,  
PUNTO "C" LATITUD 12° 26' 48,7" N LONGITUD 067° 59' 29,9" W,  
PUNTO "D" LATITUD 15° 14' 16,8" N LONGITUD 068° 51' 51,1" W,

Correspondiente al tratado de delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y el Reino de los Países Bajos artículo 2 31MAR1978, están:

PUNTO "E" LATITUD 15° 14' 31,0" N LONGITUD 068° 51' 42,4" W,

PUNTO "F" LATITUD 15° 12' 54,0" N LONGITUD 068° 28' 54,3" W,

PUNTO "G" LATITUD 15° 12' 36,0" N LONGITUD 068° 27' 30,3" W,

PUNTO "H" LATITUD 15° 11' 09,0" N LONGITUD 068° 09' 19,3" W,

PUNTO "I" LATITUD 15° 10' 41,0" N LONGITUD 068° 03' 44,3" W,

PUNTO "J" LATITUD 15° 05' 10,0" N LONGITUD 067° 36' 21,3" W,

PUNTO "K" LATITUD 15° 02' 35,0" N LONGITUD 067° 23' 38,3" W,

PUNTO "L" LATITUD 14° 59' 13,0" N LONGITUD 067° 06' 58,2" W,

PUNTO "M" LATITUD 14° 59' 01,0" N LONGITUD 067° 06' 09,2" W,

PUNTO "N" LATITUD 14° 58' 48,0" N LONGITUD 067° 05' 15,2" W,

PUNTO "O" LATITUD 14° 58' 30,0" N LONGITUD 067° 04' 17,2" W,

PUNTO "P" LATITUD 14° 56' 09,0" N LONGITUD 066° 51' 38,2" W,

PUNTO "Q" LATITUD 14° 55' 51,0" N LONGITUD 066° 34' 28,2" W,

PUNTO "R" LATITUD 15° 14' 08,9" N LONGITUD 066° 19' 55,2" W,

PUNTO "S" LATITUD 15° 30' 12,9" N LONGITUD 066° 07' 07,1" W,

PUNTO "T" LATITUD 15° 39' 33,9" N LONGITUD 065° 58' 39,1" W,

Correspondientes al tratado de delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y Estados Unidos de Norteamérica artículo 2 28MAR1978, están:

PUNTO "U" LATITUD 16° 00' 00,0" N LONGITUD 065° 25' 48,5" W,

(no tiene referencias geográficas),

PUNTO "V" LATITUD 10° 08' 23,1" N LONGITUD 065° 25' 48,5" W,

Correspondiente a Boca de Uchire.

4. ZODIMAIN OCCIDENTAL, su jurisdicción contempla las áreas marinas y submarinas de la fachada caribeña occidental de la República, incluyendo el espacio marítimo correspondiente a la Zona Económica Exclusiva (ZEE) al norte, y este por el límite marítimo internacional definido con la República Dominicana y el Reino de los Países Bajos del sur, al sur desde la línea de costa (bajamar) del estado Zulia por encima de la latitud 11° 00' 00" n, y las costas (bajamar) del estado Falcón hasta Boca de Aroa, desde donde se sigue una línea recta al punto o vértice inferior derecho del límite internacional con los Países Bajos. Incluye el archipiélago de Los Monjes y demás islas, islotes, cayos y bancos situados o que emerjan dentro del mar territorial, así como el espacio aéreo supra yacente, siendo las delimitaciones los siguientes puntos geográficos:

PUNTO "A" LATITUD 11° 51' 29,7" N LONGITUD 071° 19' 30" W,

Correspondiente a Castilletes,

PUNTO "B" LATITUD 11° 57' 30" N LONGITUD 070° 55' 45" W,

PUNTO "C" LATITUD 12° 03' 30" N LONGITUD 070° 54' 25" W,

PUNTO "D" LATITUD 12° 09' 30" N LONGITUD 070° 55' 15" W,

PUNTO "E" LATITUD 12° 11' 00" N LONGITUD 071° 00' 00" W,

PUNTO "F" LATITUD 12° 18' 10" N LONGITUD 071° 05' 15" W,

PUNTO "G" LATITUD 12° 24' 00" N LONGITUD 071° 05' 55" W,

PUNTO "H" LATITUD 12° 28' 15" N LONGITUD 071° 07' 13" W,

No tienen referencias geográficas,

PUNTO "I" LATITUD 14° 57' 54,9" N LONGITUD 071° 24' 17,6" W,

PUNTO "J" LATITUD 15° 02' 10,9" N LONGITUD 070° 52' 48,5" W,

PUNTO "K" LATITUD 15° 15' 52,9" N LONGITUD 070° 08' 07,5" W,

PUNTO "L" LATITUD 15° 19' 06,9" N LONGITUD 069° 56' 16,4" W,

PUNTO "M" LATITUD 15° 22' 47,8" N LONGITUD 069° 41' 48,4" W,

Correspondiente al tratado de delimitación de áreas Marinas y Submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y República Dominicana artículo 2 03MAR1979, están:

PUNTO "N" LATITUD 15° 24' 50,8" N LONGITUD 069° 34' 36,4" W,  
correspondiente a punto común en ambos tratados,

PUNTO "O" LATITUD 12° 48' 48,6" N LONGITUD 070° 25' 07,1" W,

PUNTO "P" LATITUD 12° 20' 48,6" N LONGITUD 070° 25' 07,1" W,

PUNTO "Q" LATITUD 12° 20' 48,6" N LONGITUD 070° 09' 58,1" W,

PUNTO "R" LATITUD 12° 21' 42,6" N LONGITUD 070° 08' 32,1" W,

Miércoles 27 de mayo de 2015

GACETA OFICIAL DE LA REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

420.899

PUNTO "S"	LATITUD 12° 15' 53,0" N	LONGITUD 069° 44' 06,8" W,
PUNTO "T"	LATITUD 12° 11' 56,5" N	LONGITUD 069° 37' 21" W,
PUNTO "U"	LATITUD 11° 52' 51,8" N	LONGITUD 069° 04' 39,3" W,
PUNTO "V"	LATITUD 11° 45' 36,9" N	LONGITUD 068° 57' 09,5" W,
PUNTO "W"	LATITUD 11° 44' 36,4" N	LONGITUD 068° 49' 39,6" W,
PUNTO "X"	LATITUD 11° 39' 48,6" N	LONGITUD 068° 35' 54,9" W,
PUNTO "Y"	LATITUD 11° 39' 48,6" N	LONGITUD 067° 59' 29,6" W,

Correspondiente al tratado de delimitación de áreas marinas y submarinas entre la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y el Reino de los Países Bajos artículo 2 31MAR1978 esta:

PUNTO "Z" LATITUD 10° 40' 52,0" N LONGITUD 068° 17' 52,4" W,  
Correspondiente a Boca de Aroa.

**Artículo 2º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI Nueva Esparta perteneciente a la (REDIMAIN), que a continuación se mencionan;

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI GUAQUERI	MARCANO, GÓMEZ, ANTOLÍN DEL CAMPO Y ARISMENDI.
ADI CHARAIMA	DÍAZ, GARCÍA, MARIÑO Y MANEIRO.
ADI PARAGUACHOA	PENÍNSULA DE MACANAO, TUBORES Y VILLALBA.

**Artículo 3º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI APURE perteneciente a la (REDI LOS LLANOS), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI PUME	JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ.
ADI CUIVA	RÓMULO GALLEGOS, MUÑOZ Y ACHAGUAS.
ADI YARURO	PEDRO CAMEJO.
ADI JIWI	BIRUACA Y SAN FERNANDO.

**Artículo 4º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI BARINAS perteneciente a la (REDI LOS LLANOS), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI ZAMORA	EZEQUIEL ZAMORA, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE, ANDRÉS ELOY BLANCO Y PEDRAZA.
ADI SANTA INÉS	BOLÍVAR, CRUZ PAREDES, BARINAS Y OBISPOS.
ADI FLORENTINO	ALBERTO ARVELO TORREALBA Y ROJAS.
ADI MAISANTA	SOSA Y ARISMENDI.

**Artículo 5º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI PORTUGUESA perteneciente a la (REDI LOS LLANOS), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI COROMOTO	JOSÉ VICENTE DE UNDA, SUCRE, GUANARE Y SAN GENARO DE BOCONOITO.
ADI GUANARE	OSPINO, ESTELLER Y TURÉN.
ADI CENTAURO	ARAURE, AGUAS BLANCAS, SAN RAFAEL DE ONOTO Y PÁEZ.
ADI PIONERO	PAPELÓN, SANTA ROSALÍA Y GUANARITO.

**Artículo 6º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI COJEDES perteneciente a la (REDI LOS LLANOS), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI BATALLA DE TAGUANES	FALCÓN, LIMA BLANCO Y TINACO.
ADI EZEQUIEL ZAMORA	SAN CARLOS, ANZOÁTEGUI, RÓMULO GALLEGOS Y RICAURTE.
ADI EL BAÚL	PAO DE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA Y GIRARDOT.

**Artículo 7º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI GUÁRICO perteneciente a la (REDI LOS LLANOS), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
ADI CONOPOIMA	ROSCIO, ORTIZ Y JULIÁN MELLADO.
ADI CHIRIMARA	MIRANDA, CAMAGUÁN Y SAN GERÓNIMO DE GUAYABAL.
ADI CARAPAICA	LAS MERCEDES, INFANTE Y EL SOCORRO.
ADI GUARAMENTAL	JOSÉ FÉLIX RIBAS, PEDRO ZARAZA Y SANTA MARÍA DE IPIRE.
ADI TAMANACO	MONAGAS, SAN JOSÉ DE GUARIBE Y CHAGUARAMA.

**Artículo 8º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI CAPITAL perteneciente a la (REDI CENTRAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS O PARROQUIAS
ADI CATIA	SUCRE, EL JUNQUITO Y LA PASTORA.
ADI EZEQUIEL ZAMORA	SAN BERNARDINO, SAN JOSÉ, ALTAGRACIA, CATEDRAL, SAN JUAN, SANTA TERESA, 23 DE ENERO Y LA CANDELARIA.
ADI TIUNA	EL RECREO, SAN AGUSTÍN, SAN PEDRO, SANTA ROSALÍA, EL VALLE Y COCHE.
ADI CARICUAO	EL PARAÍSO, LA VEGA, ANTIMANO, CARICUAO Y MACARAO.
ADI CHACAO	CHACAO.
ADI SUCRE	SUCRE.
ADI BARUTA	BARUTA.
ADI EL HATILLO	EL HATILLO.

**Artículo 9º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI VARGAS perteneciente a la (REDI CENTRAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	PARROQUIAS
ADI CATIA LA MAR	EL JUNKO, CARAYACA Y CATIA LA MAR.
ADI GUAICAMACUTO	URIMARE, CARLOS SOUBLETTE, MAIQUETÍA, MACUTO, CARABALLADA Y LA GUAIRA.
ADI NAIGUATÁ	NAIGUATÁ Y CARUAO.

**Artículo 10.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI MIRANDA perteneciente a la (REDI CENTRAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI ALTOS MIRANDINOS</b>	LOS SALÍAS, CARRIZAL Y GUAICAIPURO.
<b>ADI VALLES DEL TUY</b>	PAZ CASILLO, CRISTÓBAL ROJAS, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, INDEPENDENCIA, RAFAEL URDANETA Y TOMÁS LANDER.
<b>ADI BARLOVENTO</b>	LUIS BRIÓN, ACEVEDO, EULALIA BUROZ, ANDRÉS BELLO, JOSÉ ANTONIO PÁEZ Y PEDRO GUAL.
<b>ADI GUARENAS-GUATIRE</b>	AMBROSIO PLAZA Y EZEQUIEL ZAMORA.

**Artículo 11.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI ARAGUA perteneciente a la (REDI CENTRAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI MARACAY</b>	OCUMARE DE LA COSTA DE ORO, MARIO BRICEÑO IRAGORRY, GIRARDOT, FRANCISCO LINARES ALCÁNTARA Y SANTIAGO MARIÑO.

<b>ADI TUCUTUNEMO</b>	LIBERTADOR, JOSÉ ÁNGEL LAMAS, SUCRE Y ZAMORA.
<b>ADI RICAURTE</b>	BOLÍVAR, TOVAR, JOSÉ FÉLIX RIBAS, JOSÉ RAFAEL REVENGA Y SANTOS MICHELENA.
<b>ADI TAGUAY</b>	SAN SEBASTIÁN DE LOS REYES, SAN CASIMIRO, CAMATAGUA Y RAFAEL URDANETA.

**Artículo 12.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI CARABOBO perteneciente a la (REDI CENTRAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI CACIQUE MAMACURÍ</b>	JUAN JOSÉ MORA Y PUERTO CABELLO.
<b>ADI VIGIRIMA</b>	GUACARA, SAN JOAQUÍN Y DIEGO IBARRA.
<b>ADI TACARIGUA</b>	VALENCIA, CARLOS ARVELO Y LOS GUAYOS.
<b>ADI MIRANDA LIBERTADOR</b>	MIRANDA, MONTALBÁN, BEJUMA Y LIBERTADOR.
<b>ADI PARAMACAY</b>	NAGUANAGUA Y SAN DIEGO.

**Artículo 13.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI ANZOÁTEGUI perteneciente a la (REDI ORIENTAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI CACIQUE NAIGUATÁ</b>	SOTILLO, GUANTA, BOLÍVAR Y DIEGO BAUTISTA URBANEJA.
<b>ADI JOSÉ ANTONIO ANZOÁTEGUI</b>	SAN JUAN DE CAPISTRANO, PEÑALVER, PÍRITU, CARVAJAL, BRUZUAL Y CAJIGAL.
<b>ADI CACIQUE PARAMACAY</b>	LIBERTAD, MCGREGOR, SANTA ANA, ANACO, FREITES Y ARAGUA DE BARCELONA.

<b>ADI CACIQUE CONOPOIMA</b>	MIRANDA Y MONAGAS.
<b>ADI CACIQUE ARAMAIPURO</b>	SIMÓN RODRÍGUEZ, GUANIPA E INDEPENDENCIA.

**Artículo 14.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI MONAGAS perteneciente a la (REDI ORIENTAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI GUÁCHARO</b>	ACOSTA, CARIPE, PIAR, BOLÍVAR Y PUNCERES.
<b>ADI LUCAS DE ZARAGOZA</b>	MATURÍN.
<b>ADI UYAPARI</b>	LIBERTADOR, URACOA Y SOTILLO.
<b>ADI CHAIMA</b>	CEDEÑO, EZEQUIEL ZAMORA, SANTA BÁRBARA Y AGUASAY.

**Artículo 15.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI SUCRE perteneciente a la (REDI ORIENTAL), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE</b>	CRUZ SALMERÓN ACOSTA Y SUCRE.
<b>ADI CAYAURIMA</b>	BOLÍVAR, MONTES, MEJÍAS Y RIBERO.
<b>ADI JOSÉ FRANCISCO BERMÚDEZ</b>	BERMÚDEZ, ANDRÉS MATA Y ANDRÉS ELOY BLANCO.
<b>ADI PARAMAIBOBA</b>	VALDEZ, MARIÑO, ARISMENDI, CAJIGAL, LIBERTADOR Y BENÍTEZ.

**Artículo 16.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI DELTA AMACURO perteneciente a la (REDI GUAYANA), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI CACIQUE PREPOCUNATE</b>	PEDERNALES Y TUCUPITA.
<b>ADI CUYUBINI</b>	CASACOIMA Y ANTONIO DÍAZ.

**Artículo 17.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI BOLÍVAR perteneciente a la (REDI GUAYANA), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI MANAURE</b>	SIFONTES Y GRAN SABANA.
<b>ADI TARABAY</b>	PADRE CHIEN, EL CALLAO, ROSCIO Y PIAR.
<b>ADI CARONÍ</b>	CARONÍ.
<b>ADI MAKERAN</b>	HERES Y BOLIVARIANO ANGOSTURA.
<b>ADI NASICAGUA</b>	CEDEÑO Y SUCRE.

**Artículo 18º.** Se crean y activan las Áreas de Defensa Integral de la ZODI AMAZONAS perteneciente a la (REDI GUAYANA), que a continuación se mencionan:

ADI	MUNICIPIOS
<b>ADI ATURES</b>	ATURÉS Y AUTANA.
<b>ADI ATABAPO</b>	ATABAPO.
<b>ADI RÍO NEGRO</b>	MAROA Y RÍO NEGRO.
<b>ADI ALTO ORINOCO</b>	ALTO ORINOCO.
<b>ADI MANAPIARE</b>	MANAPIARE.

Miércoles 27 de mayo de 2015

GACETA OFICIAL DE LA REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

420.901


**Artículo 19.** El Ministro del Poder Popular para la Defensa queda encargado de la ejecución del presente Decreto.

**Artículo 20.** Queda derogada cualquier disposición que colida con lo dispuesto en este Decreto.

**Artículo 21.** El presente Decreto entrará en vigencia a partir de su publicación en la Gaceta Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela.

Dado en Caracas, a los veintiséis días del mes de mayo de dos mil quince. Años 205° de la Independencia, 156° de la Federación y 16° de la Revolución Bolivariana.

Ejecútese,  
(L.S.)



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS  
PRESIDENTE

Refrendado  
El Vicepresidente Ejecutivo  
de la República y Primer Vicepresidente  
del Consejo de Ministros  
(L.S.)

JORGE ALBERTO ARREAZA MONTSERRAT

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular del  
Despacho de la Presidencia y Seguimiento  
de la Gestión de Gobierno y Sexta Vicepresidenta  
Sectorial de Soberanía Política, Seguridad y Paz  
(L.S.)

CARMEN TERESA MELÉNDEZ RIVAS

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para Relaciones Interiores, Justicia y Paz  
(L.S.)

GUSTAVO ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular  
para Relaciones Exteriores  
(L.S.)

DELCY ELOINA RODRÍGUEZ GÓMEZ

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
de Economía y Finanzas  
y Segundo Vicepresidente Sectorial  
para Economía y Finanzas  
(L.S.)

RODOLFO CLEMENTE MARCO TORRES

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para la Defensa  
(L.S.)

VLADIMIR PADRINO LÓPEZ

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
el Comercio  
(L.S.)

ISABEL CRISTINA DELGADO ARRIA

Refrendado  
El Encargado del Ministerio del  
Poder Popular para Industrias  
(L.S.)

JOSÉ DAVID CABELLO RONDÓN

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
el Turismo  
(L.S.)

MARLENY JOSEFINA CONTRERAS HERNÁNDEZ

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para la Agricultura y Tierras  
(L.S.)

JOSÉ LUÍS BERROTERÁN NUÑEZ

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Educación y Quinto Vicepresidente Sectorial  
para el Desarrollo Social y la Revolución  
de las Misiones  
(L.S.)

HÉCTOR VICENTE RODRÍGUEZ CASTRO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Salud  
(L.S.)

HENRY VENTURA MORENO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
el Proceso Social de Trabajo  
(L.S.)

JESÚS RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ BARRIOS

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para Hábitat y Vivienda  
(L.S.)

RICARDO ANTONIO MOLINA PEÑALOZA

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
para Ecosocialismo y Aguas  
(L.S.)

GUILLERMO RAFAEL BARRETO ESNAL

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
de Petróleo y Minería  
(L.S.)

ASDRÚBAL JOSÉ CHÁVEZ JIMÉNEZ

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular  
de Planificación y Cuarto Vicepresidente  
Sectorial para la Planificación y el Conocimiento  
(L.S.)

RICARDO JOSÉ MENÉNDEZ PRIETO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
Educación Universitaria, Ciencia y Tecnología  
(L.S.)

MANUEL ÁNGEL FERNÁNDEZ MELÉNDEZ

Refrendado  
La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
la Comunicación y la Información  
(L.S.)

DESIRE SANTOS AMARAL

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
las Comunas y los Movimientos Sociales y  
Séptimo Vicepresidente Sectorial  
de Desarrollo del Socialismo Territorial  
(L.S.)

ELÍAS JOSÉ JAUA MILANO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Alimentación y Tercer Vicepresidente Sectorial  
para la Seguridad, Soberanía Agroalimentaria  
y Abastecimiento Económico  
(L.S.)

CARLOS ALBERTO OSORIO ZAMBRANO

Refrendado  
El Ministro del Poder Popular para  
la Cultura  
(L.S.)

REINALDO ANTONIO ITURRIZA LÓPEZ

## Refrendado

El Ministro del Poder Popular para la Juventud y el Deporte  
(L.S.)

PEDRO JOSE INFANTE

## Refrendado

La Ministra del Poder Popular para los Pueblos Indígenas  
(L.S.)

ALOHA JOSELYN NÚÑEZ GUTIÉRREZ

## Refrendado

La Ministra del Poder Popular para la Mujer y la Igualdad de Género  
(L.S.)

GLADYS DEL VALLE REQUENA

## Refrendado

La Ministra del Poder Popular para el Servicio Penitenciario  
(L.S.)

MARÍA IRIS VARELA RANGEL

## Refrendado

El Ministro del Poder Popular para Transporte Acuático y Aéreo  
(L.S.)

GIUSEPPE ANGELO CARMELO YOFFREDA YORIO

## Refrendado

El Ministro del Poder Popular para Transporte Terrestre y Obras Públicas  
(L.S.)

HAIMAN EL TROUDI DOUWARA

## Refrendado

El Ministro del Poder Popular para la Energía Eléctrica  
(L.S.)

JESSE ALONSO CHACÓN ESCAMILLO

Decreto N° 1.788

27 de mayo de 2015

**NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS**  
Presidente de la República

Con el supremo compromiso y voluntad de lograr la mayor eficacia política y calidad revolucionaria en la construcción del Socialismo, la refundación de la nación venezolana, basado en principios humanistas, sustentado en condiciones morales y éticas que persiguen el progreso de la patria y del colectivo, por mandato del pueblo y en ejercicio de la atribución que me confiere el artículo 226 y los numerales 2 y 16 del artículo 236 de la Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela, de conformidad con lo dispuesto en el artículo 46 del Decreto con Rango, Valor y Fuerza de Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública, en concordancia con lo establecido en los artículos 4º, 18, 19 y 20 de la Ley del Estatuto de la Función Pública.

**DECRETO**

**Artículo 1º.** Nombro al ciudadano **DANTE RAFAEL RIVAS QUIDADA**, titular de la cédula de identidad N° V.-12.224.990, **DIRECTOR GENERAL DEL SERVICIO ADMINISTRATIVO DE IDENTIFICACIÓN, MIGRACIÓN Y EXTRANJERÍA (SAIME)**, en calidad de **ENCARGADO**, ente adscrito al Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Interiores, Justicia y Paz, con las competencias inherentes al referido cargo, de conformidad con el ordenamiento jurídico vigente.

**Artículo 2º.** Se instruye en el Ministro del Poder Popular para Relaciones Interiores, Justicia y Paz, la instrumentación de la designación prevista en el presente Decreto, así como la juramentación del referido ciudadano, de acuerdo con el ordenamiento jurídico aplicable.

**Artículo 3º.** El presente Decreto entrará en vigencia a partir de su publicación en la Gaceta Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela.

Dado en Caracas, a los veintisiete días del mes de mayo de dos mil quince. Años 205º de la Independencia, 156º de la Federación y 16º de la Revolución Bolivariana.

Ejecútese,  
(L.S.)



**NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS**

## Refrendado

El Vicepresidente Ejecutivo de la República y Primer Vicepresidente del Consejo de Ministros  
(L.S.)

JORGE ALBERTO ARREAZA MONTSERRAT

## Refrendado

El Ministro del Poder Popular para Relaciones Interiores, Justicia y Paz  
(L.S.)

GUSTAVO ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ

Decreto 1.789

27 de mayo de 2015

**NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS**  
Presidente de la República

Con el supremo compromiso y voluntad de lograr la mayor eficacia política y calidad revolucionaria en la construcción del Socialismo, la refundación de la patria venezolana, basado en principios humanistas, sustentado en condiciones morales y éticas que persiguen el progreso del país y del colectivo, por mandato del pueblo de conformidad con lo establecido en el artículo 226 de la Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela; y en ejercicio de las atribuciones que me confieren los numerales 2 y 16 del artículo 236 *ejusdem*, en concordancia con lo dispuesto en el artículo 46 de Decreto con Rango, Valor y Fuerza de Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública, concatenado con los artículos 4º, 18, 19 y 20 de la Ley del Estatuto de la Función Pública y el artículo 6º del Decreto N° 1.149, de fecha 31 de julio de 2014, publicado en la Gaceta Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela N° 40.465, de la misma fecha, mediante el cual se creó la Gran Misión Hogares de la Patria.

**JORGE ALBERTO ARREAZA MONTSERRAT**  
Vicepresidente Ejecutivo de la República

Por delegación del Presidente de la República Nicolás Maduro Moros, según Decreto N° 9.402 de fecha 11 de Marzo de 2013, publicado en la Gaceta Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela N° 40.126 de fecha 11 de Marzo de 2013.



**Annex 90**

*Letter* from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (8 June 2015)





PRO: 2/7/12  
**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

“ Takuba Lodge”  
254 South Road & Shiv Chanderpaul Dr.,  
Georgetown, Guyana.  
Telephone: 592-226-1606/8 Fax: 592-225-9192  
E-mail: minfor@guyana.net.gy  
Website: www.minfor.gov.gy

June 8, 2015

H.E. Ban Ki-moon  
Secretary General  
United Nations Headquarters  
Office of the Secretary General  
760 United Nations Plaza  
New York, New York 10017  
USA

Your Excellency,

It gives me no pleasure to bring to your attention a most disturbing development that not only affects Guyana directly, but also has serious implications for the continued conduct, in an atmosphere of cooperation and mutual respect, of the arrangements contemplated under the Geneva Agreement of 1966.

On May 26, 2015, the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela issued a Presidential Decree which purports to annex a considerable portion of Guyana's territory offshore and which authorizes the Venezuelan Navy to exercise military control over this area. This Decree has resulted in an escalation of the already growing tension between Guyana and Venezuela arising from the latter's recent overt attempts at inhibiting the peaceful and legitimate right of Guyana to develop its sovereign territory. Further, the Decree with its military association constitutes a significant threat to regional peace and security.

The Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana regards this development as inimical to the provisions of the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and indeed, as being both inconsistent with and contrary to the steps being taken to address the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void.

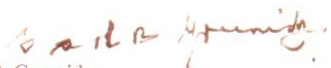
As Your Excellency is aware, the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana has expressed its concern that the Good Offices process is being subverted by the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to further its claim to the Essequibo region of Guyana. As Your Excellency is also aware, this region was settled as belonging to Guyana by Treaty and International Arbitration over a century ago and by a process involving both Britain and Brazil.

The Decree is an extension of this spurious claim, as it seeks to exercise sovereignty over most of Guyana's maritime space and all that is appurtenant to the Essequibo region.

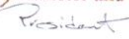
This is, Your Excellency, a most unacceptable development more so as it follows the recent assertion by Venezuela that the Essequibo region is 'unquestionably Venezuelan territory'. It is a development that demands that urgent steps be now taken within the context of the Geneva Agreement to prevent the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela from committing further acts of this nature; and to impress upon the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela that such acts not only threaten Guyana's right to the peaceful and ordered development of its State, but also that of regional peace and security.

Your Excellency, the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana appeals to you within the context of your responsibility as Secretary General of the United Nations and more specifically, your mandate under the Geneva Agreement of 1966, to determine a means of peaceful settlement which in your judgement, will bring a definitive and conclusive end to Venezuela's adventurism and with it an end to the controversy under circumstances that will be internationally recognized.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Hon. Carl B. Greenidge  
Vice Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs





## Ministry of Foreign Affairs

254 South Road & Shriv Chanderpaul Dr.,  
Georgetown, Guyana  
Telephone: 592-226-9080 Fax: 592-223-5241  
Email: minister@minfor.gov.gy  
Website: www.minfor.gov.gy

### PRESS STATEMENT

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has issued a Presidential Decree purporting to annex maritime spaces pertaining to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana under the relevant rules of International Law

Decree No. 1.787 is a flagrant violation of International Law and is inconsistent with the principle that all States should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, large and small. The Cooperative Republic of Guyana rejects this illegality which seeks to undermine our efforts at development through the exploitation of our natural resources off-shore. Guyana will continue, undeterred, to access and develop its resources in accordance with its Constitution and laws in keeping with the principles of International Law.

Guyana denounces this decree which is a violation of international law. It is international law that must reign supreme and not the ambitions of a larger State which wishes to trample upon the rights of a smaller country in order to obstruct the sovereign right of Guyana to develop its natural resources. The land boundary between Guyana and Venezuela which was defined by the Arbitral Award of 1899, is recognized by all States. Venezuela also recognized its border with Guyana as settled for over sixty years having also participated in the demarcation of this established boundary which was completed in 1905.

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana is concerned that the said decree disregards International Law, constitutes a threat to regional peace and security and breaches the Geneva Agreement of 1966. It is therefore imperative that Venezuela adheres to the principles of International Law in seeking to delineate its maritime boundaries with neighbouring States pending actual delimitations.

The Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana wishes to make it pellucid that Decree No. 1.787 cannot be applicable to any part of Guyana's territory and any attempt by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to apply that instrument in an extra-territorial manner will be vigorously resisted by the Cooperative Republic of Guyana. In light of this Guyana will spare no effort in bringing to the attention of the international community this aggressive and illegal act by Venezuela.

7<sup>th</sup> June, 2015



## **Annex 91**

“Minister Delcy Rodriguez, Official Statement: Guyana shows a dangerous Politics of Provocation Against the Bolivarian Venezuela of Peace”, *Correo del Orinoco* (9 June 2015)







Correo del Orinoco

PORTADA

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VIVIENDA

**Canciller Delcy  
Rodríguez,  
Comunicado Oficial  
: |Guyana exhibe  
una peligrosa  
política de  
provocación contra  
la Venezuela  
bolivariana de paz**

© 9 Junio, 2015 11:16

La ministra del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores, Delcy Rodríguez, alertó este martes que el nuevo gobierno de la República Cooperativa de Guyana exhibe una peligrosa política de provocación contra la Venezuela de paz, al permitir a la petrolera estadounidense Exxon Mobil la explotación de este recurso en un yacimiento ubicado en una zona en disputa.

En rueda de prensa, la Canciller dio lectura a un Comunicado Oficial en respuesta a las advertencias que realizó este lunes Guyana a la nación: "Venezuela mantiene su posición firme de rechazo al comunicado lleno de falsedades del nuevo Gobierno de Guyana".

Apuntó que "la única agresión es que el gobierno de Guyana haya permitido que ExxonMobil accionar en la zona en reclamación" y argumentó que este país "está siendo apoyado por una empresa transnacional imperial".

Guyana sostiene que un tribunal laudó el litigio en su favor en 1899, estableciendo las fronteras entre ambos países, pero el asunto ha sido referido al secretario general de Naciones Unidas para que explore formas de encontrar una solución pacífica.

Sobre este punto, la funcionaria sostuvo que "Venezuela mantiene su posición de considerar nulo el laudo arbitral de 1899".

En ese contexto, recordó que “los únicos canales apropiados para resolver esta controversia son los del Derecho Internacional, los del Acuerdo de Ginebra y proseguir con el mecanismo del Buen Oficiante bajo la figura del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas”.

A continuación el *Correo del Orinoco* transcribe el texto íntegro del Mppre:

**REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA  
MINISTERIO DEL PODER POPULAR PARA  
LAS RELACIONES EXTERIORES  
COMUNICADO**

La República Bolivariana de Venezuela rechaza categóricamente el tenor altisonante y las afirmaciones falsas emitidas en el Comunicado del nuevo Gobierno de la República Cooperativa de Guyana de fecha 7 de junio del corriente, que constituye una provocación y atenta contra la diplomacia bolivariana de paz.

Es inadmisibile que el nuevo Gobierno de Guyana asuma esta posición con un territorio que está sujeto a controversia, siendo además que ha reconocido expresamente que esta zona marítima está sujeta a la resolución amistosa de la reclamación territorial, tal como está contemplado en el Acuerdo de Ginebra.

La controversia territorial entre Venezuela y Guyana data de más de un siglo de existencia, cuando producto de componendas coloniales e imperiales, se despojó a nuestra Patria de un vasto territorio sujeto desde entonces a reclamación. De esta ilicitud de origen, Venezuela mantiene su posición de considerar nulo e írrito el Laudo Arbitral de 1899, y hace un llamado al nuevo Gobierno de Guyana a mantenerse en el marco normativo del Acuerdo de Ginebra.

Venezuela lamenta que una norma administrativa dirigida a organizar, mediante la asistencia de las nuevas tecnologías de información, labores cotidianas de supervisión y protección marítima, dentro del marco de su pleno ejercicio jurisdiccional y constitucional -que en nada puede

afectar a la República Cooperativa de Guyana- sea aprovechada para escandalizar e intentar crear una crisis artificial, inventando situaciones irracionales contra un país hermano como Venezuela, y utilizando un lenguaje altamente ofensivo.

Los únicos canales apropiados para resolver esta controversia son los del Derecho Internacional, los del Acuerdo de Ginebra y proseguir con el mecanismo del Buen Oficiante bajo la figura del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas.

Constituye una ofensa a la tradición libertaria del pueblo de Simón Bolívar considerar, en claro lenguaje imperial, que Venezuela es una amenaza a la región, cuando, quedó plasmada en la reciente Cumbre de las Américas el unánime reconocimiento y respaldo de los pueblos hermanos a la política exterior venezolana de paz y solidaridad.

Pesa constatar, que la única y sorprendente agresión, es que el gobierno de Guyana haya permitido a una transnacional tan poderosa como la Exxon Mobil incursionar en territorio en reclamación entre ambas naciones, que en nada pretende solventar el derecho al desarrollo de Guyana.

Es imperativo recordar que fue gracias al Comandante eterno Hugo Chávez, que se implementaron diversos programas de cooperación, solidaridad y hermandad tales como PETROCARIBE, para la estabilidad y seguridad energética de la región. Esta política que pone en práctica sublimes principios humanistas con el pueblo de Guyana, ha sido de gran impacto y éxito para la prosperidad verdadera de nuestro hermano pueblo guyanés, y el Presidente Nicolás Maduro así le ha dado continuidad.

El nuevo Gobierno de la República Cooperativa de Guyana exhibe una peligrosa política de provocación contra la Venezuela bolivariana de paz, apoyada por el poderío imperial de una transnacional estadounidense, la Exxon Mobil, la cual debe ser rectificada en lo inmediato.

Esta política de provocación inamistosa será derrotada por la propia fuerza de la realidad que se impone, por la política exterior de paz y amistad de Venezuela y por el propio pueblo de Guyana.

El Gobierno de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela reitera sus sentimientos y voluntad de paz al hermano pueblo de Guyana, y ratifica la invitación a su canciller a una pronta reunión, para a través del diálogo político entre pueblos hermanos, seguir transitando el camino de la cooperación y la superación del diferendo histórico, que tuvo su génesis en acciones fraudulentas de antiguas potencias coloniales contra Venezuela .

Caracas, 9 de junio de 2015

**Texto/CO**

**Fuente/Prensa Mppre**

**Foto/Archivo- @vencancilleria**

Etiquetas Delcy Rodríguez Exxon Mobil

Mppre Política Exterior





## **Annex 92**

“Venezuela wants peaceful solution to border dispute” *Jamaica Observer* (9 June 2015)





Saturday, November 03, 2018

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## Venezuela wants peaceful solution to border dispute

Tuesday, June 09, 2015 [5 Comments](#)
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CARACAS, Venezuela (CMC) – Venezuela Tuesday denied it has any intention of forcibly taking over land it claims to be its own in Guyana and rejected statements from the new administration in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) country that it was moving to enforce a recent shift in its maritime boundary.

"It is unacceptable that the new Government of Guyana assume this position with a territory that is subject to controversy, and is also expressly recognized that this sea area is subject to the amicable settlement of the territorial claims, as envisaged in the Geneva Agreement," Caracas said in a statement.

In a strongly worded statement on Monday, Georgetown said that it "wishes to make it pellucid that Decree No 1787 cannot be applicable to any part of Guyana's territory and any attempt by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to apply that instrument in an extra-territorial manner will be vigorously resisted by the Cooperative Republic of Guyana".

The new administration of President David Granger, which has since received the support of the main opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP) on the border issue, said it plans to formally bring to the attention of the international community what it termed "this aggressive and illegal act by Venezuela".

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Guyana said the decree is a "flagrant violation of international law and is inconsistent with the principle that all States should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, large and small.

"The Cooperative Republic of Guyana rejects this illegality which seeks to undermine our efforts at development through exploitation of our natural resources off-shore.

"Guyana will continue, undeterred, to access and develop its resources in accordance with the Constitution and laws in keeping with the principles of International Law."

But Venezuela said that Guyana may have created an artificial crisis over the decree that was issued by the President of Venezuela and which highlighted a widening of Venezuela's claim to Guyana's waters and territory.

"Venezuela regrets that an administrative rule directed to organize, with the assistance of the new technologies of information, daily supervision and maritime security within the framework of its unlimited jurisdiction and constitutional exercise which nothing can affect the Cooperative Republic of Guyana – will be exploited to shock and trying to create an artificial crisis, inventing irrational situations against a brother country like Venezuela, using a highly offensive language."

Venezuela said that the only appropriate channels to resolve this dispute are those of International Law, the Geneva Agreement and continue the Good Officer mechanism under the figure of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

"It is an offense to the libertarian tradition of the people of Simon Bolivar consider imperial clear language that Venezuela is a threat to the region, when, was reflected in the recent Summit of the Americas the unanimous recognition and support of the fraternal peoples of the Venezuelan foreign policy of peace and solidarity."

But Caracas has maintained its objection to the presence of the oil rig of the US-based ExxonMobil in Guyana waters, with Caracas noting that "the unique and surprising aggression, is that the government of Guyana has allowed such a powerful transnational as Exxon Mobil venture into disputed territory between the two countries, which in no way seeks to address the right to development of Guyana."

"It is imperative to remember that thanks to the eternal Commander Hugo Chavez, various programmes of cooperation, solidarity and brotherhood such as PETROCARIBE, for stability and energy security of the region were implemented.

"This policy puts into practice humanistic sublime to the people of Guyana principles, has been of great impact and success for true prosperity of our brother Guyanese people, and President Nicolas Maduro and has been continued.

"The new Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana exhibits a dangerous policy of provocation against the Bolivarian Venezuela of peace , supported by the imperial power of a US multinational , Exxon Mobil , which must be rectified in the short term."

Venezuela said "this unfriendly policy of provocation will be defeated by the force of reality imposed by the foreign policy of peace and friendship between Venezuela and the people of Guyana itself"

"The Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reiterates its desire for peace feelings and the brotherly people of Guyana, and reaffirms the invitation to his Foreign Minister to an early meeting so through political dialogue between brothers, continue along the path of cooperation and overcoming the historical dispute , which had its genesis in fraudulent actions of former colonial powers against Venezuela"

Prior to the decree, Venezuela had twice written to the local subsidiary of the US-based Exxon-Mobil warning against continued exploration for hydrocarbons in the area. On both occasions, the Guyana government had issued strong objections.

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In its latest statement, the Guyana government said that the "land boundary between Guyana and Venezuela, which was defined by the Arbitral Award of 1899 is recognized by all States.

Venezuela also recognized its border with Guyana as settled for over sixty years having also participated in the demarcation of its established boundary which was demarcated in 1905," the statement said, adding "it is international law that must reign supreme and not the ambitions of a larger State which wishes to trample upon the rights of a smaller country in order to obstruct the sovereign right of Guyana to develop its natural resources".

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### **Annex 93**

“Venezuela further urges peace, but maintains territorial claim” *Kaieteur News* (10 June 2015)



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## Venezuela further urges peace, but maintains territorial claim

Jun 10, 2015 [News](#) 0 Comments

While Venezuela maintains a position seeking to deprive Guyana of a significant portion of its territory, the Bolivarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement saying that it wants peace. In the statement, Venezuela essentially asserts that Guyana is somewhat overreacting in its issuance of statements saying that it will use all means necessary to firmly reject Venezuela's latest threat to its sovereignty.

Venezuela made reference to initiatives it had/has with Guyana to promote "solidarity and brotherhood" such as the PETROCARIBE deal. It was said that despite such assistance offered to Guyana, the new government seems "unfriendly."

According to Venezuela, the David Granger-led Administration is exhibiting a dangerous policy of provocation against the Bolivarian Venezuela of peace, "supported by the imperial power of a US multinational, Exxon Mobil, which must be rectified in the short term.

"This unfriendly policy of provocation will be defeated by the force of reality imposed by the foreign policy of peace and friendship between Venezuela and the people of Guyana itself."

### BELOW IS THE FULL STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE VENEZUELAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela categorically rejects the sounding tenor and false statements issued in the News of the new Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana dated 7 June that constitutes a provocation and threatens the Bolivarian peace diplomacy.

It is unacceptable that the new Government of Guyana assume this position with a territory that is subject to controversy, and is also expressly recognized that this sea area is subject to the amicable settlement of the territorial claims, as envisaged in the Geneva Agreement.

The territorial dispute between Venezuela and Guyana dates back more than a century when the product of colonial and imperial compromises, emptied our country of a vast territory subject since then to claim. This illegality of origin, Venezuela maintains its position to consider null and void the Arbitral Award of 1899, and calls on the new Government of Guyana to stay in the regulatory framework of the Geneva Agreement.

Venezuela regrets that an administrative rule directed to organize, with the assistance of the new technologies of information, daily supervision and maritime security within the framework of its unlimited jurisdiction and constitutional exercise which nothing can affect the Cooperative Republic of Guyana – will be exploited to shock and try to create an artificial crisis, inventing irrational situations against a brother country like Venezuela, using a highly offensive language.

The only appropriate channels to resolve this dispute are those of International Law, the Geneva Agreement and continue the Good Officer mechanism under the figure of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

It is an offense to the libertarian tradition of the people of Simon Bolivar to consider imperial language that Venezuela is a threat to the region, when it was reflected in the recent Summit of the Americas, the unanimous recognition and support of the fraternal peoples of the Venezuelan foreign policy of peace and solidarity.

It weighs note that the unique and surprising aggression is that the government of Guyana has allowed such a powerful transnational as Exxon Mobil to venture into disputed territory between the two countries, which in no way seeks to address the right to development of Guyana.

It is imperative to remember that thanks to the eternal Commander Hugo Chavez, various programs of cooperation, solidarity and brotherhood such as PETROCARIBE, for stability and energy security of the region, were implemented. This policy has been of great impact and success for true prosperity of our brother Guyanese people, and President Nicolas Maduro and has been continued. The new Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana exhibits a dangerous policy of provocation against the Bolivarian Venezuela of peace, supported by the imperial power of a US multinational, Exxon Mobil, which must be rectified in the short term.

This unfriendly policy of provocation will be defeated by the force of reality imposed by the foreign policy of peace and friendship between Venezuela and the people of Guyana itself. The Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reiterates its desire for peace feelings and the brotherly people of Guyana, and reaffirms the invitation to his foreign minister to an early meeting so through political dialogue between brothers, continue along the path of cooperation and overcoming the historical dispute, which had its genesis in fraudulent actions of former colonial powers against Venezuela.





**Annex 94**

“Venezuela urges Guyana to enforce Treaty of Geneva on territorial dispute”, *Caribflame*  
(11 June 2015)





# Venezuela urges Guyana to enforce Treaty of Geneva on territorial dispute

NEWS

JUNE  
11,  
2015

Venezuelan Foreign Minister, Delcy Rodriguez/Photo: Hoy Venezuela

On Tuesday, Venezuelan Foreign Minister, Delcy Rodriguez announced at a press conference the position of Venezuela regarding the recent statement by the Government of Guyana about the territorial dispute after the discovery of oil deposits by transnational company Exxon Mobil.

“Venezuela maintains its position to consider null and void the Treaty of Washington of 1899 and calls on the government of Guyana to stay in the regulatory framework of the Treaty of Geneva (1966),” said the statement read by Rodriguez at the Foreign Ministry.

The Geneva Accord was signed on February 17, 1966 by the governments of Venezuela and the United Kingdom of Great Britain in consultation with the Government of British Guiana and establishes the creation of a joint commission to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana.

Rodriguez rejected the strong language of the Guyanese letter and stressed that the only channel to resolve this dispute is through dialogue. She added that this attack ignores the culture of peace of the Venezuelan people recognized at the Summit of the Americas, held in April in Panama.

“The unique and surprising aggression, is that the government of Guyana has allowed a powerful transnational as Exxon Mobil to venture into disputed territory between two countries, which in no way seeks to undermine the right to development of Guyana”, says the statement of Venezuela which urged the Republic of Guyana to rectify its action promptly.

“It is an offense to the libertarian tradition of the people of Simon Bolivar to consider, with a clear imperialist approach, that Venezuela is a threat to the region, when, it was set out in the recent Summit of the Americas the unanimous recognition and support of the brotherly peoples for Venezuelan foreign policy of peace and solidarity,” said Rodriguez on behalf of the Government of Venezuela.

The communiqué insists on “continuing along the path of dialogue” and calls for an early meeting with the representatives of Guyana.

Following is the full statement issued by the Venezuelan Foreign Ministry:

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela categorically rejects the sounding tenor and false statements issued by the new Government of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana dated 7 June that constitutes a provocation and threatens the Bolivarian peace diplomacy.

It is unacceptable that the new Government of Guyana takes this position with a territory that is subject to controversy, and who has also expressly recognized that this area of the sea is subject to an amicable settlement of territorial claims, as envisaged in the Treaty of Geneva.

The territorial dispute between Venezuela and Guyana began more than a century ago, when as a result of colonial and imperialist shady deals, our country was emptied of a vast territory, since then, subject of a claim. From this illegality of origin, Venezuela maintains its position to consider null and void the Arbitral Award of 1899, and calls on the new Government of Guyana to stay in the regulatory framework of the Geneva Agreement.

Venezuela regrets that an administrative rule directed to organize, with the assistance of the new technologies of information, daily supervision and maritime security within the framework of its full jurisdiction and constitutional exercise –which can not affect the Co-operative Republic of Guyana– is intended to shock and create an artificial crisis, inventing irrational situations against a brother country like Venezuela, using a highly offensive language.

The only appropriate channels to resolve this dispute are those of International Law, the Geneva Agreement and to continue with the Good Officer mechanism under the figure of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

It is an offense to the libertarian tradition of the people of Simon Bolivar to consider, with a clear imperialist approach, that Venezuela is a threat to the region, when, it was set out in the recent Summit of the Americas the unanimous recognition and support of the brotherly peoples for Venezuelan foreign policy of peace and solidarity.

It is sad to observe that the unique and surprising aggression, is that the government of Guyana has allowed such a powerful transnational as Exxon Mobil venture into disputed territory between the two countries, which in no way seeks to undermine the right to development of Guyana.

It is imperative to remember that thanks to the eternal Commander Hugo Chavez, programs of cooperation, solidarity and brotherhood such as PETROCARIBE, have been implemented for the stability and energy security of the region. This policy –President Nicolas Maduro has followed– putting into practice humanistic sublime principles to the people of Guyana, has been of great impact and success for true prosperity of our brother Guyanese people.

The new Government of Guyana exhibits a dangerous policy of provocation against the peaceful Venezuela, supported by the imperial power of a US multinational, Exxon Mobil, which must be rectified in the short term.

This unfriendly policy of provocation will be defeated by the force of reality imposed by the foreign policy of peace and friendship between Venezuela and the people of Guyana.

The Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela reiterates its desire for peace to the brotherly people of Guyana, and reaffirms the invitation to his foreign minister to an early meeting so through political dialogue between brothers, to continue along the path of cooperation and overcoming the historical dispute, which had its genesis in fraudulent actions of former colonial powers against Venezuela.

Source/AVN

CF/IC



**Annex 95**

*Letter* from the Minister of the People's Power for External Relations of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana (19 June 2015)





No: 2/7/2

NON OFFICIAL TRANSLATIONCaracas, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2015

Excellency,

Please allow me the honor of reaffirming the good faith and mutual understanding that comprise our historical friendship through a warm Latin American and Caribbean greeting, in response to the communication you sent on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2015.

In this regard, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela wishes to reiterate that international law, in particularly the Geneva Agreement signed by our two nations on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1966 in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, has authority over this territorial dispute.

Furthermore, Venezuela maintains its historical and legal position regarding the fraudulent, null and void 1899 Arbitration Award, as well as the instruments deriving therefrom, in conformity with the legal principle of *Nullum quod est nullum efectum producit*, as stated in the Geneva Agreement of 17<sup>th</sup> February 1966, fully in force and signed by the United Kingdom, British Guyana and the Republic of Venezuela, and also validated by the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, registered under number I-8192 and dated 5<sup>th</sup> May 1966 in the General Secretariat of the United Nations.

Accordingly, the Geneva Agreement continues to be implemented by the Secretary General of the United Nations through his high representatives who exercise the Good Offices that derive from the aforementioned Agreement.

His Excellency  
**Carl B. Greenidge**  
**Minister of Foreign Affairs**  
**Cooperative Republic of Guyana**

Excellency, our previous Official Note I.DMN 000429, dated 4<sup>th</sup> March 2015, clearly stated that "the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana has been deliberately maintaining an inconsistent attitude, without any basis, with the intention of evading its obligations under an international treaty, specifically the 1966 Geneva Agreement, which is valid and binding on both parties".

In this regard, Excellency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, we reiterate a new call to restore as soon as possible, without reservation or hesitation, the peaceful, legitimate and legal status of the Good Offices of the Secretary General of the United Nations as a valid and effective means to resolve bilaterally and amicably this territorial dispute, in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 17<sup>th</sup> February 1966.

Reiterating our permanent friendship and ongoing willingness to strengthen our peaceful and historical bilateral relations, without the interference of disturbing factors, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew assurances of my highest esteem and consideration.

**Delcy Rodríguez Gómez**  
**Minister**



*La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
Relaciones Exteriores  
de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*

FTU: 2/2/4

000254

Caracas, 19 de junio de 2015

Excelencia,

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a Usted, en la oportunidad de reafirmar nuestra buena fe y entendimiento al invocar nuestra histórica amistad con un cordial saludo Latinoamericano y Caribeño, al tiempo de dar respuesta a su comunicación de fecha 13 de junio de 2015.

Sobre el particular, la República Bolivariana Venezuela se ve obligada a reiterar que la legalidad internacional rige esta controversia territorial cuyo marco jurídico vigente no es otro que el Acuerdo de Ginebra, suscrito entre las partes el 17 de febrero de 1966, conforme a la Carta de las Naciones Unidas.

Asimismo, Venezuela mantiene su posición histórica y jurídica acerca del fraudulento, nulo e írrito Laudo Arbitral de 1899, así como de sus actos derivados conforme a la máxima jurídica *Nullum quod est nullum effectum producit*, tal y como consta en los fundamentos previos del plenamente vigente Acuerdo de Ginebra del 17 de febrero de 1966, suscrito por el Reino Unido, Guayana Británica y la República de Venezuela, habiendo sido también convalidado por la República Cooperativa de Guyana, el cual está registrado bajo el N° I-8192 del 05 de mayo de 1966, en la Secretaría General de las Naciones Unidas.

En este sentido, el Acuerdo de Ginebra ha venido siendo aplicado mediante la actividad del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas bajo la figura de los altos representantes para ejercer los Buenos Oficios derivados del Acuerdo.

Al Excelentísimo Señor  
**Carl B. Greenidge**  
**Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores**  
**República Cooperativa de Guyana**  
Georgetown.-





*La Ministra del Poder Popular para  
Relaciones Exteriores  
de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*

Excelencia, en nuestra anterior Nota I.DMN 000429 del 04 de marzo de 2015, se puntualizó claramente que “el Gobierno de la República Cooperativa de Guyana ha venido sosteniendo de manera deliberada una actitud inconsistente, sin fundamento alguno, con la intención de sustraerse de las obligaciones asumidas en un Tratado Internacional como es el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966, válido y obligatorio para las partes que lo suscribieron”.

En este sentido, Excelentísimo Canciller, le reiteramos un nuevo llamado para reestablecer a la brevedad posible, sin reservas ni equívocos, el pacífico, legítimo y legal método de los Buenos Oficios del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas como medio válido y vigente para asumir de manera bilateral y en forma amistosa la controversia territorial, conforme al Acuerdo de Ginebra del 17 de febrero de 1966.

Al reiterarle nuestra permanente disposición y amistad para el fortalecimiento de las pacíficas e históricas relaciones bilaterales, sin la intervención de factores perturbadores, hago propicia la ocasión para reiterarle las seguridades de nuestra más alta estima y consideración.



**Delcy Rodríguez Gómez**  
Ministra

**Annex 96**

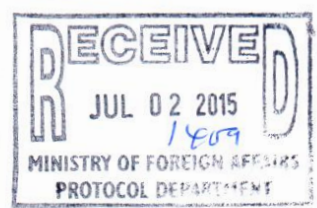
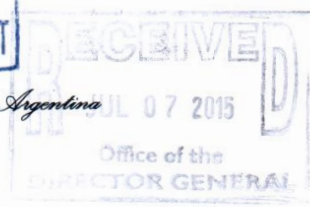
*Note Verbale* from the Embassy of the Argentine Republic in Guyana to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana, No. 56/2015 (2 July 2015)



*Fid: 2/7/2*



*Embajada de la República Argentina  
Georgetown*



Note: MFA  
Nº: 56/2015

The EMBASSY OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC presents its compliments to the MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Office of the Minister—and with reference to the Ministry’s NOTE 739/2015, has the honour to forward a copy of a letter addressed to His Excellency Brigadier David Arthur Granger, President of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, from Her Excellency Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, President of the Argentine Republic.

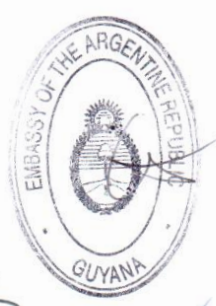
The Embassy kindly requests the good offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Guyana to forward the aforementioned letter to its higher destination. The original copy of the letter will be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon receipt.

The EMBASSY OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC reiterates to the MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Office of the Minister - the assurances of its highest consideration.

Georgetown, July 2, 2015 **URGENT**

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
-Office of the Minister-  
GEORGETOWN

*Pls forward to DL*



*Dir (ag) FID  
Pls see letter's translation attached. kindly forward for URGENT to H.E. Healy,  
Pls translate attached*



*Presidenta de la Nación Argentina*

**BUENOS AIRES, 29 JUNIO DE 2015.**

*Tengo el agrado de dirigirme a usted con relación a su atenta carta fechada 10 de junio de 2015, en la que expresa su preocupación respecto del contenido del Decreto 1787, sancionado por la República Bolivariana de Venezuela el 26 de mayo ppdo.*

*Sobre el particular, le expreso que mi Gobierno alienta un diálogo fraterno y constructivo entre ambos países que preserve la paz regional, la seguridad internacional, el respeto mutuo y la solución pacífica de los conflictos, en el marco de lo establecido por las normas del derecho internacional.*

*En este contexto, la República Argentina manifiesta su apoyo a seguir explorando distintas instancias de negociación y mecanismos institucionales que faciliten la superación de esta situación, para lo cual resulta relevante, entre otras cosas, el nombramiento de un nuevo Representante Personal del Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas, cargo vacante desde junio de 2014*

*Como siempre le reitero mi más alta estima y consideración.*

**Atentamente.**

**Señor  
Presidente de la  
República Cooperativa de Guyana  
Brigadier DAVID A. GRANGER  
S/D**



**UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION**

**Office of the President of the Argentine Nation**

**Buenos Aires, June 29, 2015**

I am pleased to address you in relation to your letter dated June 10, 2015 , in which you expressed your concern with regard to the content of Decree 1787, issued by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela last May 26.

In this regard, I wish to indicate that my Government encourages fraternal and constructive dialogue between both countries which preserves regional peace, international security, mutual respect and the peaceful solution of conflicts, in the framework of what is established by the norms of international law.

In this context, the Republic of Argentina wishes to express its support for the continued exploration of different bodies for negotiation and institutional mechanisms which would allow for the overcoming of this situation, and it is therefore appropriate, among others, that a new Personal Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations be designated, a position which has been vacant since June 2004.

As always, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

H.E. Brigadier David A. Granger  
President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana



**Annex 97**

“New Venezuelan decree doesn’t remove old claims – Granger”, *Guyana Times* (9 July 2015)



FRO. 24/1/13

## New Venezuelan decree doesn't remove old claims – Granger

July 9, 2015 By [GuyanaTimes](#)



President David Granger

### *Maritime border controversy*

Guyana's President, David Granger, has stated that while he was successful in getting Venezuela to withdraw the illegal decree numbered 1787, he was still not satisfied since the replacement proclamation still made claims on Guyana's territory.

President Granger said he has been working tirelessly over the past weeks to have the controversial decree removed, which was done on Monday by Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro. However, the controversial decree was replaced with another proclamation and, according to Granger, the new proclamation did not remove the neighbouring country's illegal claim on Guyana's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

"So we worked hard with our colleagues to call for the revocation of the decree and that was successful. But what President Maduro has announced does not necessarily satisfy our demands. We wanted a complete revocation of the decree and he simply erased the lines, but he has maintained the claims to a large portion of Guyana's EEZ. We will continue working in different forums around the world to have the decree fully withdrawn," he pointed out.

The new dictum does not have any defining coordinates, a Venezuelan news entity reported. It purports to support and justify the actions of the Bolivarian National Armed

“So I can understand the disappointment on the part of the President of Venezuela, but we would like to call on him to revoke the decree completely in its entirety and we would like to have normal diplomatic relations with Venezuela, so we would like to ask that the Ambassador remain. Don’t think the Ambassador has removed as yet. It’s better to talk about these issues rather for there to be complete silence and suspicion, so once the Ambassador is here, we can continue talking,” he outlined.

On Monday, the Venezuelan Head of State told the National Assembly that he was recalling the country’s ambassador to Guyana, Reina Margarita Arratia Diaz. However, *Guyana Times* was told that the diplomat was not given any formal order to return home and as such she remained here.

In fact, when this newspaper visited the Embassy’s office on Thomas Street, Georgetown, the diplomat was hosting a reception to celebrate Venezuela’s 204th Independence Day anniversary, which was on July 5. The seemingly intimate reception had a small gathering of mostly Venezuelan guests as well as a few members of other foreign missionaries in Guyana.

**Annex 98**

*Letter* from the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Secretary-General of United Nations (9 July 2015)





Bolivariano | Relaciones Exteriores | Pueblo Victorioso

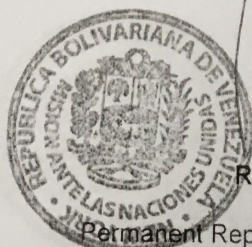
No. 0444

New York, 13 July 2015

**Permanent Missions and  
Permanent Observer Missions  
to the United Nations**  
New York.-

The Permanent Mission of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the United Nations presents its compliments to Permanent Missions and Permanent Observer Missions accredited to the United Nations and has the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a letter, and its translation, dated 09 June 2015 from H.E. Mr. Nicolás Maduro Moros, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-moon, Secretary General of the United Nations, concerning the territorial controversy between Venezuela and Guyana.

The Permanent Mission of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Missions and Permanent Observer Missions accredited to the United Nations the assurances of its highest esteem and consideration.



**Rafael Ramírez**  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of the Bolivarian  
Republic of Venezuela to the United Nations

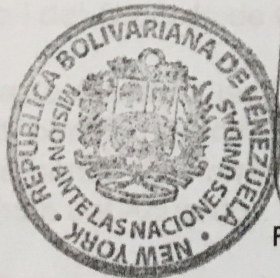
No. 0444

Nueva York, 13 de julio de 2015

**A todas las Misiones Permanentes y  
Misiones Permanentes de Observación ante las  
Naciones Unidas  
Nueva York.-**

La Misión Permanente de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela ante las Naciones Unidas saluda a todas las Misiones Permanentes y Misiones Permanentes de Observación acreditadas en las Naciones Unidas, en la oportunidad de transmitir, como documento adjunto, copia de una carta de fecha 09 de julio del 2015, del Presidente de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela Nicolás Maduro Moros, dirigida al Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas Ban Ki-moon, referente a la controversia limítrofe entre Venezuela y Guyana.

En este sentido, la Misión Permanente de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela ante las Naciones Unidas reitera a las Misiones Permanentes y Misiones Permanentes de Observación acreditadas en las Naciones Unidas las seguridades de su más alta estima y distinguida consideración.



**Rafael Ramírez**  
Ambassador

Permanent Representative of the Bolivarian  
Republic of Venezuela to the United Nations



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS  
PRESIDENTE DE LA  
REPUBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

Caracas, 09 de julio de 2015

Excelentísimo Señor

**Ban Ki-moon**

**Secretario General**

**de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU)**

Nueva York.-

Tengo el honor de dirigirme a Usted, conforme a los propósitos y principios de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas y el Derecho Internacional Público, y rescatando los valores supremos de la paz y la humanidad, con el objetivo de llamar su atención con respecto al cumplimiento efectivo del Acuerdo de Ginebra de 17 de febrero de 1966, suscrito y ratificado por los Gobiernos de la República de Venezuela, del Reino Unido de la Gran Bretaña e Irlanda del Norte, y del Gobierno de la Guayana Británica, hoy República Cooperativa de Guyana, para resolver la controversia territorial como consecuencia de la contención venezolana de que el Laudo Arbitral de 1899 es nulo e írrito (artículo I del Acuerdo de Ginebra).

En este Acuerdo, las Partes reconocieron que la controversia territorial pendiente entre Venezuela y Guyana, debe resolverse amistosamente en forma que resulte aceptable para ambas (Preámbulo del Acuerdo).

Como es del conocimiento público, el nuevo gobierno de Guyana ha ignorado, cuando no desconocido, la vigencia del Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966, mostrando una actitud contumaz y ambivalente e infligido serias y graves ofensas a mi país y a mi



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS  
PRESIDENTE DE LA  
REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

pueblo; por lo que, acudo a su alta investidura para que inicie el procedimiento de la designación del Buen Oficiante.

Dado que el nombramiento de un Buen Oficiante es un método adecuado para avanzar en la solución pacífica de esta controversia territorial, conforme a lo previsto en el Artículo IV.2 del Acuerdo de Ginebra, a partir de 1987, las Partes así lo solicitaron, dando lugar a la actuación del Buen Oficiante Oliver Jackman hasta 2009, cuando debido a su fallecimiento, presentaron nueva petición conjunta. Por lo que en 2010, esta Secretaría General designó al Profesor Norman Girvan como su Representante Personal, quien gestionó en la búsqueda de un arreglo hasta su lamentable fallecimiento en 2014. Esta circunstancia dejó un vacío que hasta ahora no se ha podido cubrir, a pesar de la insistencia de Venezuela.

Venezuela tiene la certeza que la asistencia del Buen Oficiante debe reunir, como los anteriores, grandes atributos éticos, profunda especialización académica, consubstanciación con la cultura y el momento histórico que vive nuestra región y conocimiento del asunto confiado, lo que contribuirá a que el proceso de negociación entre ambos países, avance hacia una solución pacífica, como lo establece el artículo 33 de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas y el Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966.

Debo reiterar que, cuando la República Cooperativa de Guyana obtuvo su independencia, Venezuela, al reconocer al nuevo Estado el 26 de mayo de 1966, expresó una reserva puntualizando que dicho reconocimiento:

***“...no implica por parte de nuestro país renuncia o disminución de los derechos territoriales reclamados, ni de ninguna manera afecta los derechos de***



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS  
PRESIDENTE DE LA  
REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

*soberanía que se desprenden de la reclamación surgida de la contención venezolana de que el llamado Laudo Arbitral de París de 1899 sobre la frontera entre Venezuela y la Guayana Británica, es nulo e irrito... En consecuencia, el territorio de la Guayana Esequiba sobre el cual Venezuela se reserva expresamente sus derechos soberanos limita al Este con el nuevo Estado de Guyana a través de la línea del río Esequibo, tomado éste desde su nacimiento hasta su desembocadura en el Océano Atlántico..."*

Como Jefe de Estado me veo obligado, en defensa de los derechos de Venezuela, a llamar su atención acerca del comportamiento de Guyana que ha pretendido disponer de manera unilateral, sin notificación, ni menos convención alguna, sobre vastas extensiones del territorio en controversia, tanto terrestre, como marítimo, en desmedro de la reclamación sostenida por Venezuela históricamente.

Sin embargo, a pesar de estas acciones abiertamente contrarias al Acuerdo de Ginebra de 1966 y al Derecho Internacional, Venezuela sostiene que este Tratado contempla el camino idóneo para resolver la controversia territorial existente sobre un amplia parte de su territorio que le fue despojado fraudulentamente con el Laudo Arbitral de 1899, cuya contención precisamente da origen al Acuerdo de Ginebra en pleno vigor.

Por consiguiente, consecuente con el legado histórico del Libertador Simón Bolívar y apegados a la diplomacia de paz, cooperación, integración y unión de los pueblos, estandartes de Venezuela, le solicito respetuosamente en su condición de Secretario General que, en ejercicio de la facultad que le confiere el artículo IV.2 del Acuerdo de Ginebra, inicie el procedimiento



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS  
PRESIDENTE DE LA  
REPÚBLICA BOLIVARIANA DE VENEZUELA

para la designación del Buen Oficiante, a fin de avanzar, conforme a dicho Acuerdo, en las negociaciones bilaterales para el arreglo práctico y jurídico de la controversia en términos aceptables para ambas Partes.

Secretario General, la construcción de un mundo de paz y justicia se basa en la consolidación del sistema mundial de respeto a la soberanía e igualdad entre los estados. Nuestro país es un firme defensor de estos postulados. Estamos seguros que trabajando conjuntamente podremos seguir consolidando un sistema mundial más justo. Le reitero mis saludos de alta estima y consideración.



*Nicolás Maduro Moros*  
**Nicolás Maduro Moros**

**NON-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION**

Caracas, 09 July 2015

**H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-moon**  
**Secretary-General**  
**United Nations**  
New York. -

I have the honor to address Your Excellency, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and International Law, and rescuing the supreme values of peace and humanity, in order to get your attention regarding the full compliance of the Geneva Agreement of 17 February 1966, signed and ratified by the Governments of the Republic of Venezuela, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of British Guyana, currently the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, to resolve the territorial controversy resulting from the Venezuelan contention that claims Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void (Article I of the Geneva Agreement).

In this Agreement, the Parties acknowledged that the pending territorial dispute between Venezuela and Guyana must be solved in an amicable manner acceptable to both parties (Preamble of the Agreement)

As it is well known, the new Government of Guyana has disowned, if not disregarded, the validity of the Geneva Agreement of 1966, by showing a contumacious and ambivalent attitude, and has inflicted serious affronts against my country and my people. Thus, I resort to your high office to commence the process of appointing a Good Officer.

Since the appointment of a Good Officer is an appropriate method for advancing towards a peaceful settlement of the territorial dispute, as provided in Article IV.2 of the Geneva Agreement, since 1987, the Parties so requested it, giving place to the acting of the Good Officer Oliver Jackman until 2009, when due to his death, the new joint request was submitted. Therefore, in 2010, the General Secretariat appointed Professor Norman Girvan as the Personal Representative, who arranged the search for a settlement until his unfortunate decease in 2014. This circumstance left a void that until now has not been filled, in spite of the insistence of Venezuela.

Currently, since the method of the good officer has not been exhausted, the appropriate course of action is to urge the Secretary-General of the United Nations to exercise the jurisdiction invested in him by the parties in the Geneva Agreement and nominate a new Good Officer, including the possibilities of historical research as a means to help the better performance of his good offices and assistance in the negotiations towards achieving a peaceful and acceptable settlement for both parties, which is the object and purpose of the Geneva Agreement.

Venezuela is confident that the assistance of the Good Officer must gather as the previous officers', deep academic specialization, consubstantiation with culture and historic moment in our region and knowledge of the subject matter commissioned to him, which will enable the negotiating process between the countries to advance to a peaceful solution as provided in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Agreement of 1966.



I must reiterate that, when the Co-operative Republic of Guyana became independent, Venezuela expressed a reservation once it recognized the new State on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1966 by mentioning that said recognition:

***“...does not imply on the part of our country waiver or reduction of the claimed territorial rights, nor in any manner does it affect the sovereign rights which emerge from the claim risen by the Venezuelan contention that the so-called 1899 Paris Arbitral Award about the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary is null and void... Therefore, the Guyana-Essequibo territory over which Venezuela expressly reserves its sovereign rights, limits on the east by the new State of Guyana, through the middle line of the Essequibo River, beginning from its source and on to its mouth in the Atlantic Ocean...”***

As Head of State, and in defense of Venezuela's rights, I feel compelled to draw your attention to the fact that Guyana's actions are aimed at disposing of vast portions of the land and maritime territory in dispute, in a one-sided manner, without prior notice or convention, and at the expense of a claim which has been historically held by Venezuela.

Nonetheless, in spite of these actions which openly contradict the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and international law, Venezuela maintains that said treaty represents the most logical path to solve the current territorial controversy over a vast region of its territory, which was fraudulently stripped with the aid of the Paris Arbitral Award of 1899, whose containment led to the Geneva Agreement, still in force.

Consequently, consistent with the historical legacy of Liberator Simon Bolivar and attached to the concept of diplomacy for peace, cooperation, integration and union of the peoples, which are symbols of Venezuela, I herewith respectfully request to you, as Secretary General, to initiate the process of appointing a Good Officer, in accordance with Article IV.2 of the Geneva Agreement, in order to advance through bilateral negotiations and reach a practical and legal arrangement to the controversy in acceptable terms to both Parties.

Mr. Secretary-General, the construction of a world of peace and justice is founded in the consolidation of a worldwide system of respect for sovereignty and equality among our States. Our country is a fervent advocate of these premises. We rest assured that our joint efforts shall continue to strengthen an increasingly just world system. Please accept the assurances of my highest esteem and consideration.

**Nicolás Maduro Moros**

**Annex 99**

*Address of the President of the Republic of Guyana to the U.N. General Assembly, 70th Session,  
U.N. Doc. A/70/PV.16 (29 Sept. 2015)*



United Nations

A/70/PV.16



# General Assembly

Seventieth session

## 16<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting

Tuesday, 29 September 2015, 9 a.m.

New York

Official Records

*President:* Mr. Lykketoft . . . . . (Denmark)

*The meeting was called to order at 9.05 a.m.*

### Address by Mr. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Rwanda.

*Mr. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Kagame:** The adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (resolution 70/1) marks a new era in international cooperation. Ending extreme poverty was never going to be enough to fulfil our ambitions. This new compact is about prosperity, and it recognizes that the only sustainable future is one that includes all of us. It could hardly be otherwise. The creativity and dynamism of billions of people is already transforming our world for the better. That is thanks to improved health, education and access to new technologies and to empowering women to take their rightful place in the world.

But growth and progress also raise new challenges related to international migration, the protection of the environment and demands for good governance. For the generation to come, responding to those challenges will put the United Nations at the centre of global affairs

as never before. Cooperation is the only way forward. And yet the new consensus on sustainable development is incomplete, because it lacks a shared definition of the political legitimacy required to sustain that international order.

That divergence of visions is rooted in history. When world powers created the United Nations 70 years ago, independence for the colonized peoples of Africa and Asia was not on the agenda. We were still seen as people who needed to be looked after. Those moral hierarchies and prejudices are still with us, contributing to the mismanagement of political change and corroding the trust on which effective multilateral cooperation depends.

The internal character of national systems counts for everything. It cannot be bypassed. Political legitimacy is not a legal abstraction. It is an objective reality that can be measured, for example, in terms of progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as in terms of indicators of public opinion. We face serious challenges that we must confront together as an international community. We cannot afford to undermine the most responsible and capable members by applying standards to some countries that are not applied to others, and even by imposing inappropriate ones.

To take just one example, international refugee law has barely been a factor in the current crisis, as if the purpose all along was more to keep refugees encamped far from developed countries than to protect the rights of people fleeing persecution. In other cases,

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multilateral institutions are used to gain credibility for biased attacks on countries even while scrutiny of the powerful is considered unnecessary. When matters of principle become associated with domination and disdain, the basis for joint action in the multilateral system is compromised.

We have nothing to fear from high standards. The only stability worth having is one based on good policies that deliver real results for citizens and facilitate peaceful change. Human dignity and even survival are implied in that. No country or system has a monopoly on wisdom, much less a claim to moral superiority. Our task is to settle the future, not the past. Change is coming, and it is necessary. No one can manage it alone, and the Sustainable Development Goals rightly recognize our mutual interdependence. We have made good commitments; now we must make good on them. Building a community with a shared purpose that is capable of doing so starts with recognition of our equality.

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Rwanda for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

#### **Address by Mr. David Arthur Granger, President of the Republic of Guyana**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Guyana.

*Mr. David Arthur Granger, President of the Republic of Guyana, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. David Arthur Granger, President of the Republic of Guyana, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Granger:** The Cooperative Republic of Guyana is honoured to participate in this historic session of the General Assembly. We would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election, and pledge Guyana's cooperation as you guide the Assembly in the fulfilment of its tasks. We would also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Sam Kutesa, for his stewardship in piloting the post-2015 agenda. That

process has culminated in the historic 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1). The Sustainable Development Goals it contains reflect the common consensus within the international community on the elements that are integral to human development.

The United Nations, established 70 years ago and a mere five months after the formal end of the Second World War, became the midwife of a new international order. That new order of world peace was depicted symbolically and powerfully in the form of a bronze statue on the grounds of the Headquarters of the United Nations. It embodies the vision revealed in the Holy Bible in the Book of Isaiah that states,

“And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” (*The Holy Bible, Isaiah, 4:2*)

That prophetic verse became the philosophical basis of the United Nations, which became the organizational foundation for a global order that saw the emergence of a plethora of newly independent States, a result of the decolonization process after the Second World War. In the years since its establishment, 126 States have gained their independence.

The United Nations began in 1945 with a membership of only 51 countries, but today that has almost quadrupled to 193. The majority of new States are mini-, micro- and small ones. The undemocratic and warlike empires of which they were colonies were dismantled after two world wars. These are the questions that small States ask of the United Nations on this, its seventieth anniversary: How will our peoples be protected from foreign aggression? How will our territories be safeguarded from invasion? How will peace among nations be preserved? How will the independence of the new States be sustained? The Charter of the United Nations charges our Organization with the responsibility

“to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes”.

That responsibility is essential to the existence and survival of small States that are threatened by more powerful ones. They risk being subjugated unless the international community can demonstrate a

commitment to providing an effective deterrent against their domination by larger, stronger States, and the capability to do so.

On 9 May 1994, at its forty-ninth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 49/31, which, among other things, recognizes that small States may be particularly vulnerable to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs; stresses the vital importance for all States of the unconditional respect by all States of all the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the peaceful settlement of disputes and their consistent application; also stresses the importance of strengthening regional security arrangements by increasing interaction, cooperation and consultation; appeals to the relevant regional and international organizations to provide assistance when requested by small States for the strengthening of their security in accordance with the principles of the Charter; requests the Secretary-General to continue to pay special attention to monitoring the security situation of small States and to consider making use of Article 99 of the Charter; and calls on the Security Council and other relevant organs of the United Nations to pay special attention to the protection and security of small States. That is a manifesto for small States, contained in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly 21 years ago.

Guyana is a small State and a new State, a product of the post-Second World War promise of peace. Guyana is a child of the United Nations. Eight months from now, on 26 May 2016, Guyana will mark the fiftieth anniversary of its independence. But for 50 years, our small country has been prevented from fully exploiting its rich natural resources. Venezuela has threatened and deterred investors and frustrated our economic development. For 50 years it has violated our territorial integrity by occupying part of our territory, the most recent incident in that regard being on 10 October 2013, when it sent a naval corvette into our maritime zone and expelled a peaceful petroleum-exploration vessel conducting seismic surveys. For 50 years Venezuela has promulgated decrees making spurious claims on our territory, the most recent on 26 May, our independence anniversary, when it issued decree number 1,787, containing specific coordinates that would annex almost our entire maritime zone, and

constituting a reassertion of Venezuela's claim to 5 of Guyana's 10 regions.

Guyana rejects Venezuela's threats and claims, made in defiance of international law, and we resist its acts of aggression, conducted in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, which prescribes the peaceful settlement of disputes and proscribes the use of armed force.

Guyana's borders with Venezuela were settled 116 years ago. The entire world, except the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, accepts and acknowledges our borders. In 1968, at the Assembly's twenty-third session (see A/PV.1680), Guyana explained to the world how in 1897 a treaty of arbitration was signed between the United Kingdom and Venezuela. That treaty provided for the establishment of an arbitral tribunal to determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana, as we were then, and Venezuela. It committed the parties to consider the result of the proceedings of the tribunal of arbitration as a full, perfect and final settlement of all the questions referred to the arbitrators. The tribunal issued its decision on 3 October 1899, awarding Venezuela 13,000 square kilometres of our territory, an area bigger than Jamaica or Lebanon. Venezuela was bound under international law to respect that decision, which it did for the next six decades.

From the beginning of Guyana's independence, however, Venezuela has resorted to various stratagems to deprive us of our territory. There has been a series of acts of aggression by Presidents of Venezuela against my country, from President Raúl Leoni Otero's decree number 1,152 of 15 June 1968 to President Nicolás Maduro Moro's of 26 May of this year. Venezuela — more than four times the size of Guyana, with armed forces that are more than 40 times the size of our defence force — mindful of its superior wealth and military strength, but unmindful of its obligation as a Member of the United Nations, the Union of South American Nations and the Organization of American States, has pursued a path of intimidation and aggression. It is unsettling a settled border. It is destabilizing a stable region of the globe by the use of armed force against a small, peaceful State. Venezuela has retarded Guyana's development through its use of threats that are intended to force a small State to yield up its birthright. Its expansionist ambitions cannot be allowed to undermine the principle of the inviolability

of borders and the tenets of international law, and to redraw borders that have gone undisturbed for decades.

Guyana recommit to preserving the Caribbean as a zone of peace. Today we renew our pledge before the Assembly that we will pursue the path of peace for all time. We reaffirm our commitment to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Guyana has total confidence in international law, and seeks a resolution of this controversy that is consistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Geneva Agreement, signed on 17 February 1966, between the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela and British Guiana, as we were then, provides for action to be taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order to resolve any contention occasioned by the claim made by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela that the arbitral award of 1899 is null and void. Guyana has full confidence in the judgement and capacity of the United Nations, through the Office of the Secretary-General, to identify solutions that will validate the just, perfect and final nature of its decision. We thank the United Nations and the Secretary-General for appointing various officials during the past 25 years to use their good offices to help to resolve this controversy. We feel, however, that the process has now been exhausted.

Guyana does not want this obnoxious territorial claim to obscure our country's prospects for peace and obstruct its potential growth for the next 50 years. We need a permanent solution if we are to avoid a fate of perpetual peril and penury, and we seek a juridical settlement to the controversy. We put our faith and our fate in the hands of the international system of peace promised by the Charter of the United Nations nearly 70 years ago. We want to bring an end to Venezuelan aggression. We want to develop our country, all of our country, in accordance with international law. Guyana therefore calls on the United Nations to give real meaning to resolution 49/31 of 9 May 1994 by establishing a collective security system designed not merely to monitor but also, more importantly, to maintain the security of small States. That resolution, as I said, is a manifesto for the security of small States.

The United Nations remains our best hope and prospect for peace, the best assurance of security for small States. It is our strength, support and succour in times of danger. We pledge Guyana's adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. Guyana seeks

nothing more than the solidarity of the international community, the assurance of the Charter and the safety of international law.

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Guyana for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. David Arthur Granger, President of the Republic of Guyana, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Hage Geingob, President of the Republic of Namibia**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Namibia.

*Mr. Hage Geingob, President of the Republic of Namibia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Hage G. Geingob, President of the Republic of Namibia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Geingob:** I am honoured to be here today to deliver my maiden address to the General Assembly as the third President of the Republic of Namibia. I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its seventieth session. In the same vein, let me take this opportunity to thank the outgoing President, His Excellency Mr. Sam Kutesa, for the sterling job he did during his tenure as President of the General Assembly at its sixty-ninth session.

As I arrived at this building, I could not help but experience a strong sense of nostalgia. It has been said that a journey of 1,000 miles begins with one step. In 1964, 51 years ago, standing at the foot of the steps to this building, I began my 1,000-mile journey, starting off as a young petitioner for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) against the illegal occupation of South West Africa by apartheid South Africa. On 23 April 1990, I returned to address the Assembly as the first Prime Minister of an independent Namibia during the admission of our young nation into the fold of the United Nations family (see A/S-18/PV.1). Today, 25 years after that moment, I am once again standing in this building, having ascended to the presidency of our Republic. It is therefore a great joy to



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be present at the seventieth anniversary celebrations of our Organization.

Namibia is a child of international solidarity, midwifed by the United Nations. As Namibians, we are both grateful for and proud of the support we received from the international community, through the United Nations system, during our struggle for independence. In fact, if I can illustrate our close bond with the United Nations, in 1990, upon attaining independence, we refused to allow the instruments of power to be handed over to our first President, Comrade Sam Nujoma, by the then President of South Africa, Mr. De Klerk. We demanded that the said instruments be handed over by Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who in so doing symbolized the birth of our Republic.

After the termination of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, the United Nations assumed direct responsibility over Namibia. Furthermore, it established the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, which was meant to prepare the country for independence and future responsibilities. Through the United Nations Institute for Namibia, established by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which I was tasked to head from 1975 to 1989, we were able to develop the building blocks that we would use to construct our democracy. There is an African proverb which says that a patient man will eat ripe fruit. With the assistance of the United Nations, we exercised patience in preparing for self-governance. Today, I can proudly announce to the world that in Namibia, after having fought to free ourselves, we are now eating the ripe fruit of peace and democracy.

As an expression of our profound gratitude to the international community for its solidarity with our people and our undying commitment to international peace and security, we have continued to make our modest contribution to United Nations peacekeeping operations since our independence. Among other things, we have contributed contingents to peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Angola, Liberia, Darfur, Côte d'Ivoire, Timor-Leste and South Sudan, in which our men and women participated.

As we celebrate 70 years of the existence of this great experiment in human interaction, namely, our United Nations, there is a lot of which we can be proud. Although the world has not been as peaceful as we would like, we can take solace in the fact that since the Second World War, we have avoided a conflict of such

magnitude and intensity. Most important are the inroads we have made into improving the conditions of human beings on this planet by lifting millions out of extreme poverty, empowering women, advancing human rights, and spearheading the process of decolonization, which has been completed with only one exception — that of Sahrawi.

We hail from a continent whose leaders are busy addressing new goals and new commitments under the banner of the African Union. We are in the process of establishing the new Africa, with its own narrative as told by its sons and daughters. Africa has turned a new leaf, bidding farewell to the days of coups d'état and embracing electoral democracy. We as Africans, through the African Union, have ostracized those who have come to office through unlawful ways. The recent coup in Burkina Faso is an example of our zero-tolerance policy towards those who come to power through illegal ways.

Having achieved electoral democracy, it is pertinent that we buttress it by establishing processes, systems and institutions. When we talk about processes, we are referring mainly to electoral processes, in which electoral commissions need to be independent, impartial and able to instil confidence in the electorate. This will ensure that those who lose at the polls accept the results. In so doing, we can bring to an end a situation where those who lose at the polls feel left out and defeated and therefore choose to wage war.

With respect to systems, we talk about Government systems that continue to function through the civil service even though there may be a political deadlock within a particular country. If all else fails, then institutions, such as our own courts, play their part. This is what we have in Namibia. It is clear, therefore, that we have put sound governance architecture in place. With regard to effective governance, our track record speaks volumes. We are rated, *inter alia*, sixth overall as the best-governed country on the African continent by the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, rated seventh in Africa as a clean country in terms of corruption by Transparency International, and ranked as a country with the freest press in Africa by Reporters without Borders.

Similarly, our macroeconomic architecture is admirable. It is underpinned by financial stability evident in our world-class banking system — a sector ranked twenty-fifth in the world by the World Economic

Forum—and well regulated through a prudent monetary policy for the past 25 years. Both Fitch and Standard and Poors, the globally recognized rating experts on a country's financial stability, have consistently rated Namibia with a BBB+, which means that we are indeed a credit-worthy country. Our debt stock is between 25 per cent and 30 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP). Clearly, at the level of governance, Namibia by all local and international standards has been doing quite well as a maturing, stable, peaceful and democratic society.

However, we should understand that electoral democracy without economic democracy is meaningless, because people do not eat peace, security, good constitutions and democracy. We still face the challenge of rectifying socioeconomic deficits and the subsequent entrenched poverty caused by many years of deliberately orchestrated policies of the historic neglect and economic exclusion of black people. That situation has proven resilient against the conventional anti-poverty strategies we have employed for the past 25 years, meaning that we have to become more innovative in our approach in that area. We are still faced with enormous social disparities between the rich and the poor. Among other notable concerns is the critical shortage of housing and other basic necessities. For that reason, on the day of my inauguration as President of Namibia on 21 March, I announced to my countrymen and women and to the world at large that the Namibian Government was declaring an all-out war on poverty.

The distribution of wealth is one of today's most widely discussed and controversial issues. However, the distribution of wealth is too important an issue to be left to economists at international financial institutions. It is for that reason that Namibia continues to advise caution against the arbitrary classification of countries based on income alone. The current approach developed by international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and subsequently adopted by the United Nations, to classify countries based solely on GDP does not reflect justice and fairness. That approach, which simply divides GDP by population, completely ignores inequalities in the distribution of wealth and opportunities and comes with adverse effects on social mobility and progress.

Namibia has been one of the casualties of that approach, as it has been wrongly classified as a so-called upper-middle-income country without taking into account that, due to Apartheid, the economic

wealth of the country remained in the hands of the minority white population, leaving blacks on the fringes of the economy. Instead of the international community assisting us in fighting the second phase of the struggle, we feel as if we have been left to fend for ourselves since the aforementioned classification effectively denies Namibia access to grants and concessional loans to support our development agenda.

One cannot build a nation when some citizens do not participate in the economy and therefore feel left out. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen rightly states that poverty should be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as low income. The deprivation of elementary capabilities can be reflected in premature mortality; significant undernourishment, especially of children; persistent morbidity; widespread illiteracy and other failures. We can therefore see that the effects of poverty are so interrelated that those among us who have the misfortune of being poor are trapped in perpetual cycles of poverty and despair.

Further to the issue of poverty eradication, I would like to add that one of the most impactful interventions we can make in the war against poverty is by empowering women, who, although representing half of the world's population, account for nearly 70 per cent of the world's poor. In Namibia, gender equality is not merely lip service. We have benefitted from SWAPO's internal reform of its party list system to include the 50-50 per cent representation of women. Due to the SWAPO victory at the national electoral polls, female representation in our Parliament has increased from 24 per cent to 47 per cent, second only to Rwanda, which has up to 64 per cent female representation in its Parliament. I have promised that we shall catch up.

I have also appointed a Namibia's first female Prime Minister, and a female Deputy Prime Minister who also serves as our Minister for International Relations and Cooperation. She is present in the Assembly today. Furthermore, I have appointed female Ministers at the helm of our Basic and Higher Education Ministries. Both the Minister and Deputy Minister are females. What matters is educating us when we are young; we think that by placing education under their care that we will do better.

The current, reflective seventieth session of the General Assembly has charted the course for the future with the adoption, two days ago, of the new Sustainable Development Goals, which urge us all to join hands

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to build a new type of international relations based on win-win cooperation in order to realize the lofty ideals of living together in peace with one another as good neighbours. The onus is on us to ensure that this seventieth session marks the beginning of a unified commitment to establishing peace in all areas of the world. Let us ensure that no country feels left out of that process.

Human rights are not divisible; fundamental freedoms are not divisible; democracy is not divisible; self-determination is not divisible. These freedoms apply to all of us as human beings on this planet. The peoples of Palestine and Western Sahara should be allowed to enjoy their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence, just like all other people, because those rights are not divisible; they apply to all of us.

Namibia therefore reaffirms its full and unequivocal support for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and of the Western Sahara to self-determination and national independence. In that context, we call upon the United Nations to assume its full responsibility by implementing all its resolutions and decisions on Palestine with no preconditions. We equally call for the urgent implementation of all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, with the aim of holding a free and fair referendum in the Western Sahara.

There have been a number of developments on the geopolitical landscape that are encouraging in terms of a more safe and peaceful world. One of those developments is the thawing of relations between the Republic of Cuba and the United States of America. For the past 25 years, Namibia has continued to call for the United States and Cuba to walk the 15 miles of peaceful coexistence. In that regard, we applaud the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, as well as the laudable efforts of the two leaders to ease political tension. We commend both countries for realizing that their differences are best addressed through engagement rather than estrangement. However, we hope that the first step will be followed by the unconditional lifting of the embargo imposed on the people of Cuba.

Over the 70 years of its existence, the United Nations has evolved with the world as new issues and challenges have emerged. It is therefore proper for the Organization to reposition itself to deal with these

dynamic changes. Accordingly, Namibia remains committed to comprehensive United Nations reform in order to strengthen the Organization and make it more efficient and responsive to the needs of all its Members. In this regard, reforms of the United Nations system should be guided by the principles of democracy, equity, justice and fairness for all.

With respect to reform of the Security Council, Namibia fully supports the African Common Position as set forth in the Ezulwini Consensus and reaffirmed by declaration at the 25th Ordinary Summit of the African Union. The continent of Africa deserves to be fairly and equitably represented in the Security Council in order to rectify the long historical injustice endured by a continent with over 1 billion people.

As President of the eleventh Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, Namibia is of the view that we will not end poverty unless we tackle the interlinked issues of desertification, land degradation and drought. These issues are of critical importance, not only to Namibia and Africa, but for the entire world.

As we prepare to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the creation of the Organization, an organization with which so many of us here share a history and fond memories during our struggle for freedom and dignity, we must ensure that we leave a legacy behind for future generations — a legacy of peace, unity and the commitment to equitable and sustainable development. I would like to reflect on the words of the former Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who once said,

“More than ever before in human history, we share a common destiny. We can master it only if we face it together (*SG/SM/7262*).

And that, my friends, is why we have the United Nations. The only way we can overcome our challenges is to form a united front for the advancement of humankind. Through the United Nations we have the platform to achieve this goal. We can either choose to march to the tune set by the original ideals that led to the formation of the United Nations or we can choose to pursue our ambitions at the expense of others and ourselves. Let us choose nobility, where we overcome our fears, insecurities and prejudices for the sake of shared sustainable development. Let us leave a long-lasting legacy that will shape the future of our planet politically, economically and ecologically.

The time to act is now, and Namibia stands ready to join hands with all members of the international community to celebrate a new type of global coexistence, where no continent, no region and no country will feel left out.

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Namibia for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Hage Geingob, President of the Republic of Namibia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Emomali Rahmon, President of the Republic of Tajikistan**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Tajikistan.

*Mr. Emomali Rahmon, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Emomali Rahmon, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Rahmon** (*spoke in Tajik; English text provided by the delegation*): It is a great pleasure to join other delegations in expressing our cordial congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its seventieth session.

The current session of the General Assembly offers a unique opportunity not only to acknowledge the accomplishments of the United Nations over the last 70 years, but also to reiterate our strong commitment to meeting the aspirations and hopes of our peoples for secure and sustainable development. For 70 years, the United Nations has stood for peace and security, international cooperation and human rights. Over this short but intense period of history, the United Nations has made great strides in promoting stability and sustainable development and in reducing or even eliminating poverty and inequality all over the world. During this period, the mechanisms for interaction that we have set up together to facilitate international cooperation have functioned with considerable success. Recently, the United Nations Summit adopted the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1), which lays the foundation for and identifies the

areas in which the international community can work to attain sustainable development that would meet the interests of all peoples and every individual.

Over seven decades, the United Nations has made a remarkable contribution to assisting in the formation of new independent States and their further development. When, at the dawn of its independence, Tajikistan was faced with the difficulties of transition, it received extensive support from the United Nations, which enabled the country to embark on the road towards democratic development. The major pillars of Tajikistan's development, laid down with the assistance of the United Nations, contributed to the country's ability to participate in international processes set up to foster cooperation and interaction. Today, Tajikistan is contributing significantly to fighting terrorism and extremism, transnational organized crime, illicit drug trafficking, arms smuggling and human trafficking, and in promotion of the United Nations water agenda.

Our national police officers are participating in United Nations and African Union peacekeeping operations in Darfur and are contributing to peacebuilding processes shoulder to shoulder with colleagues from other Member States. Our drug control agency that was established with United Nations support continues to play an important role in combating illicit drug trafficking. Indeed, since 1995, Tajikistan's national drug enforcement authorities have confiscated more than 111 metric tons of narcotics, an amount equivalent to 206,650,000 drug doses, which could turn 50 million people the world over into drug abusers. This data proves that Tajikistan ranks among the world's top 10 States in the seizure of illicit drugs.

The world has undergone dramatic transformation in the last decades. Global processes are more dynamic and complex than ever. Along with the positive contributions globalization has made to overall development, globalization has also had negative impacts that threaten security and development in individual countries and in the world as a whole.

The increase in the number of armed conflicts and acts of terror, food, energy and financial and economic crises, degradation of the environment, climate change and the spread of infectious diseases demand from us a concerted and comprehensive response. In this context, the United Nations remains the key platform for consensus on the key issues of international security and development and for coordination of joint action

of the international community towards responding to global threats and challenges. Of special concern are the scope and global nature of the current threats posed by terrorism, drug-trafficking and organized crime. The destructive and inhumane forces of terrorism and extremism have continued to gain in strength, attracting into their orbit an ever-growing number of young people. Those forces seriously undermine efforts of countries and regions to maintain the security and peaceful development.

Combating international terrorism and extremism has become a top priority. There is an undeniable need to develop national, regional and international mechanisms to eliminate military infrastructure, block channels of financial and logistical support, prevent recruiting and propaganda that promotes violence, and counteract the use of modern information and communication technologies for the purpose of terror. It is also essential that we pool our efforts to find ways to address the issues of poverty reduction and the negative impact of globalization, and to prevent and resolve regional conflicts. Strengthening cross-cultural and interfaith dialogue, mutual trust and tolerance would play a pivotal role.

It is in our common interests for Member States to implement the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in order to effectively combat all forms and manifestations of terrorism, including the use of the Internet for terrorist activities. Any joint response to a sudden outbreak of terrorism and extremism should be commensurate with the scope of that threat.

The prevention of drug-trafficking, which has unfortunately continued to increase yearly, should become an integral part of our common struggle against terrorism and global organized crime. Money earned from drug-trafficking is channelled to financing acts of terror and organized crime activities. In that context, the special session on drugs to be held in 2016 will offer an opportunity not only to review the implementation of the Political Declaration and Plan of Action on International Cooperation towards an Integrated and Balanced Strategy to Counter the World Drug Problem, but also to develop new and effective measures for combating that evil. In the light of those efforts, in May Tajikistan held a high-level international conference on drug control that sought to consolidate international cooperation on counter-narcotics.

Our friendly neighbouring nation of Afghanistan has embarked on the implementation of its transformation decade. The new stage of enhancing and reinforcing the security and stability of the country and the rehabilitation of its economic and social sectors is being accompanied by addressing the most urgent and practical issues, which requires increasing the targeted assistance of the international community, in which the United Nations should play a central and coordinating role. Tajikistan is in favour of expanding friendly and good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan and calls on the international community to support the efforts of the Government of that country to achieve peace and stability by addressing the social and economic challenges that the country faces, pursuing the process of national reconciliation and inclusive dialogue, and involving the country in regional cooperation. Tajikistan continues to make its contribution to the social and economic development of Afghanistan.

The peaceful solution of the issue of the Iranian nuclear programme demonstrated the enormous potential of diplomatic means to resolve the urgent problems of our shared planet. We are convinced that the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's nuclear programme, enshrined in Security Council resolution 2231 (2015), will contribute to the strengthening of regional and international peace, genuine stability and mutual trust and be instrumental in reinforcing the nuclear non-proliferation regime. We hope that United Nations Member States will be guided by good will and resolve to resolve the most urgent disputes and conflicts, by using political and diplomatic means, in addressing other urgent issues.

Last July, Tajikistan hosted regional consultations for the countries of South and Central Asia in preparation of the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016 in Istanbul. We hope that the recommendations voiced at those consultations will have a positive effect on the humanitarian activities of all countries.

In December, the international community will meet again at the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Paris to conclude the round of negotiations on climate change that we began in Bali. We hope that Member States will take advantage of that opportunity and adopt a new document on climate change, based on the principles of the Framework Convention and, by so doing, lay the foundations of a transition to sustainable development. We believe that such a transition will

require not only industrial modernization, based on innovative technologies, but also significant changes in mentalities and consumption patterns.

The long-term observations of our experts attest to the increased impact of climate change on the environmental, social and economic situation in our country and region. According to those observations, over the past 60 years the average annual temperature in Tajikistan has increased by 1°C, the number of days with heavy precipitation has risen, natural meteorological disasters have become more frequent and severe, and the degradation of glaciers has accelerated. This past summer, as a result of the abnormally high temperature and severe precipitation, the mountainous part of the country suffered natural disasters that caused hundreds of millions of United States dollars in economic damage. Regrettably, these disasters also claimed human lives.

In terms of carbon dioxide emissions, Tajikistan ranks one hundred and thirty-fifth among greenhouse gas-emitting countries. Per capita greenhouse gas emissions in the country is 10 times less than that of the average world index. Widespread use of renewable energy sources — predominantly hydropower — would facilitate the economic and social development of the country and promote the “green economy”.

It is becoming apparent that climate change affects the quantity and quality of freshwater resources. It is known that as a result of climate change, the amount of water resources stored in glaciers and snow caps has diminished, the area of ground waters affected by salinization has increased, and precipitation has become more frequent and heavier. In turn, the changes in the hydrological cycle may have a negative impact on water, energy and food security and entail an added risk of floods and extreme droughts. We believe that in such circumstances, it is essential to review existing practices of water-resource management in order to ensure adequate adaptation not only to climate change, but also to population growth and a changing world economy, as well as to the scarcity of freshwater resources.

In Central Asia, where water resources are a key factor in achieving the sustainable development of the region, the need for the elaboration of a comprehensive regional plan of adaptation to climate change became urgent long ago. This imperative is also driven by the accelerated degradation of the glaciers in the region as a result of climate change. The observations of expert

confirm that, since the 1960s, the region’s glaciers, which remain the main source of water for Central Asian rivers, have been degraded by a factor of three.

As 2015 is the final year of the International Decade for Action, “Water for Life”, 2005-2015, a global initiative approved by the General Assembly to facilitate the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, a number of water forums have been held to review progress and analyse gaps in the implementation of the International Decade. Such forums include the General Assembly high-level interactive dialogue for a comprehensive review of the progress on the implementation of the International Decade, held last March here in New York, and a high-level international conference on the implementation of the International Decade held in Dushanbe, in June. We expect that, in taking stock of the results of the Decade, the United Nations will take on board the outcomes of these events and other relevant forums held in support of a comprehensive review of the implementation of the Decade.

I take this opportunity to extend my deep appreciation to the Member States, the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the United Nations agencies and institutions, international organizations, and representatives of civil society, academia and business for actively participating in and implementing the Decade and for following up its outcomes.

A few days ago, we adopted a road map for achieving sustainable development that comprehensively incorporates the water component. Over the next 15 years, against the backdrop of the ever-increasing impact of climate change on water resources, environmental degradation, population growth and food and energy crises, we will have to make enormous efforts to ensure the timely achievement of the goals we have set forth.

In our view, fostering cooperation, partnership and water diplomacy will promote the timely adoption of relevant measures to mitigate the impact of destructive processes and help to achieve Sustainable Development Goals. In this context, there is a need for additional platforms for strengthening cooperation at all levels with the engagement of all interested stakeholders. In this regard, and given the positive outcomes of previous joint initiatives, we propose to consider the possibility of proclaiming a new international water decade, aimed

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at promoting the implementation of the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. We sincerely hope that all States Members of the United Nations will lend their support to make this initiative a reality.

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Emomali Rahmon, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

#### **Address by Mr. Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Finland.

*Mr. Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Niinistö:** Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its seventieth session. You have the full support of Finland in your important task.

We are celebrating the seventieth anniversary of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations was written in a world that lay in ruins after the Second World War. Today, we must face our challenges with the same determination our predecessors had in 1945. By adopting the ambitious new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1) we are taking equally, or even more important steps, for humankind.

This year also marks the sixtieth anniversary of Finland's membership of the Organization. Finland joined a family of countries that care and shoulder their responsibilities. We felt this concern when Finnish national composer Jean Sibelius passed away in 1957. The General Assembly decided to honour him with a moment of silence. The President of the Assembly at that session, Mr. Leslie Munro, described how Sibelius belonged to the whole world. We also understood what shouldering responsibility means by participating in the first United Nations peacekeeping operation in Suez.

We are now facing an extremely dangerous crisis in Syria, Iraq and parts of North Africa. We are also witnessing an unprecedented humanitarian catastrophe unlike any other since the Second World War. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and its horrendous terror are a direct by-product of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq. It threatens the peace and stability of the Middle East, Africa and even Europe. We are facing a new era of migration, largely due to wars and conflict. Around 60 million refugees, the largest number since the Second World War, clearly attest to this.

The current refugee situation in the Middle East, in many parts of Africa and in the Mediterranean is unbearable for everyone. Although neighbouring countries bear the heaviest burden, the refugee crisis is causing serious political tension in Europe. Finland is also receiving a very high number of asylum-seekers. Not providing assistance is not an option for us, but we have to find more effective and sustainable ways to help those in need. Resolving the conflict in Syria and elsewhere is essential to any lasting solution. The international community must show that it cares. The Security Council and the countries in the region in particular must work together to find a political solution to the crisis in Syria. Finland welcomes all constructive efforts that pave the way for realistic, workable and lasting peace within a framework of international cooperation. Finland also remains committed to the work of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

The conflict in Ukraine has not been resolved, although an agreement to this end has been approved. We welcome the steps taken towards the implementation of the Minsk agreement. All illegal measures, such as the annexation of Crimea to Russia, cannot and must not be accepted.

These conflicts are not the only ones. Last year alone, there were 42 armed conflicts that resulted in approximately 180,000 fatalities. Wars and their consequences continue to threaten stability far beyond the war zone itself. United Nations peace operations are at the very heart of its efforts to maintain international peace and security, yet the scope and complexity of today's violent conflicts have surpassed the ability of the international community to address them properly. Critical thinking, flexibility and decisive action are needed to manage and resolve those crises. The initiative to carry out major reviews of the United Nations peace and security architecture was therefore most timely.

I very much welcome the excellent report produced by President Ramos-Horta's High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (A/70/357). It rightly stresses the primacy of politics; political solutions must always guide the deployment of United Nations peace operations. The United Nations prevention and mediation capacities must be strengthened and sufficiently funded. Finland is proud to have contributed to that shift of paradigm, especially by co-chairing the Group of Friends of Mediation, together with Turkey. The Group of Friends will continue its efforts to advance the recommendations of the Panel. Since the beginning of its membership, Finland has contributed 50,000 men and women to United Nations peacekeeping operations. In per capita terms, we are the second-largest contributor in Europe, and we will further increase our contribution. We will shoulder our responsibility.

Let me add that this year also marks a major success of international diplomacy — the historic agreement reached on the Iran nuclear programme. We look forward to the swift implementation by Iran of all the nuclear measures and its full engagement with the International Atomic Energy Agency to resolve all outstanding issues.

Humankind faces the need for profound change. We cannot continue business as usual, which is a way of life transcends our planet's boundaries and exhausts the Earth's resources. We have all the facts at our disposal. For example, on global warming, it is up to us to act. We can choose or lose our future. I believe that we are on the right track. We have just adopted the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1), which has the potential to transform the world. For the very first time, we have a real programme for sustainable development binding all Member States. Now it is up to us to implement that ambitious agenda.

I urge the United Nations to once again demonstrate its convening power. We must get everybody on board to make the commitments a reality. The private sector and civil society are in a key position to take the Agenda forward, together with Governments. Even individual persons have a role to play. Another vital step in tackling global challenges is yet to take place; I refer to the twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Paris in December. Let us make it a success. We must care for our children and their children.

The post of the Secretary-General has been called the most impossible job in the world. Actually, it is not only a job — it is an institution of which the whole United Nations membership should feel a sense of ownership. Strong political leadership is required, especially in cases where the international community is unable to find common views. I very much welcome efforts to enhance the transparency and inclusiveness of the selection process of the next Secretary-General. As a nation that has championed gender equality throughout its 60-year United Nations membership, my country, Finland, expects to see many excellent female candidates for the position. It is high time that the other half of humankind took up that challenge.

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Finland for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Elbegdorj Tsakhia, President of Mongolia**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Mongolia.

*Mr. Elbegdorj Tsakhia, President of Mongolia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Elbegdorj Tsakhia, President of Mongolia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Tsakhia:** I extend my heartfelt congratulations to you, Mr. President. You can count on my delegation's full support during the jubilee session and the year ahead.

We are commemorating the seventieth anniversary of the United Nations. As a family of nations, our hopes for peace and progress, as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations, still resonates deeply today. The United Nations is designed to uphold humankind's primary aspirations to live in peace, enjoy equal rights and achieve everlasting happiness. The United Nations has tirelessly served those noble purposes for seven decades. If the United Nations did not exist, most of humankind would have ended up in violent confrontations and faced more arduous, complex challenges than those that have arisen.



Together, we have achieved a lot and we have charted a better course. The number of sovereign nations has quadrupled since 1945. The world's economic output has increased fivefold. Human beings enjoy longer, healthier lives. We are more literate and educated. Today, the world has achieved the highest degree of international cooperation in history. Starting with the founding of the United Nations, Governments have steadily invested more and more in new means of cooperation. Those tools create new options, more space for compromises and more legal frameworks than humankind has ever possessed. The United Nations has justly become the primary universal organization working for peace, instead of war; prosperity, instead of poverty; and a dignified life for all, instead of human rights violations. Hence, I would like to state that the past 70 years were the best 70 years ever for humankind.

The founding of the United Nations, a historic milestone, connects our past, present and future. All of humankind is poised to make another great stride towards a new, better reality. I am hopeful for the future because we have the United Nations, because we have useful experience to tackle today's challenges, and because a new generation of humankind is rising. The new generation has creative solutions to challenges and sees new opportunities in them. It shares knowledge and advance technologies.

At this moment more than ever in history, we share a common destiny as a family of nations; yet, despite our achievements, billions of people still live in forbidding conditions. Our home, Mother Earth, is becoming more turbulent and is in fragile health. The Second World War is behind us and the arms race of the Cold War ended two decades ago. Many military conflicts today are not tied to defending a particular territory, but are motivated by borderless ideological, criminal and religious goals.

*Ms. Mejía Vélez (Colombia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

Paradoxically, although we are more aware of those challenges and understand them better than ever, we seem unable to tackle them decisively and effectively. That is why we have gathered here and embarked on a momentous new journey to do much better to transform our world. The only way to bring peace and stability is through a system of rules and norms, laws and institutions that every country agrees to abide by in exchange for the benefits of peace and stability. If

the United Nations fails to adopt a system of laws, we all will fail. The future is not only about the United Nations. The future is about all of us. It is about our community; it is about our family. Therefore, we have no right to fail.

We have recently shown that we can make positive changes. At the dawn of the new century, we adopted and have since implemented the Millennium Development Goals. We achieved many targets, yet failed to achieve some others. Still, by and large, the global community passed the test. We learned lessons about working together and made huge strides towards achieving positive goals. With the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1), the international community produced a new history-making document. The entire United Nations family agreed on that road map towards sustainable development. Now humankind has a truly universal, ambitious action plan for the upcoming 15 years. A consensus-based, global platform, the Agenda is for all, because every single human being holds a stake in our planet's future. The 17 Goals and 169 targets are real. Yet, they also embody the dream of humankind. Never before in history have nations reached such a universal and unanimous agreement.

Our historic 2030 Agenda is comprehensive and sustainable. We have agreed on urgent targets on a broad range of economic and social challenges and on environmental emergencies. Is that not miraculous? With one voice, the entire world shouldered a mountain of responsibilities and adopted these bold Goals. In the Agenda, I recognize the overarching objectives for global sustainable development. I note that the Goals are intended literally to save Mother Earth for future generations, which I can readily accept to save a happy, equal human race. I believe that we must build inclusive, capable institutions and create prosperous, peaceful, open, just, equitable societies. In order to advance those societies, the family of nations needs a robust, inclusive and open mechanisms. We must have reliable implementing, monitoring and accountability regulations and institutions in place. I appeal to every Member State to adopt national laws and policies to implement the Sustainable Development Goals. Such laws and policies would ensure their sustainability.

I am deeply proud of my country's contributions to the common causes of humankind. During the past quarter century, Mongolia has relentlessly striven to build an open and just society with a free

market economy, participatory democracy and environmentally conscientious policies. We have made notable progress in the areas of governance transparency, citizens' participation and the reduction of corruption and poverty. In the past quarter century, the life expectancy of Mongolians has increased by seven years. Our gross domestic product (GDP) has increased by a factor of more than 20. We believe in human rights and human creativity, and we foster private initiatives. Our private sector generates more than 80 per cent of our GDP growth. My country, within a single generation, peacefully transformed from one of the most isolated and closed regimes in the world to one of its most vibrant and open democracies. Mongolia also created one of the most unique, open, competitive and fair election systems in our region. It has nationwide electronic voting and biometric voter registration. We no longer use wooden or paper boxes or finger inks, and public participation goes beyond electronic voting.

Corruption is still a big threat. Yet, over the past five years, with transparent, determined and enforceable policies, our country's corruption index has dropped by one-third, according to Transparency International. We will continue to block the menace of corruption head-on. Mongolia is among the top countries in the world in the number of media tools used per capita. We have the most open, censorship-free private media, including social media and burgeoning Internet use. We have slightly more than 3 million citizens, yet it feels like there are 3 million journalists, too. New media technologies, transparency and public scrutiny make our society much healthier.

We have adopted and implemented a set of laws related to an open, fair, service-oriented judiciary. Because the process takes place under strict civil monitoring, people's confidence in a fair court of law is being restored. We have also created regulations and institutions regarding public hearings and participatory democracy. We are also prudently enforcing a law called the Glass Account — a budget transparency law that requires full disclosure of public expenditures.

Education is key to human development and the country's development. More than one-third of our population is engaged in educational activities. More student-centred than previously, our education system emphasizes their practical involvement in learning. Our Government also now covers tuition if

a Mongolian citizen is accepted into one of the world's top universities.

We believe in gender equality and women's empowerment. Mongolia is a strong supporter of the United Nations in that cause. If societies are to advance, we need more women in public service at all levels, local and global. If women hold more positions of power, we will have less suffering and conflict and more harmony and civic engagement. All such efforts on the part of Mongolian citizens constitute a just, transparent, inclusive, accountable and action-oriented platform to guide us on a sustainable development path. I am confident that building on those bedrock successes and decisively moving forward is compatible with your appeal, Mr. President, for a new commitment to action.

Today, the world faces a shocking range of new challenges on a global scale — from weapons of mass destruction to global warming; from human rights violations to humanitarian disasters; from heinous crimes and mass terror to the breakdown of sovereign States; from an uncertain supply of energy, food and water to new challenges to freedom and security. In facing global challenges, we must admit one thing — no one country, big or small, can address them on its own. Therefore, the coordinated actions of all players and countries are needed.

When all cultures and civilizations unite, we can tackle global challenges. The upcoming twenty-first session of the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to be held in Paris later this year, will be the first new test. It will require the widest possible cooperation of all countries. We all must bear responsibility for protecting planet Earth and its ecosystems for the benefit of present and future generations. We must all work to ensure justice and fairness throughout the world. Every nation and Government must actively contribute to the global good according to their respective capabilities and responsibilities.

Mongolia has committed to always doing its humble share to promote global well-being. We Mongols are eager to contribute. Our peacekeepers proudly serve, along with fellow United Nations peacekeepers, to maintain international order and security. Mongolia has become one of the 20 largest peacekeeping contributors in the world. To date, 14,000 Mongolian peacekeepers have served on active duty in global hot spots. That is

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a significant number in proportion to the size of our population.

We are enthusiastic to share our experiences in transitioning to democracy in our quest for freedom, justice and development. When Mongolian citizens share and actively collaborate with countries in our region and beyond, we make our own success more durable. We care deeply about global stability. Mongols believe that we must preserve our planet by eliminating nuclear weapons throughout the world.

For 23 years, our country has maintained a nuclear-weapon-free status. Any nation seeking nuclear power must not endanger the peace and security of their independent neighbours. We believe that the solution to those challenges is engagement, rather than isolation. We believe that strengthening multilateral collaboration and mutual trust among countries is vital. In Asia, Mongolia is a non-aligned nation and an honest broker that promotes peace and security. We launched a regional initiative similar to that of the Helsinki dialogue, known as the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on North-East Asian Security. Within that security initiative, Mongolia has hosted and has helped arrange multilateral meetings, conferences, and symposiums to examine peace and security issues. We also put forward a common platform called the Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development, or FORUM-Asia. A compelling need exists to establish a solid and inclusive platform for comprehensive dialogues involving all Asian States.

FORUM-Asia would seek to promote an equal representation of the interests of all sovereign nations in Asia, whether big or small. All nations would bear in mind the concerns of all other nations, rather than wrestle one-on-one within the global arena. It would ensure each member State its independence, integrity, and right to development. We invite all interested parties to play an active part of that cause.

Our country also successfully chaired the world's most reputable democracy movement, the Community of Democracies, for two years. Currently, Mongolia is chairing the Freedom Online Coalition. The first Asian country to lead that important community, we promote universal Internet access. We support a comprehensive convention on Internet freedom, to be agreed to by all United Nations Member States. I appeal to everyone to work collectively to advance the great, global digital

revolution, in order to bring greater prosperity to humankind.

Mongolia has pursued a peaceful, open and multi-pillared foreign policy. That stance has enabled us to declare Mongolia to be a State of permanent neutrality. Our national laws and the international treaties to which Mongolia is signatory are consistent with the principles of neutrality. I therefore kindly ask for Members' understanding and support for Mongolia's peaceful, open, neutral and active foreign policy efforts. I am convinced that Mongolia's status of permanent neutrality will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and development in our region and the world, in general.

Recently, Mongolia hosted the Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions, and for the first time in our country, the autumn meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly was convened. The human rights experts and the European parliamentarians had fruitful, lively discussions and exchanges. The conference also provided a splendid opportunity for them to comprehend at first hand our achievements in protecting and advancing human rights, in exercising the rule of law and in running a pluralistic and open society.

We are honoured to be hosting many events in the coming months and year in our capital city. Most importantly, the eleventh Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) will be held in Mongolia in the summer of 2016. Leaders of 53 countries in Asia and Europe will meet in Mongolia on the historic twentieth jubilee of the founding of ASEM. I earnestly look forward to welcoming them. Mongolia will further consolidate and strengthen our peace initiatives and our role as mediator. Our doors are always open for dialogue and engagement. We will always say that all are very welcome to cooperate with us in the spirit of freedom, justice and prosperity. We are ready to share the lessons we have learned and to listen to and learn from the lessons of other nations.

I wish to stress that Mongolia is running for the first time for membership on the United Nations Human Rights Council. We believe that the Human Rights Council is a crucial body for the protection and promotion of human rights worldwide. It is a platform for open discussions on human rights issues, and it positively impacts national and international

policies. Mongolia reaffirms its full commitment to the promotion of human rights and our willingness to share our experience in transitioning to democracy, fighting against corruption, abolishing the death penalty and ensuring genuine human rights. I respectfully ask every Member State to extend its valuable support to Mongolia's candidacy for the Human Rights Council at the October elections.

We, the States Members of the United Nations, need to mobilize the full potential of humankind to achieve the primary purpose for establishing the United Nations, namely, the promotion of peace, the respect for human rights and inclusive economic and social development. I believe that, in the twenty-first century, the United Nations will remain at the heart of our common humanity. Its mission will be defined by a new, more profound awareness of the sanctity and dignity of every human life, regardless of race, gender or religion. Nevertheless, there are still numerous cases involving cruel violations of human dignity and rights. One thing is certain: every nation State should always strive for good governance, the strict rule of law and a sound human rights policy.

I reiterate the appeals of all speakers in the Assembly that we must vow to exercise clear and decisive leadership in effectively tackling the tough challenges ahead and in fulfilling the core missions of the United Nations. We have many opportunities to benefit the world. We are the first in history to have the potential, technology and resources to resolve the world's problems.

When I observe a giant display of military might, I think of the huge amount of money, human ingenuity and time that are being spent on war machines and weapons of mass destruction. With a fraction of the money that we spend and the technology that we develop to put on such macho war shows, we could solve many of today's troubling issues. We also have a smart, tech-savvy, energetic young generation, who will soon shoulder our tough challenges with their innovative, dynamic and shrewd solutions. They give us hope and reassure us.

I would like to reiterate that the solemn purpose of the United Nations has always been to enhance global peace, protect fellow human beings and contribute to global well-being. We all know there are well-founded criticisms of the United Nations. If our United Nations is to survive in the new reality, we must embrace substantive change. We need reforms to build a just and

common home. If we delay action, change will become more painful and even more challenging. The United Nations is still our most representative and important global body. Its foundation is based on the preservation of the rights and interests of all nations, whether big or small, so that they may have a voice, a vote, and be part of our common human home. More relevant than ever, the United Nations is our common home where nations can meet and create solutions to solve the challenges of the world. If the 70 years since the United Nations was founded were the best 70 years ever, as I believe, then let us make the next 70 years even better.

We humans are at our best when we face challenges and when we exercise collective bravery, spirit and leadership. With the Sustainable Development Goals, we all become developing countries and we all have a stake in our plans for success. There is no future without peace, there is no planet without sustainability, and there is no humanity without justice. Let us strive for victory. Let us all be champions, Let us raise all our flags at the finish line, and let us all proudly present them to our beautiful planet's next generation.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Mongolia for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Elbegdorj Tsakhia, President of Mongolia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Klaus Werner Iohannis, President of Romania**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Romania.

*Mr. Klaus Werner Iohannis, President of Romania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President**: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Klaus Werner Iohannis, President of Romania, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

**President Iohannis**: My delegation would like to congratulate the President on his assuming the presidency of this important session. We have found inspiration in the theme of the session: "The United Nations at 70 — a new commitment to action". Allow me also to express my appreciation to Denmark, an example of true dedication to the work of the

Organization and one of the very few Members that have met the commitment to allocate 0.7 per cent of its gross domestic product for official development assistance.

The seventieth anniversary of the United Nations is yet another opportunity for a lucid reflection on the lessons learned and the future of our Organization. What we have seen is a visionary project born from the ashes of a terrible tragedy, with the lofty goal of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We have seen a working agenda that has continuously expanded into new areas of cooperation, within and beyond its main pillars, namely, peace and security, development and human rights. We have witnessed the continuous efforts of the Organization and its Member States to adapt to new challenges and to major shifts in the paradigm of international relations. As a consequence, the United Nations has steadily developed new mandates, reaching a level of complexity never seen before. Of course, the United Nations is not a panacea for all the evils of humankind. Its history is one of ups and downs, achievements and failures. At the same time, we all know that the increasing number and depth of the tasks entrusted to it have not been matched by the resources needed to accomplish all of its goals. It has become common practice to ask the United Nations to do more with less.

The Charter of the United Nations, after 70 years of being tested against all winds, has proved to be a visionary document that has stood the test of history. The Charter was drafted as a solid corpus of principles and norms for international conduct. It was conceived in an intelligent manner that allowed enough flexibility for designing the actual ways and means to cope with increasingly complex situations. The United Nations has steadily consolidated its universal vocation and legitimacy. It has created and promoted an impressive body of international law that touches on almost all domains of international cooperation. It may occasionally have been convenient for some Member States or other stakeholders to point to the failures of the Organization. We should try harder to point to the magnitude of the prevention work carried out by the Organization. Prevention being admittedly much more difficult to measure, we have tended to underestimate its importance among the achievements of the Organization. In the same vein, it is worth reminding ourselves that the United Nations is neither an organization born out of the blue nor an independent

and self-ruling entity. The United Nations is nothing but we ourselves, the Member States, living in the trust and resources we invest in it.

Romania is among the countries that have fully trusted and unconditionally supported the United Nations. The year 2015 is a special one for my country, because this year we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of Romania's admission to the Organization. The United Nations has helped Romania in various ways over various periods of the post-Second World War era. In the beginning, despite having been part of the monolithic group of former Communist countries, Romania found in those years, a propitious framework, here in the United Nations, within which to assert its national independence and to make friends and partners throughout the world. Later on, the United Nations provided my country with the opportunity to engage in the debates over and action on global issues through dialogue and cooperation across all continents. In the aftermath of the Cold War, the United Nations was actively engaged in supporting Romania during its difficult economic transformation and the transition towards democracy. The funds and programmes of the United Nations assisted Romania in addressing social problems related to children, population, health and the environment, along with many others. Allow me, in particular, to thank the United Nations Development Programme for its 45-year presence in my country.

Our sixtieth anniversary allows us to take a retrospective look. Romania is a country with limited economic power. Nonetheless, we take pride in having made some significant contributions to United Nations goals throughout our six decades of membership. In essence, they were based on a reliance on multilateral diplomacy and international law and the pre-eminence of peaceful means over the use of force in the pursuit of national interests.

Romania has often been at the frontline of major United Nations campaigns. I would like to highlight just a few of the topics that were the focus of initiatives undertaken by Romania in the General Assembly, the Security Council and the various human rights bodies. They include, inter alia, arms control and disarmament, good relations among neighbouring States, the role of science and technology in development, a more effective and influential role for youth, increased cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements, and the promotion and consolidation of democracy. Since 1991, Romanian contingents have

participated in peacekeeping operations across all continents from Angola to Cambodia, from Somalia to Haiti, and from the former Yugoslavia to Rwanda. Moreover, Romania hosts the Institute for the Protection and the Security of the Citizen, which contributes to the training of special categories of United Nations peacekeepers.

Since 2008, Romania has been part of one of the most innovative arrangements for the protection of refugees through its hosting of the first Emergency Transit Centre in Timișoara, as a result of an agreement with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration. After almost two decades as a recipient, Romania has thus itself become a provider of official development assistance to countries in our neighbourhood and beyond.

On the occasion of its seventieth anniversary, the United Nations does not need to prove the legitimacy of its actions. What the Organization needs is a strengthened capacity and readiness to act and galvanize the political will of Member States, so as to be able to further enhance its role in maintaining international peace and security and in delivering global public goods. That role is, once again, being dramatically tested these days.

The United Nations is called upon to make, in concert with regional organizations and individual States, new commitments to the fight against terrorism in all its manifestations — whether they be the cowardly crimes against innocent people, the barbarous destruction of the common cultural heritage of humankind, or the unprecedented and abhorrent form of terrorism developed by what is known as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, whose actions constitute clear violations of international law and human rights, which we are striving so hard to uphold.

At this juncture, let me reiterate Romania's support for the initiative of France and Mexico to propose a collective and voluntary agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council regarding the non-use of the veto when action is needed to prevent or bring to an end situations of mass atrocities and war crimes on a large scale. Ten years after the endorsement of the responsibility to protect, we should continue to support that responsibility by identifying the best ways to understand, implement and operationalize it.

The current massive waves of migration are just one of the worrisome consequences of the internal and international conflicts in the Middle East and Southern Mediterranean region. That phenomenon requires more than just responses to the immediate humanitarian needs of refugees. The United Nations must also address, in a realistic and energetic manner, the root causes of migration. We should stop the destruction of the social fabric of conflict-torn societies, help populations escape their extreme poverty, help youth regain their hope for a better future, and help individuals rebuild their dignity. Through official development assistance (ODA), the United Nations should play a much stronger role in that respect. For that to happen, a thorough reform of ODA may probably be needed.

The United Nations should be less lenient in respect to the protracted conflicts in the Transnistrian region of the Republic of Moldova, in Georgia and in Nagorno Karabakh. Where the status quo is characterized by conditions that are contrary to international law, the situation will always be fragile and possibly conducive to occasional outbreaks of violence. In addition, our non-action in such situations creates the wrong impression that unlawful territorial gains — to the detriment of independent and sovereign States — are possible and tolerated. That is the case with the situation in Ukraine, in which the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, have not taken the action expected, as defined by the terms of the Charter of the United Nations. We call upon all members of the Security Council to act responsibly and decide in the interest of international peace and security and in accordance with international law, while addressing the situation in Ukraine.

Romania wholeheartedly welcomes the agreement on the Iranian nuclear programme. That agreement proves that nothing is impossible, if there is a genuine political will and there are visionary statesmen engaged in bold action. We also praise the role so ably and diligently played in that connection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The agreement with regard to that long-standing problem proves once again the virtues of diplomacy and negotiations undertaken in good faith and with patience, with the support of the expertise developed within the United Nations system. We hope to see more, ancillary benefits of that agreement in the broader context of the Middle East peace process.

I would like to call upon all States Members of the United Nations not to miss the opportunity to conclude

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a new and ambitious binding agreement in response to climate change. The moment is still auspicious, in view of the commitments of the European Union, as well as the massive activism on the part of civil society. The example of the European Union is expected to be followed by other major contributors to global warming. People everywhere and, in particular, those in the small island countries, whose very physical existence is threatened, are waiting for new commitments, before it is too late.

Beyond the thematic and geographical configuration of United Nations diplomacy, we believe that the nuts and bolts of our Organization can be found in the codification and progressive development of international law. Romania believes that international law and international justice are fundamental values for humankind. We should never cease to act to promote the reaffirmation and consolidation of the principles of international law, which represent a landmark of our society of nations for all time.

The sixtieth anniversary of Romania's admission to the United Nations is being marked as an important step concerning our commitment to international justice. Romania became the seventy-second Member State to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Our declaration, submitted to the Secretary-General on 23 June, is a continuation of the interwar tradition of my country to conduct its international relations in full compliance with international law.

The consolidation of international justice and the need to put an end to impunity should trigger a strengthened legal approach to international terrorism. Terrorism represents the worst in crimes against individuals and societies. Romania believes that the international community should do more to combat terrorism with the tools of the law, including international criminal law. It is with that purpose in mind that Romania and Spain have set in motion a process of reflection on the possible creation of an international court for the crime of terrorism. We are fully aware of the conceptual and operational difficulties of such an undertaking. However, the values that stand behind that reflection, which are aimed at strengthening the rule of law in our multilateral antiterrorist drive, are likely to generate fresh ideas for innovative legal tools. We believe that that reflection process is worthwhile in its own right, as it will fuel the debate on reinforcing the values of justice and international law. I would like to

take this opportunity to invite all interested delegations to engage in good-faith discussions about how to implement those values in the fight against terrorism.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Romania for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Klaus Werner Iohannis, President of Romania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

#### **Address by King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

*King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**King Mswati III:** It is a great pleasure for me to address the General Assembly of the United Nations as we celebrate the seventieth anniversary of our global Organization. It is important, at this time, that we revisit the founding objectives of the United Nations to determine whether we have been able to live up to what they have required of us since its establishment. Primarily, the United Nations was set up to promote peace and stability among humankind and to assist nations to develop socially and economically, to mention but a few of the founding objectives. This annual session gives us an opportunity to review and recommit ourselves to the objectives laid out by our predecessors.

Tremendous progress has been made on a number of social fronts, while growth in the economies and the development of nations is evident. However, that success has come with its own challenges that need to be addressed in a spirit of global cooperation in order to achieve the ultimate goal of peaceful progress and development that leaves nobody behind. We urge the United Nations to continue to play its role in fostering a collective approach to overcoming all impediments.

The capabilities and successes of the United Nations are well documented. We have seen the United Nations play a significant role in resolving conflicts on the African continent and in other parts of the world. The role of the United Nations in curbing the Ebola outbreak is appreciated. While we have not eradicated the disease completely, we applaud the Organization's tremendous efforts to stem its spread. We also commend the United Nations for launching such initiatives as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, which has played a significant role in combating those diseases. We appeal to the United Nations to continue helping Africa emerge from the cycle of poverty and disease as the continent seeks to fulfil its Agenda 2063, which seeks to eradicate poverty and create prosperity for all.

Africa has great potential for investment. What remains is to create the requisite environment for economic growth. We strongly believe that the United Nations system can establish a peaceful global village free of fear and violence. We adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), aiming to emancipate humankind from poverty and hunger by creating prosperity in a safe and peaceful environment that offers acceptable basic living standards (resolution 55/2). We are pleased to observe that our decision has, by and large, yielded positive outcomes that live up to the founding principles of the United Nations.

The impressive progress witnessed during the implementation of the MDGs makes us confident that the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1) will enjoy even greater success. We have good reason to anticipate a sustainable transformation of nations over the next 15 years. Our presence here should signify a renewed commitment to our resolve.

The Kingdom of eSwatini is one of many nations to report significant progress in the implementation of the MDGs. That progress has been guided by a people-driven road map leading us towards our Swaziland Vision 2022, which is designed to propel the Kingdom to become a developed country, a development State. We are very much aware of the challenges that lie ahead on the journey, but I have full confidence in the capabilities of our people. They have worked very hard over the years to bring us to where we are today. Although we may not have an abundance of natural resources, we do have an innovative and educated workforce that is united in a common purpose.

With Africa opening up new trade markets and investment opportunities, the Kingdom of eSwatini has fast-tracked reforms that have yielded improved ease of doing business. Infrastructure development has also improved direct access to global markets through the completion of our new international airport, while providing multiple investment opportunities in its immediate surroundings. We believe that the airport will give rise to downstream projects that can create employment opportunities and add the required impetus to our economic growth.

Access to markets of the developed world remains critical for Africa, which is well endowed with mineral resources yet still faces the challenges of poverty, hunger and unemployment. The support of the United Nations is essential if we are to successfully deal with the mammoth task of developing infrastructure so that we can add value to our natural resources. The success of trade and investment also hinges heavily on a reliable and sustainable supply of energy. As a result, we now have a comprehensive strategy and programme of action that outline the gaps that need to be addressed by all players in the energy sector. They present viable opportunities for investment in that sector, particularly in renewable energy.

As we envisage a world free of poverty, hunger, disease and want, where all life can thrive, it becomes critical to make youth empowerment central to achieving that goal. Attaining a 97 per cent enrolment rate in primary education is a significant milestone for our country as we seek to ensure education for all. Sustainable education requires that that high enrolment should be complemented by quality education that is further accessible at the secondary, higher and tertiary levels.

We remain challenged in meeting that requirement, and we call upon our global friends to partner with us to ensure that we do not become victims of our own success. We are recognizing and rewarding outstanding educational talent through entrepreneurial development initiatives at the secondary and tertiary levels. We trust that those initiatives, among many others, will produce a future generation that is equipped with the life skills needed to provide solutions to the socioeconomic challenges facing many of our unemployed youth today. The Kingdom is also developing innovation parks that will provide our young people with the creative skills needed to enable them to contribute to the sustainable development of the country.



The HIV/AIDS pandemic, which has stretched our health resources to the limit, remains a challenge that requires our collective effort. As a nation, we have taken a decision that we want to become one of the first African countries with a generalized epidemic to achieve an AIDS-free generation in 2022 — a vision that is in line with the global agenda to end AIDS by 2030.

The Kingdom of eSwatini still largely relies on agriculture as a means to sustain itself and prosper. Programmes aimed at increasing food production, ending hunger and improving nutrition have been developed. A farm input-subsidy programme aimed at increasing yields through the availability of tractors, seeds and fertilizer is now in place. The country has also invested heavily in building dams to harness water, and we hope that friends of the Kingdom will continue to partner with us in building more such facilities. The dams are helping many of our people to irrigate their crops. We look to international financial institutions to support those initiatives. We are concerned, however, that some of that support attaches stringent conditions with consequences that leave the recipient countries worse off. We therefore appeal to the United Nations to address that phenomenon, which seriously undermines the objectives of the 2030 Agenda.

We are very aware that, working alone, we are limited in our success. It is, therefore, important that the developed countries of the world support the growth of developing nations like ours. We appeal to donor countries to increase their funding to smaller nations so that they can strengthen their capacity to create jobs and address existing social challenges. Only when our communities achieve better living conditions will developing countries enjoy the peace and stability that provides the requisite environment for sustainable growth.

The effects of climate change have not gone unnoticed, nor have they left us unharmed. Sustainable Development Goal 11 calls for urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. We continue to urge our developed partners not only to fulfil their pledges to the Green Fund but also to adopt policies that strike the correct balance among the requirements for the production of essential products, profits and the sustainability of our environment. Anything less would seriously jeopardize the ideals of the 2030 Agenda. We look forward to a legally binding global climate

agreement at the United Nations Climate Change Conference in France later this year.

The Kingdom of eSwatini continues to enjoy the peace and stability that all people on the globe deserve. The secret to our success has been consultation and dialogue aimed at building consensus, which is a model of peace that has a place in the implementation of United Nations operations. It is apparent that military intervention in resolving conflict has a short-term effect that leaves the people that it is meant to serve worse off. Only a peaceful solution to conflict can yield sustainable conclusions to the current crises facing various parts of the world today. That calls for us to unite and to bring the warring parties to the table for dialogue.

However, for that to be truly effective, we need the United Nations to ensure that any intervention is undertaken by a united body. If the United Nations is divided on the mandates that it creates to deal with challenges that require a collective approach, it runs the risk of worsening the problems. It is critical that, when the Members of the United Nations are confronted with conflict situations, they resolve them with one voice.

The protracted war in Syria remains a huge challenge for the United Nations. One of its consequences has been the serious refugee crisis that we have today, affecting neighbouring countries and, most recently, various European States. We applaud all the countries that have accepted the refugees and provided them with food and shelter, and we appeal to the Syrian people to come together to find a peaceful and lasting solution to their differences. There can be only one solution to that predicament, which is to resolve the source of the conflict so that all of the people of Syria are able to benefit from the peace they deserve. It is imperative that the objectives of the United Nations be met. One important aim of the United Nations is to work to rid society of all hostilities. We have put conflict-resolution mechanisms in place, and it is our duty to ensure that they are implemented effectively.

We trust that, as we proceed with the 2030 Agenda, we will fully embrace an all-inclusive approach. We therefore urge the United Nations to give every country in the world the opportunity to contribute to the global community in whatever form and capacity it can. In that regard, we appeal to the United Nations to consider admitting the Republic of China on Taiwan to membership. Like every other country, it has the

potential to contribute positively to the global agenda, in its case in such areas as health care and information and communications technology, to mention only a few.

The inclusiveness espoused by the United Nations should encompass representation in the key bodies of the Organization. The African continent continues to appeal for a permanent seat on the Security Council through which its voice will be fully represented, as outlined in the Ezulwini Consensus. We trust that the matter will receive the attention it deserves.

Finally, I would like once again to extend my heartiest congratulations to the entire United Nations family for its attainment of 70 years of togetherness. We wish to commend all United Nations agencies for their sustained efforts to fulfil the ideals of the Organization, which have benefited humankind in many ways. Let us renew our commitment to the objectives of our global Organization. We have grown in numbers, and that has given rise to new paradigms. We are certain that, with the correct mindset, that will be addressed accordingly. However, it is important to realize that, as much as our goals may be universal, we do not share the same capabilities and capacities for implementing them. May Almighty God bless us all.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland for the statement he has just made.

*His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

*Mr. Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Koroma:** I would like to warmly congratulate the President on his election to conduct the affairs of the Assembly at its historic seventieth session. I can assure him of my personal support and that of Sierra Leone during his tenure. I would also like to convey my sincere appreciation to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Sam Kutesa of the Republic of Uganda, for the effective way in which he led the previous session. And I heartily commend the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his constructive leadership of our Organization. Sierra Leone will continue to support progressive implementation of his laudable Five-Year Action Agenda, announced on 25 January 2012. We also welcome his synthesizing report on the work of the Organization (A/70/1), which articulates a call to action to transform our world beyond 2015.

Seventy years ago, we committed to promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. Today, that is still our task and common goal, and the very foundation in which our shared and common values are firmly embedded and should therefore be respected. It is in the pursuit of that task and our shared values that, 15 years ago, the Millennium Declaration (resolution 55/2) articulated a bold vision to eradicate extreme poverty, promote gender equality and ensure that children everywhere receive a basic education. Together, we have achieved a lot, getting millions out of poverty, getting millions into schools and breaking down many barriers to the empowerment of women. But our achievements are works in progress, as is our Organization. Many challenges still remain.

Many actions need to be taken in the offices of our Organization, and many actions must be taken in the field where the citizens of the world lead their lives. The two are interlinked. Without changes within the structures of our global Organization, our actions in the field will be hindered by the lack of ownership, lack of inclusion and lack of irreversible successes. That is why we commend the President for the choice and relevance of the theme of this session: “The United Nations at 70 — a new commitment to action”. We have put forward negotiating positions for reform in our Organization, we have drawn up plans for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and we adopted the financing for development framework in Addis Ababa in July. What is left now for us to do is to take action on all these fronts: to continue action to reform our Organization, to commence action in areas

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where there has not yet been action, to take action to overcome challenges, and to follow through on action to sustain, deepen and expand our achievements.

The unfinished business of the Millennium Development Goals and its accompanying challenges are critical to the work that lies ahead. We have learned lessons that are invaluable, and we have made undeniable progress. But the challenges we still face are seen in the millions not going to school, the millions not having health care, the millions of women who are oppressed, and the millions of people whose rights and lives are being trampled upon in the war zones and on the refugee routes of the world. The challenges have the urgency of a life-and-death situation for millions.

What we see the world over — in the refugee crisis, in the fight against poverty, transnational organized crime, terrorism, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, piracy, violence against women, in our actions to uphold human rights, and in the efforts for expanding access to health and education — what we see are struggles to promote inclusion in the better achievements of humankind: achievements in the areas of security, safety, peace, education, health and development. Where there is exclusion, people seek inclusion. The poor seek inclusion in a fairer world, and refugees seek inclusion in a safer world. We believe that the SDGs are about building a fairer, safer and better world for those excluded from the great achievements of humankind.

Making our global Organization more democratic, more participatory and fairer is part of the struggle for inclusion the world over. It is a prerequisite for achieving our universal aspirations as expressed in the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda (resolution 70/1). As the Coordinator of the African Union Committee of Ten Heads of State and Government on the Reform of the United Nations Security Council, I take this opportunity to emphasize once again the need for urgent reform of the Council and again echo Africa's concern over the failure of the General Assembly to adopt measures that will lead to a comprehensive reform of the Security Council.

I wish to call attention to the regrettable status quo that undermines the principles of equity, legitimacy, accountability and transparency. The current state of affairs also undermines the effectiveness of the Security Council in its pursuit of international peace and security. The need to address the issue of Africa's

non-representation in the permanent category and its underrepresentation in the non-permanent category is long overdue and therefore now imperative. Africa's demand for two permanent seats and two additional non-permanent seats as articulated in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration is just and provides a framework for a fairer and more inclusive United Nations. I welcome the recent adoption of resolution 69/321, designed, *inter alia*, to further the intergovernmental negotiation process, and I very much hope that meaningful progress will be made towards a consensus-building mechanism in the course of this seventieth session.

Sierra Leone is very committed to promoting inclusion in governance and in development and to furthering peace around the world. We shall continue to support initiatives to sustain and expand democracy, peace and security, in Africa in particular, and in the world at large. The contribution of Sierra Leone to United Nations peacekeeping efforts demonstrates our strong commitment to global peace and stability. We acknowledge the report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on uniting our strengths for peace: politics, partnership and people (A/70/95). We stand ready to explore further ways of increasing our contribution to global peacekeeping in order to enhance the success of United Nations peacekeeping operations. I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the men and women in uniform, as well as to civilian staff, who continue to make the ultimate sacrifice to serve humankind in complex and dangerous environments around the world. We totally condemn attacks against United Nations peacekeepers, and we call for action against the perpetrators of these cowardly acts.

The report of the Advisory Group of Experts for the 2015 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture and its recommendations is a useful document that informs us of lessons learned, best practices and the challenges ahead in terms of preventing relapses into violent conflict. We look forward to constructive engagement in the intergovernmental process in the light of the fact that Sierra Leone is one of the case studies and a storehouse of lessons learned.

We applaud our collective establishment of the Residual Special Court for Sierra Leone for the purpose of carrying out the continuing legal obligations of the original Special Court. Given the profile of persons convicted by the Court and those currently serving prison sentences under the supervision of the Residual

Court, it is in the interest of international peace and security and in furtherance of justice that we extend support to the effective operations of the Residual Court in order to enable it to fully deliver on its mandate.

Whether it be terrorism, climate change, disease or refugees, no country is immune from the challenges facing the world at large. Some countries may be able to keep some of these problems from reaching their shores. However, our globalized world has multiplied the routes along which these challenges move, going from country to country, from one region to another, from one group of people to another. That is why we cannot say a particular problem is only a problem for this country or that region. Poorer countries suffer disproportionately from particular problems but, without support from the world to solve them, the problems spread and haunt other regions, other countries and other groups. We need to incorporate that piece of wisdom into decision-making in every country, every region and every global organization.

That is also the piece of wisdom we need to incorporate into our decisions about climate change. Changes in the weather patterns in the Pacific and in the ocean currents of the North Atlantic are unleashing devastating floods in many places. A week and a half ago, we witnessed floods of proportions hitherto unseen in Sierra Leone, which devastated many parts of our capital, Freetown. Storms rage in the Cape Verde Islands and floods have ravaged other parts of West Africa. We believe that our experts are right when they attribute those disasters to man-made climate change.

We call for action, not only to lower emissions of greenhouse gases, which are implicated in those changes, but also to shore up capabilities to deal with the effects of climate change. No country, I reiterate, is immune from the physical, social, health and other consequences of climate change. We need to integrate that insight into our decisions about other urgent matters — youth unemployment, insecurity, extreme hunger, violence against women, transnational organized crime and piracy. Allowing these to get out of control in vulnerable nations increases the vulnerability of all nations.

Africa has made efforts to strengthen the continent's capacity for preventing and resolving conflicts. Countries in the global South have also been at the forefront of finding solutions and providing relief from the miseries of the world. They host more refugees

than other lands; they contribute more personnel to peacekeeping missions. Global solidarity is imperative in building our regional capacity to better handle those challenges. Without that solidarity, the challenges will jump across borders, evade immigration controls and leap over walls. That is why we need cooperative and coordinated partnerships to strengthen the capacities to respond to those challenges. Our voice, as fragile and conflict-affected States under the Group of Seven Plus, is a call for country ownership and country-led implementation of the SDGs.

Since 2012, Sierra Leone has been proactively tailoring its development framework in anticipation of the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1). The implementation of our national vision for socioeconomic development, as contained in the Government's poverty reduction strategy paper and articulated in the Agenda for Prosperity, was launched in July 2013 as Sierra Leone's road map for the post-2015 development agenda. The Agenda for Prosperity aims to build a sustainable future for all Sierra Leoneans. It demonstrates our firm commitment to putting Sierra Leone on the path to resilience and sustainability.

To that end, we have recorded significant progress in strengthening political and economic governance, including the improvement of social indicators. My Government has continued to place emphasis on the protection of the basic rights of the people of Sierra Leone. We have put in place comprehensive reforms in the justice sector, in response to both national and global demands, to ensure that the rights of citizens are preserved and that access to justice is accorded to all. The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone is closely collaborating with the Government to ensure that a human rights culture is entrenched in our society and that the Government ratifies several international treaties and protocols whose ratification is still outstanding and fulfils its various reporting obligations.

We have undertaken specific reform measures to improve the national investment climate. My Government is keen on delivering results in several priority areas, including infrastructure development, commercial agriculture, improved access to education and health-care services, youth empowerment and employment, women's empowerment, effective and efficient public service delivery and the social and political integration of persons with disabilities.

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At a time when Sierra Leone was being commended for its remarkable progress with respect to peace, stability and steady economic growth, we were hit by the unprecedented Ebola virus outbreak, which took a heavy toll on the entire socioeconomic fabric of Sierra Leone. However, we fought back, with support from our international friends, and have now almost defeated the evil virus, with zero cases being recorded for several days in September. As we make progress to end the epidemic, I wish to commend the United Nations agencies and the international community for their support and their commitment to ending the epidemic, as well as their support for the post-Ebola recovery plan.

I particularly commend the Secretary-General for mobilizing, for the very first time, a coordinated and integrated United Nations system intervention to support countries affected by the outbreak of the Ebola virus disease in our region. In addition to containing the epidemic, the intervention of the United Nations and our partners has resulted in an enhanced preparedness to respond to similar outbreaks in the future. That is a useful model that can be applied to contain and tackle pandemics wherever they may surface. In order to guarantee a lasting recovery, my Government, in collaboration with our sister Republics of Guinea and Liberia, have also formulated a subregional post-Ebola socioeconomic recovery plan to ensure that the three most Ebola-affected countries return to the path of stability and prosperity.

The Sierra Leone National Recovery Plan is based on two main pillars. The first pillar concentrates on immediate recovery activities, including maintaining zero infections. The second pillar focuses on building resilient and sustainable national systems, including a viable health system, and establishing an integrated national security and disaster risk management system.

I must state, with a considerable measure of satisfaction, that the international community's commitment to supporting the Ebola recovery plans has been very encouraging. On behalf of the Government and the people of Sierra Leone, allow me, Sir, to once again applaud our development partners for their unwavering commitment of support to Sierra Leone's development aspirations. Sierra Leone is poised and ready to continue working with the international community to resume its pre-Ebola development trajectory. We look forward to strengthening our partnerships for the effective

implementation of our post-Ebola recovery plans, both national and subregional.

In conclusion, as our noble Organization celebrates its seventieth anniversary this year, it is important to reflect on the Charter, which reaffirms

“faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large or small”.

With the commitment of leaving no one behind, we must objectively follow a pragmatic approach, with renewed vigour and resolve, to provide a future for our people that will guarantee justice, sustainable peace and security, accountability and democratic governance, employment opportunities, the transparent and equitable distribution of wealth, a safe and sustainable environment, improved health and relevant education. It is also important to ensure that conflicts are resolved around the world, if the Sustainable Development Goals are to be achieved, as no development can take place without peace.

Together, let us rise to that challenge with greater resolve, and take action to create a fairer, safer and better world.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by His Excellency Mr. Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Ukraine.

*Mr. Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

**President Poroshenko**: On behalf of Ukraine, I sincerely congratulate Mr. Mogens Lykketoft on his

election as President of the General Assembly at its seventieth session, and wish him every success in his activities at this crucial historic moment. Our future will largely depend on the outcomes of this session and our collective decisions — whether we choose to follow the path of peace, security and human rights, or to plunge into the turmoil of new hybrid wars, chaos and suffering.

On the occasion of this seventieth anniversary, I am proud to speak on behalf of one of the founding members of the United Nations, a State that, back in 1945, took an active part in the San Francisco Conference, helped to establish the Organization and lay down the foundation for its activities, a State whose contribution back then was of importance in shaping the core of the United Nations: the Purposes and Principles of its Charter.

Regrettably, I am also speaking on behalf of a State Member of the United Nations that is now the victim of a brutal violation of the fundamental norms and principles of that Charter. The statement by Ukraine upon its joining the United Nations as one of its founding Members, which was delivered at the San Francisco Conference, emphasized that Ukraine had repeatedly been the subject of bloody invasions by aggressors that for centuries had sought to capture its territory.

A long time has passed since that landmark event. But, today, I have to recall that my country has become the object of external aggression. This time, the aggressor is the Russian Federation, a neighbouring country and a former strategic partner, which legally pledged to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and inviolability of the borders of Ukraine. That country used to be a guarantor of Ukraine's security under the Budapest Memorandum, whereby security guarantees were provided to my country in exchange for the voluntary renunciation of the world's third nuclear arsenal. Moreover, it is a permanent member of the Security Council, which is entrusted by the Charter of the United Nations with the maintenance of international peace and security.

In February 2014, Russia conducted an open and unprovoked aggression against my country, occupying and annexing the Crimea, wantonly and brutally violating international law and shocking the whole world community. I am deeply grateful to the delegations of the majority of the States Members of our Organization for supporting resolution 68/262, entitled "Territorial integrity of Ukraine", which condemned the illegal

Russian annexation of the Crimea. It is regrettable that this clear verdict of the international community failed to persuade Russia to return to the civilized sphere of international law. Moreover, Moscow started a new reckless military game — this time, in Ukraine's Donbas region.

Despite the fact that Russia is still refusing to officially acknowledge its direct military invasion, there can be no doubt that an aggressive war is being waged against my country. To mislead the world community, the Russian leadership orders its military servicemen to remove their insignias and the identification marks on military equipment. It orders the abandonment of its soldiers captured on the battlefield and the cynical use of mobile crematoriums to eliminate traces of its crimes on Ukrainian soil.

I would like to stress that neither a civil war nor an internal conflict is taking place. Russia's occupation of Ukrainian territory in the Crimea and the Donbas region covers approximately 44,000 square kilometres, and millions of Ukrainians are under that occupation. The goal of the current war is to force the Ukrainian people to give up their sovereign choice to build a free, democratic, prosperous and European State. All that is taking place against a backdrop of traitorous rhetoric about brotherly peoples, sharing a common history, related languages and a predestined common future. In actual fact, we are dealing here with a desire to return to imperial times, with spheres of influence, and a desperate attempt to obtain self-affirmation at another's expense.

For over 20 months, the aggression against my country has been fuelled by Russia's financing of terrorists and mercenaries and its supplying of arms and military equipment to illegal armed groups in Donbas. Over the past few days, we have heard a conciliatory statement from the Russian side, including a call for the establishment of an anti-terrorist coalition and a warning that fraternizing with terrorists would pour oil on the flames. That was an impressive but hard-to-believe story.

How can a country call for an anti-terrorist coalition when it is inspiring terrorism so close to home? How can it talk about peace and legitimacy, if its policy is to wage war through puppet governments? How can it speak of national autonomy, if it punishes a neighbour for making a choice? How can it demand respect for all, if it respects no one? The Gospel of St. John teaches

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us that in the beginning there was the word; but what kind of Gospel is one following if all one's words are so duplicitous?

Let us return to the situation in Donbas, where, I have to say, we are being forced to fight fully armed troops belonging to regular units of the Russian armed forces. Heavy weaponry and military equipment are concentrated in the occupied territories in quantities such as the armies of the majority of Member States can only dream about. In particular, various pieces of state-of-the-art military equipment that were manufactured in Russia are to be found among that same weaponry and, contrary to the public assertion of the Russian President, are unlikely to be available for sale in a regular wholesale army store, unless, of course, it was located in the Russian Federation and provided free shipping.

During the period in question, over 8,000 Ukrainians, of whom 6,000 were civilians, died at the hands of the Russian-backed terrorists and occupiers in Ukraine and Donbas. More than 1.5 million residents of Donbas were forced to flee their homes and, moving to safer regions within Ukraine, became internally displaced persons. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the international community for making such a considerable effort to provide assistance to those in need.

At the same time, I call on the United Nations and other international actors to continue to pay special attention to that very important issue. I would like to draw everyone's attention to the fact that this is not the first time that the same permanent member of the Security Council is undermining peace and security at both the regional and the international level.

Over the past 24 years, ever since the questionable transfer of permanent membership on the Security Council from the former Soviet Union to the Russian Federation, the conflict in Ukraine is but one of several hybrid wars that Russia has unleashed. In fact, in order to preserve its influence in neighbouring countries, Russia, for decades, has deliberately created, and surrounded itself with, a belt of instability, made up of Nagorno Karabakh, Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Crimea and Donbas — all regions involving protracted conflicts and supported by or directly related to Russia. But the Kremlin has gone even further. Today, the Russian men in green are treading on Syrian land. What and who are next?

In every democratic country, if one party steals another party's property, an independent court restores justice by enforcing the rights of the aggrieved party and punishing the offender. Yet, here we are in the twenty-first century and our Organization is still without an effective instrument to bring an aggressor country to justice, a country which has stolen the territory of another sovereign State. Seventy years ago, the authors of the Charter of the United Nations envisaged that sanctions imposed by the Security Council would be one of the punishments applied in response to breaches of peace and acts of aggression.

However, they would have been hard put to imagine a situation in which that punishment needs to be applied against an aggressor State that is a permanent member of the Security Council. Since the beginning of the aggression, Russia has used its right of veto twice during the Council's consideration of questions related to Ukraine. At the outset, Russia blocked a draft resolution (S/2014/189) that condemned the fake referendum on Crimea's annexation in March 2014. At that very moment, in my capacity as a Ukrainian member of Parliament, I was there when the Russians said that there was a vote on this same fake referendum. No member of Parliament was present. On the contrary, there were only Russian soldiers surrounding the Parliament of Crimea.

The second time that Russia used its right of veto was to block a draft resolution (S/2015/562) that would have established an international tribunal to investigate and bring to justice all those responsible for the crash of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17. By its disgraceful use of the veto on that draft resolution, Russia clearly demonstrated to the whole world its defiance and its unwillingness to establish the truth — not just the truth about the perpetrators of that terrorist attack and the arms that were used to shot down that plane, but, more important, the truth concerning those who organized that crime and the country from which those arms had been transported. I think that everyone in this Hall clearly understands the real motives of Russia's use of the veto on a draft resolution concerning a tribunal to investigate Flight MH-17. Moreover, a draft resolution on the establishment of an international peacekeeping operation, whose purpose would have been to stabilize the situation in Ukraine and stop the bloodshed, was also blocked because of the potential threat of Russia's use of the veto.

Abuse of the right of veto — its use as a licence to kill — is absolutely unacceptable (see S/PV.7384). The Organization should make its collective voice heard clearly on this subject. For its part, Ukraine stands for the gradual limitation of the right of veto, with its eventual abolition. The right of veto should not be exercised randomly or to grant a pardon or clemency in cases where crimes have been committed and merit appropriate punishment.

In that context, I welcome the proposal of my French colleague and friend, President Hollande, supported by President Peña Nieto of Mexico, aimed at regulating the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocities. Primary attention should be given to the modernization of the Security Council, including the enlargement of its membership and the improvement of its working methods. The membership of the Security Council should reflect the realities of the twenty-first century and include a higher number of African, Asian and Latin American States. An additional non-permanent seat on the Council should be given to the Eastern European Group, as its membership has doubled over the past two decades.

Ukraine also considers improvement of the peacekeeping and peacebuilding architecture of the Organization an important element of United Nations reform. I am proud of Ukraine's international reputation as an active and devoted contributor to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Despite external challenges, we remain a reliable partner of the Organization in that noble matter. Ukraine's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security provides us with the moral ground to count on the same assistance from the Organization in times of the vital importance of that issue on the part of my country.

The special peacekeeping mission in Dombas, under United Nations auspices, could become a very useful instrument contributing to the implementation of the Minsk agreements. Ukraine is committed to following the letter and spirit of the Minsk package. We demand the same approach from other signatories that have lately resorted to the language of blackmail. Otherwise, there is no alternative to sanctions, including their strengthening; and there is no alternative to a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Full access to all occupied territories by the monitors of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), withdrawal of Russian

military forces, military equipment and mercenaries from Ukrainian territory and restoration of full control by Ukraine over its border with Russia— these must all be ensured. Freedom, peace and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity — Ukraine does not demand more; however, it will not settle for less.

Unfortunately, today Ukraine is, though not by its own free will, one of the areas involved in the fight against the terrorist threat. We strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. The activities of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, Al-Qaida, Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab and others comprise a global challenge. The only possible way to address that evil is to unite in a common, uncompromising fight against it.

International terrorism has proved to be more flexible than the political will of nations and today has taken on new hybrid forms. State and non-State actors have become interlinked. The struggle for one's rights has been replaced by ruthless terror. We are convinced that the need for a universal international instrument able to counteract that crime is not only urgent but long overdue. For that reason, the conclusion of the preparatory work on the draft United Nations convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism should become a top priority of the General Assembly at this session.

A special role in the fight against international terrorism should be given to the most reputable legal institutions: the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. Ensuring that those institutions have universal jurisdiction is a core element in overcoming the impunity of the terrorists themselves and their patrons — those regimes whose national policy has become the mass production of terror.

I strongly believe that one of the most important aspects of fighting terrorism lies in honouring and sharing the memories of the victims. In that context, I propose that, at the current session, the General Assembly consider designating an international day to commemorate the memory of the victims of terrorist acts. It is my feeling that humiliation, disregard of people's will and violation of their fundamental rights prompted Ukrainians to leave their homes in order to protest in 2013, which led to the beginning of our revolution to uphold our dignity.

Ukraine has paid and continues to pay an extremely high price for its freedom and the right to live in a free country — the price of human lives. That is why the



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interests of every single individual and the protection of people's rights are at the core of my large-scale reform programme, which was launched one year ago. For the first time in its 24 years of independence, Ukraine has adopted a national human rights strategy. It took into account the best international practices from the human rights perspective, including the European Union's Strategic Framework on Human Rights and Democracy.

Russian aggression exposed the problem of ensuring human rights in the Crimea and parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Leading international human rights organizations warned about the radical deterioration of the human rights situation, which applies directly to Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars in the occupied Crimea. I am referring specifically to the practice of imposing Russian citizenship in occupied Crimea by the Crimean occupation authorities, as well as the systematic persecution, arrest, abduction and killing of pro-Ukraine residents of the peninsula and the complete elimination of the independent media. Ukraine reaffirms its commitment to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. By all legal means, we will continue to defend the rights of the Crimean Tatars — the indigenous people of Ukraine — and the Ukrainians, who are suffering from the repressive policies of the occupation authorities in the Crimea. I believe that the problem of blatant violation of human rights in Crimea deserves particular consideration in the General Assembly. And I hope that the decision to address this issue will be taken during the current session.

I also feel obliged to mention the names of Nadiya Savchenko, Oleg Sentsov, Alexandr Kolchenko, among many other Ukrainians, who are political prisoners of the Kremlin or have been illegally detained and sentenced. For example, Oleg Sentsov, a respected filmmaker, was sentenced to 23 years in prison solely for being a Ukrainian patriot. I call upon the United Nations and its Member States to launch a worldwide campaign to put pressure on the Russian authorities to immediately release all the Ukrainian citizens that they are holding hostage. We will be able to achieve our goal only if our action is global. Most of all, Ukraine needs solidarity and assistance, which are truly powerful instruments against aggression and injustice. Ukraine will win for sure because truth is on our side. But we will do so much faster if we have the support and solidarity of the whole international community.

The ongoing hybrid war of Russia against Ukraine has demonstrated that the international community is facing another challenge, which requires the consolidation of our efforts. The full-scale information war and propaganda campaign have become a particularly corrosive form of non-military aggression. Fake news, blatant lies spread to justify aggression, propaganda of intolerance and violence are phenomena of the same order, which undermine the principle of freedom of expression and poison human souls and minds. That is why the task of strengthening the role of information in the maintenance of peace and security is more important than ever. I call on the General Assembly to strongly condemn these shameful phenomena and to discuss the ways to confront them.

Despite the external challenges that I have referred to, Ukraine is fully committed to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. We are ready to share joint responsibility for solving specific vital problems and priorities of the most vulnerable groups of countries, such as the small island developing States. As one of the Friends on Climate Change, Ukraine is looking forward to reaching consensus on a universal agreement in the area of climate change as soon as possible. We hope that this result will be achieved by Member States in December in Paris. We have to understand that the price of this issue is the safety of future generations and the sustainable development of humankind.

We shall not be able to achieve the sustainable Development Goals unless we are able to prevent environmental and technological disasters from happening. As a result of the Russian aggression, Ukraine faces another challenge — the protection of its environment in Donbas. The irresponsible and criminal flooding of mines by terrorists has led to the poisoning of drinking water, the soil, and the flora and fauna in the region. The atmosphere is polluted owing to explosions and the shelling of sensitive industrial infrastructure. In fact, we can even speak about the risk of environmental disaster. I am convinced that the issue of environmental protection during conflict needs the special attention of the relevant United Nations body.

With regard to technological disasters, it is my duty to recall one of the most horrific of them. Next year will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the tragedy of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. I would like to request that the President hold a special meeting of the General Assembly dedicated to that anniversary in April 2016.

My country's address on the occasion of joining the United Nations included the words,

"Ukraine, with its best human strength and material resources, will be able to make a significant contribution to maintaining peace and global security".

Now, 70 years on, I reiterate Ukraine's unwavering commitment to exerting a further maximum effort to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, a commitment enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Our focus will be on the achievement of that noble goal if we are elected to a non-permanent membership of the Security Council during 2016-2017. In the capacity of member of the Council, Ukraine intends to remain a reliable and consistent partner, guided not by its own, but by the global agenda, and will resolutely follow the spirit and letter of the Charter. And I am firmly convinced that the Organization will pass the extremely complex test with dignity and strengthen its role as a guarantor of order, peace and prosperity in the world. Let God be with us!

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Ukraine for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Petro Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón,  
President of the Republic of Colombia**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by Mr. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, President of the Republic of Colombia.

*Mr. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, President of the Republic of Colombia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, President of the Republic of Colombia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Santos Calderón** (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to thank our Ambassador María Emma Mejía Vélez for giving me the floor. What a source of great pride it is for us that a Colombian woman is presiding over this meeting at this historic moment, when the General Assembly is considering the topic "The United

Nations at 70: the road ahead for peace, security and human rights", which is the road along which Colombia is travelling, now more successfully than ever before.

I am therefore honoured to come to this Assembly to share some news which is also historic. Today, I proclaim to the entire world that one of the more than 20 armed conflicts taking place across the globe, which are causing so much pain, poverty and suffering, that of my country, Colombia, is finally nearing a genuine solution. We will put an end to the longest and most recent armed conflict in the Western Hemisphere. Achieving peace — in Colombia or in any part of the world — is a responsibility that nobody must shirk.

As Pope Francis said so well a few days ago in the Congress of the United States of America,

"When countries which have been at odds resume the path of dialogue — a dialogue which may have been interrupted for the most legitimate of reasons — new opportunities open up for all. This has required, and requires, courage and daring, which is not the same as irresponsibility."

In Colombia we have tried to work with the courage, the audacity and also the sense of responsibility of which the Holy Father spoke, and we are beginning to see the fruits of our efforts. We have had more than 50 years of internal warfare in a country destined for progress and happiness, and we are determined to put an end to that conflict. Peace is a difficult goal to attain, but not an impossible one. Peace is something more than the fruit of a political, social or economic process. Peace, more than anything, is a great process of collective cultural transformation that begins with an individual spiritual change, and it requires that all individuals — each within himself or herself — open their minds, hearts and souls to reconciliation.

Why do I say that today I come to this Assembly with greater optimism than ever before? Well, it is because less than a week ago in Havana, after almost three years of negotiations in which we made progress on most of the items on the agreed agenda, we reached an agreement on what was perhaps the major obstacle to peace. We reached an agreement on the most difficult element of any peace process — a system of transitional justice that ensures that there is no impunity for the most serious crimes committed during the conflict. In this agreement, which respects the norms and principles of international law and our own Constitution, we put the greatest emphasis on the right of victims to justice

and on truth, reparations and the non-resumption of the conflict, placing them at the centre of the solution to an armed conflict. And we are reaching our goal: the maximum degree of justice compatible with the attainment of peace.

It is also the first time in the history of conflicts in the world that a Government and an illegal armed group — in a peace agreement, not as the result of something that was imposed later on — are creating a system of accountability in a domestic court for international crimes and other serious crimes. We are setting a precedent that could serve as a model for other armed conflicts in the world. The progress made is so important and significant that it has enabled us to take two additional steps, which is the best news that I could convey to this great forum of nations. We have agreed to a deadline for signing the final agreement that would put an end to our armed conflict. It will be, at the very latest, 23 March 2016, in less than six months from now. On that date at the very latest, we shall bid a final farewell to the last and longest war not just in Colombia, but in the entire Western Hemisphere. In addition, we have also agreed that the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) will begin to lay down its weapons no later than 60 days following the signing of the final agreement. That means that next year, when I return to this Assembly, I will do so as President of a Colombia that is at peace and has achieved reconciliation.

Our talks with the FARC guerilla forces offer a glimmer of hope in a world overshadowed by war, violence and terrorism. This is also an opportunity to thank the international community, on behalf of 48 million Colombians, for its support for our peace efforts and for its willingness to assist us in the post-conflict stage. A peaceful Colombia will be a positive factor for the world in several distinct but interrelated areas, such as combating climate change and illegal drugs, security and eradicating extreme poverty.

Our country is proud to be the most biodiverse country in the world in relation to its size. However, we are also one of the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. That is why we insist on the environmental dimension of the Sustainable Development Goals. At the end of my term in office in 2018, I hope to have left behind protected areas in Colombia of approximately 20 million hectares, accounting for almost one-fifth of our landmass. We fully support the twenty-first session of the Conference of Parties to the United Nations

Framework Convention on Climate Change, which is to be held at the end of this year in Paris, where we will commit to assisting in the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

We are also addressing the problem of illegal drug crops with a comprehensive strategy that we have proposed to the rest of the world. At the Summit of the Americas, held in Cartagena, Colombia, in 2012, I raised the need for an objective assessment of the outcome of the so-called war on drugs declared here more than 40 years ago, which has been so costly in human lives and resources. The study was conducted and submitted by the Organization of American States two years ago. Now, we are preparing for the special session of the General Assembly on this issue, to take place seven months from now. We continue to advocate a new global strategy based on scientific evidence that puts greater emphasis on health, education and tackling the social roots of this phenomenon and seeks to minimize the negative effects of drugs through the use of smarter, more effective and more humane strategies.

In Colombia, we have gone even further. Last week, I presented a comprehensive crop-substitution plan based on that multifaceted approach. Not only will we attack the mafias, whom we will pursue relentlessly, but we will also provide social and economic opportunities for farmers, ensure that the State and the justice system are ever-present, prevent drug use and treat it as a public health issue. If we end the conflict, the guerrilla forces that have been a negative factor in drug-trafficking will become, once they lay down their weapons, an ally in combating it. It will be extraordinarily symbolic when those who once protected these illicit crops will help us to eradicate them. In that way, Colombia wins and the entire world wins. We will begin to free ourselves from coca and, at the same time, to preserve and save millions of hectares of tropical forest. As the Pope so eloquently said in this very Hall four days ago, “war is the negation of all rights and a dramatic assault on the environment” (*A/70/PV.3, p. 5*).

A peaceful Colombia will also be a safer Colombia because the enormous energy and effort that today are dedicated to dealing with this domestic conflict will be focused on improving security and on fighting crime in the cities and villages of my country. Of course, it will be a Colombia with more opportunities for everyone where we will continue to reduce poverty and create jobs, as we have been doing at a rate that has made us the leader in Latin America in terms of social progress,

in recent years. Achieving peace will enable us to meet the Sustainable Development Goals, which are now enshrined in Colombian law and which we adopted in 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1).

I now invite all Colombians, without exception, and all citizens of the world to pave the way for peace. The most worthwhile legacy we could leave to our children and to future generations is peace. Nothing could be more important or more urgent because peace is the supreme good of any society. It is the most sacred good and the very reason for the existence of the United Nations. Today, I am delighted to announce the good news that, in fewer than six months, bells will toll in Colombia to announce that the time for peace has come. I hope that clocks around the world will be synchronized with our own to show the same time — a time for peace, a time for humankind.

**The Vice-President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Colombia for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, President of the Republic of Colombia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

#### **Address by Mr. Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

*Mr. Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Anastasiades:** This year marks the seventieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations, and provides us with an opportunity to take stock of the past seven decades, as well as to jointly discuss and exchange ideas on how to further improve the Organization's effectiveness and its members' collaboration, with the benefit of humankind always in view. In order to assess our collective efforts, we

should first recall the guiding principles that led to the establishment of the United Nations in the aftermath of the death and destruction of the Second World War. The Preamble to the founding Charter of the United Nations establishes the eradication of the scourge of war and the promotion of human rights as the cornerstones of our edifice.

So far, the United Nations has succeeded in preventing another world war and has helped to end conflicts through mediation. Currently, more than 100,000 United Nations peacekeepers are deployed in 16 countries. Yet numerous armed conflicts all over the planet attest to the fact that global peace still evades us. In the area of human rights, the United Nations has undertaken inspiring initiatives, starting with the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and followed by many international agreements and treaties setting universal standards for civil, political, social and economic rights. Yet in a world challenged by poverty, hunger, child mortality and social and economic inequalities, it is evident that we have a long way to go.

At the same time, leaving aside the strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures of the United Nations, we should not undermine or underestimate the fact that in an interdependent world it provides the only international forum in which nations can interact, deliberate and negotiate so as to resolve not only their differences, but also pressing regional and international challenges that are not country-specific and that call the international order into question.

In order to enhance its value and influence in a globalized era, the United Nations has evolved, with its recent adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1). The 2030 Agenda seeks to address the needs of a developing global population through its commonly agreed 17 Goals and 169 targets. Cyprus, which has been actively involved in the process since its very beginning, is proud of this achievement, since it reflects our high principles of effective multilateralism and close cooperation among the nations of the world.

However, while on the one hand we have achieved the adoption of such an ambitious agenda, on the other we are also witnessing the ongoing turmoil, extremism, sectarianism, civil war and terrorism that are taking place in the Middle East, North Africa and other regions. Their effects — death, persecution,

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dispossession of property, displacement, destruction of cultural heritage and forced migration — are becoming defining features of the daily lives of those affected. We must therefore be vigilant, for while we are attempting to establish fundamental principles of peace, stability and sustainable development for the future, in practice we are seeing the increasing migratory flows of those who are involuntarily fleeing their homes in search of a better future. As we strive to set up noble, long-term objectives and goals, events that are currently unfolding may render them irrelevant or unattainable. When we assume that only Jordan, Turkey, Lebanon and, more recently, Europe are affected by the current refugee crisis, we fail to acknowledge that if it persists, other countries and continents will be affected as well.

In order to reverse those worrying developments, therefore, we should direct our efforts so that every country and region in a conflict zone, particularly the Middle East and North Africa, can become a place in which sustainable development is a reality. That can be achieved only by tackling the root causes that have led to this unprecedented situation — that is, political instability and economic insecurity. We should address this collectively and comprehensively. It is not enough to take action against the individuals responsible for terrorist attacks; we should focus our efforts on the enablers of terrorism. It is not enough to rescue people from sinking boats; we should focus our efforts on human traffickers. It is not enough to support economic immigrants financially; we should focus our efforts on creating the political and socioeconomic conditions that can ensure that all these people do not emigrate from their countries.

In view of this horrific humanitarian crisis, one might wonder if we have neglected to take the necessary measures to avert this crisis. Has our strategy been adequate? Have we failed to predict the events that have unfolded? Considering Cyprus's proximity to the Middle East and North Africa, as well as our historical, political, social and cultural links, I am firmly convinced that the international community has failed to sufficiently appreciate those regions' complexities. At the same time, foreign interventions and involvement have not produced the hoped-for results, because they have failed to take into account and understand those nations' internal characteristics and particular sensitivities.

I would like to quote a remark made by the Secretary-General at a ceremony in San Francisco on

26 June commemorating the seventieth anniversary of the adoption of the Charter.

“Today, we take the idea of the United Nations for granted, but bringing it to life required huge leaps of statecraft to bridge differences.”

And while we recognize how valuable and necessary the United Nations is today, we can also see that it is in need of reform and modernization to enable it to tackle today's realities.

The international order and perspectives of 1945 are not the same as those of 2015. Traditional security orientations have changed due to new geopolitical circumstances. Issues of peace and stability can no longer be confined to the differences between and within nations, when non-State actors such as terrorists have challenged the established international order, paving the way for religious fundamentalism, violent extremism, the forcible displacement of people and forced migration.

At the same time, new global threats such as climate change and environmental degradation have also emerged. After 70 years, world leaders must once again demonstrate statesmanship and vision in order to rebuild newly broken societies and find a path to renewal. In that regard, we welcome the recently adopted resolution 69/321, on revitalization, as well as the ongoing dialogue towards enhancing the effectiveness of the Security Council. We also support the upcoming high-level United Nations meetings aimed at resolving a number of global challenges, including the United Nations Climate Change Conference, in Paris in December; the special session on the world drug problem, in April 2016; and the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, in Quito in November 2016.

Peacekeeping constitutes one of the main pillars and accomplishments of the United Nations. However, the United Nations is not only about peacekeeping; it is also about conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations provides a wide gamut of options for the peaceful settlement of issues. We look forward to concrete proposals for adapting United Nations peacekeeping operations to the changing nature of conflict and for enhancing their effectiveness and their ability to promote political solutions. In that regard, we greatly welcome the 2015 review of United Nations peacebuilding operations (see

A/70/95), and we compliment the Secretary-General for undertaking that initiative.

Cyprus, through its own experience of hosting a United Nations peacekeeping force, greatly values the contribution of the United Nations to the maintenance of peace and security. We also express our appreciation for the plethora of United Nations resolutions and Security Council decisions that have condemned the unacceptable status quo and the violent and ongoing division of the island, calling for its reunification and the withdrawal of occupation forces — resolutions and decisions that, unfortunately, have yet to be implemented.

Following the non-renewal of actions that violated the exercise by the Republic of Cyprus of its sovereign rights within its exclusive economic zone and the change in the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community, a window of opportunity opened, reviving our hope that the round of negotiations that resumed in May will lead to a final settlement of the Cyprus problem. That hope is based on my conviction that both I and the Turkish Cypriot leader share the same courage and resolve to advance decisively towards making the joint vision of our peoples — who desire the solution of the Cyprus problem through a viable, lasting and functional settlement — a reality. That settlement must be in full conformity with the values and principles of the character of the United Nations and the European Union *acquis*, as well as with the high-level agreements between the leaders of the two communities and the joint declaration of 11 February 2014. Such a settlement would lead to the evolution of the Republic of Cyprus as a federal State in a bizonal, bicomunal federation with political equality, single sovereignty, a single international legal personality and a single form of citizenship; a State that is and will continue to be a Member of the United Nations, the European Union and numerous other international organizations, and whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order will not be constrained by anachronistic systems of guarantees by third countries or the presence of foreign troops on the island.

What we aspire to achieve through this new round of negotiations is to reach a settlement in which there will be neither winners nor losers; that takes into account the sensitivities and concerns of both communities; that respects the fundamental freedoms and human rights of all Cypriots, Greek and Turkish alike; that reunites our country, its people, its economy

and its institutions; that creates a homeland of peaceful coexistence and prosperous collaboration among all its citizens, to the benefit of the younger generations; that allows Cyprus to realize its full potential by removing all political barriers that prevent the full exploitation of its unique geographical position at the crossroads of Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Asia; that transforms Cyprus into a shining example of ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic cooperation between Christian and Muslim communities; and that turns Cyprus into a model of reliability, stability and security in a turbulent and volatile region currently characterized by protracted conflicts and instability.

I am pleased to inform the Assembly that, during the new round of negotiations, progress has been achieved on a number of issues that touch on almost all chapters of the Cyprus problem. However, on other substantive issues, significant differences still need to be resolved — differences whose resolution will also require the active and determined contribution of Turkey, whose occupation forces remain in the northern part of our country. I sincerely hope that Turkey's rhetorical assurances of its desire to reach a settlement will at last be tested in practice through the adoption of concrete measures that will positively underpin the negotiation process and reflect the current climate of hope on the island.

I strongly believe that reaching a solution to the Cyprus problem could become a paradigm for the way in which diplomacy and the adoption of a conciliatory stance can prevail over mistrust and contribute to the resolution of even the most difficult international issues. Furthermore, the discovery of hydrocarbon reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean has the potential to create synergies and a grid of alliances for broader cooperation between hydrocarbon-producing and hydrocarbon-consuming countries of the area and beyond, to the benefit of the socioeconomic development and welfare of our peoples. Such positive developments can foster the achievement and maintenance of a much-needed environment of stability and peace in our immediate neighbourhood.

I am certain that the General Assembly shares the view that the settlement of the Cyprus problem will create a win-win situation, not only for its people, but also for the region, the interested parties and the international community at large.

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**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Republic of Cyprus for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Tabaré Vázquez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay**

**The President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

*Mr. Tabaré Vázquez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Tabaré Vázquez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Vázquez** (*spoke in Spanish*): I bring to this forum, the largest and most representative of today's world, the greetings of the people and the Government of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay — a greeting that expresses our passion for peace and freedom; our commitment to democracy, human rights, justice and solidarity; our commitment to the sustainable development of our country; and our desire for a humankind that, despite the redundancy, places at its core human beings — all human beings, men and women of this world without exception or excuse. We are all equal before the law, but above all we are all equal before life.

Although I come from Uruguay, I am not here to talk about the problems of Uruguay. I would modestly like to discuss problems affecting humankind as a whole. Weeks ago the world public opinion was moved by the image of a dead child on a beach after the sinking of the vessel with which, like so many other victims of the conflict in their country, he was trying to find a place in the world where he could find the protection to which he was entitled. The international reaction was immediate, but we hope that it was not ephemeral, that we not forget this tragedy that hit us and shamed us, to act with determination and efficiency in finding

solutions to the global tragedy of the exodus of millions of human beings.

Uruguay, as a nation nurtured by immigration and as a people that received international solidarity when it needed it, accepts this unavoidable duty. It is imperative to avoid a repetition of this tragedy, but it is also necessary to address the causes that brought it about. Always, and not just in matters of health, prevention is better than cure. Prevention means recognizing others as the same as us, which is much more than “tolerating” them”, respecting and promoting their rights, all their rights; betting on democracy as a form of government and state of society; educating and training for dignified life, decent work and full citizenship; respecting the planet on which we live, which, moreover, is still the only one on which the human species can survive as such. If we continue to destroy this world in the short term, humankind and future generations are sure to be homeless.

Prevention also means rejecting all forms of terrorism and discrimination so that there are no dead children on the beaches of the world because they cannot find a place to live, rejecting terrorism and discrimination wherever they arise and in all circumstances and places. Prevention is thinking boldly and acting sensibly with an eye on future generations, but as there is no future without a present, prevention is also thinking and acting according to our hopes, needs and possibilities.

A moment ago, I made a reference to health, no doubt because of my work experience — since I am a physician and until very recently was in the full exercise of my profession and vocation — but not only from experience. As the leader of my country, I am well aware that public health is a key and essential component of the sovereignty of nations, a right of individuals, a factor in the development of societies and an unavoidable responsibility of States.

From that perspective, we face a disturbing and unavoidable reality at the level of the whole of planet Earth. Indeed, according to recent studies and reports of the World Health Organization, first, the global burden of disease is shifting from acute, infectious diseases to chronic non-communicable diseases; the two must be fought, by working to keep acute diseases from appearing and by acting to prevent non-communicable chronic diseases from occurring. Secondly, chronic conditions such as heart disease and strokes are

currently the leading cause of death worldwide. If we add other non-communicable diseases linked mainly to the lifestyle that we are developing as we advance, it is obvious that there is little left to say. Over 60 to 70 per cent of morbidity and mortality worldwide is due to chronic non-communicable diseases — cardiovascular diseases, cancer, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, diabetes, and so on. Accordingly there is still so much to be done.

That task should have no borders of any kind, because the complex of problems underlying them know no borders. That is so much the case that the mere mention of the complex global landscape brings to mind Africa and Asia in particular, as well as Latin America, where many low-income and middle-income countries currently face a double burden of morbidity. Infectious diseases are killing people mercilessly and impacting us deeply, while chronic non-communicable diseases are also insidiously killing our populations.

At the same time, malnutrition and risk factors for chronic non-communicable diseases, such as overweight and obesity, have been said to also affect high-income countries and remain prevalent in the world. It is estimated that cancer has been costing Latin America \$4.5 billion annually in terms of direct costs for physicians' consultations, studies, diagnoses, treatment, medication, hospitalization, palliative care and more. There are indirect costs as well, such as travel and accommodations, lost work days and productivity. How much of that money could be saved if, rather than using it to treat the effects of these diseases, it could be put into social policies to improve people's lives by offering better education, better health and dignified living conditions for our peoples?

It may be unpleasant to mention this aspect, but it is part of an uncomfortable reality that we must change, because if we do not adopt immediate measures by the year 2030, 1 million Latin Americans will die annually of cancer alone, and more than 7 million people globally will die from a preventable disease that, with early diagnosis and proper treatment, can be cured. Cancer will kill more people in the world every year than those killed during the Second World War. We are facing a brutal pandemic and, I humbly suggest, we must be aware of the reality we are currently suffering a pandemic that the humankind has never before known.

Life is precious; it has no price. In order to address and reverse the growing morbidity and mortality

from cancer and other non-communicable diseases, it is important to adopt political positions and policies and to implement systemic strategies to end poverty, generate social inclusion, promote education, encourage healthful lifestyles, and strengthen integrated health systems, including national programmes for the primary prevention, early detection and diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation and long-term follow-up of these diseases. In regard to healthful lifestyles, physical activity and sports are important, as is a healthful diet, as opposed to the harmful and highly processed foods of an industry that growing exponentially.

We must control smoking, alcoholism and drug abuse. Based on our experience, we feel that it is indispensable to include tobacco and alcohol in our policies on drugs. We know it is not easy, but it is possible to regulate those markets without resorting to prohibitionist dogmatism and respecting the rights of individuals and making public health a matter of State sovereignty and social progress. Above all, I reiterate that the fight against smoking is also one against its vector of transmission, which is not mosquitoes, birds or rats but a multinational tobacco industry that, in order to double its profits, has no problem killing its own customers.

Uruguay has been a world leader in the implementation of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Beginning in January 2014, Uruguay adopted a law on the control and regulation of cannabis, and we are working on measures related to controlling alcoholism, perhaps with a zero-tolerance policy in certain cases and circumstances. Finally, with regard to that issue, nothing can be achieved in isolation. Everything requires sensitivity, resolve and perseverance on the part of all Governments and peoples throughout the world.

In the area of international cooperation, we are not starting from zero. There are a number of institutional frameworks and modalities and very many projects under way. Could the implementation of the former and the progress of the latter be improved? No doubt, but rather than inventing new ones, let us make better use of what we already have. To that end, we certainly will need more human, material and financial resources, but there is one resource without which all these things, as abundant as they may be, will always be insufficient. I am referring to the resource of political will, which in this case is more than an ideological dilemma or a question of left, right or centre; it is an ethical issue.



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It is not ethical that, in some circumstances, tribunals and multinational organizations are able to prioritize trade over the defence of the fundamental human right to health and life. That is what Uruguay is suffering from. A major international tobacco company — I would cite only its initials so as not to offend certain sensibilities, but it is in fact Philip Morris — has appealed against Uruguay for bringing the issue of tobacco control to the World Health Organization. That is the situation Uruguay faces. Perhaps because we are a small country, we have been chosen for that role, not just to punish Uruguay but so that other countries of the world do not follow the path Uruguay has taken to fight against tobacco and to provide a better quality of life to its people.

Calling for ethics in the twenty-first century, I realize, might appear to be naïve or anachronistic, but the reality indicates the opposite. As we stated, we need only look at the news of the past few weeks to see that in some aspects, none of them trivial, the world really seems to be a kind of lunatic asylum run by its own patients. That is terrible, but if humankind wants to survive and progress, it cannot resign itself to such a terrible situation. It cannot become resigned to war or to the humiliation of poor people who have nothing to eat, nor can we close our eyes 24 hours after seeing a Syrian boy dead on a Turkish beach.

From our own perspective as a Latin American country and as Latin Americans, we cannot fail to mention three situations that are prominent on the agenda of our region. The first is the restoration of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba as an indispensable step in the normalization of bilateral relations between the two countries. We commend that step, and while we are aware of the complexity of the process under way, we are confident with regard to its future, particularly with regard to the key element of ending the economic, trade and financial embargo imposed on Cuba more than 50 years ago by the Government of the United States. As it has done on previous occasions, Uruguay will vote in favour of the General Assembly's draft resolution calling for an end to the embargo. Hopefully it will be the last time that the Assembly will have to pronounce on the issue.

The second situation in Latin America is the tension that has existed for several weeks on the border between Colombia and Venezuela. We call for calm, respectful and open dialogue between the Governments of these brother countries in order to deal with this

situation, whose main victims are the peoples of the two countries, especially their socially most vulnerable sectors.

The third situation is the peace talks in Colombia, another complex but decisive process for our brother country and our region as a whole. We support this process and are ready to cooperate with it under the terms agreed to and demanded by the parties. Uruguay is not omnipotent, nor does it claim to be omnipresent or infallible, but neither is it indifferent.

*Mr. González Franco (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

In 2008, our country officially submitted its candidacy for a seat on the Security Council as a non-permanent member for the period 2016 to 2017. We did so based on our commitment to this Organization, of which we are a founding member; on our adherence to international law and multilateralism; on our firm rejection of all forms of terrorism and discrimination; on our conviction that the only means capable of resolving conflicts are the peaceful ones laid down in the Charter of the United Nations; and on our confidence in the value of the Security Council's efforts to fulfil its primary function of maintaining international peace and security.

Uruguay has contributed to peace and security with a concrete and unwavering commitment that began before the creation of the United Nations, has been maintained over the Organization's 70-year history and today is manifest in its participation in the peacekeeping operations whose mandates come from that very Security Council. We want to bring our values, commitment and efforts to bear as a non-permanent member of the Council for the period 2016 to 2017. We rely on the support of those here to help us do that, and we will not disappoint them.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Tabaré Vázquez, President of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

**Address by Mr. Arthur Peter Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and**

### **Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service.

*Mr. Arthur Peter Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Arthur Peter Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

**President Mutharika:** It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Mogens Lukketoft on his election to preside over the General Assembly at its seventieth session. His credentials are impeccable, and I am confident that he will steer the Assembly's affairs to a successful conclusion, with all his objectives and aspirations fulfilled. I would like to assure him of my delegation's support. I would also like to thank His Excellency Mr. Sam Kutesa of our sister country Uganda, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, for his untiring efforts during his presidency. His dedication to the work of the United Nations is commendable. And I reiterate Malawi's support for the Secretary-General as he strives to realize the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

The theme of this year's general debate, "The United Nations at 70 — a new commitment to action", comes at a very opportune time, for it fittingly summarizes the core business of the United Nations at its inception, today and in the future — that is, the maintenance of international peace and security. The United Nations was created on the understanding that peace is not just the absence of war; it comes with the struggles, compromises, sacrifices and choices we make as nations and as individuals for the benefit of humanity. We cannot realize a complete sense of peace without justice, dignity and freedom. We can rejoice that in the 70 years of the work of the United Nations, we have collectively averted another world war. However, during

the same period, we have lived in fear and uncertainty, in a world tainted by the conflicts, poverty and violence that have endangered our very existence.

As we live in this imperfect world, the pursuit of peace should be our main goal if we are to shape a promising life for our future generations. I would therefore like to commend the Secretary-General for convening the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, aimed at reviewing current United Nations operations and considering emerging future needs in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The Panel's report (A/70/95), submitted in June, has highlighted some important issues that I feel that we, as part of the global family, should consider and take seriously. I would like to mention just a few of those issues demanding our attention as members of the United Nations.

First, peace operations should be guided by a focus on political solutions, in which the emphasis should be on conflict prevention through political means, with a bias towards people-centred solutions as well as the protection of civilians. Secondly, there is a need for comprehensive peace and security partnerships that involve the Security Council, regional actors and national mechanisms. Thirdly, the world, through the United Nations, should find a way to compensate people who have suffered abuse. Fourthly, there is a need for greater political will on the part of all actors in peace missions.

Let me now touch on another important issue that has been on the agenda of the United Nations for quite some time, that is, reform of the Security Council. I have followed with keen interest the intergovernmental negotiations on how the Security Council can be reformed to make it more representative, democratic, effective, transparent and accountable to all. The Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration are our guiding principles in that endeavour. Our quest for peace and security should be hinged on sustainable socioeconomic development for our people that has true meaning and reflects the lives of our people.

Despite varied progress among Member States, and developing countries in particular, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have proved that unity of purpose is critical to transforming the world into a better place for our children and future generations. My Government is grateful to development partners that have worked to help Malawi achieve four of the

eight MDGs: reducing child mortality, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and developing a global partnership for development. It is evident that as a country we are embarking on the implementation of the post-2015 development agenda with unfinished business. It is therefore imperative, as we move to implement the new global development agenda, to be mindful of the important role that global partnerships can play in effective development cooperation, thereby ensuring the successful implementation of development programmes in the developing countries.

We in Malawi are also glad to reiterate the fact that, as we look to the Sustainable Development Goals, we can draw international pride and inspiration from our collective achievements on MDG 6, which involves halting and reversing the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Under that goal, we aimed to put 15 million people on treatment globally, and today we can stand here and boldly declare that we have met that target. As we look to the sustainable development agenda, we must commit, as the international community, to putting an end to AIDS as a public health threat and finishing the business of HIV/AIDS by 2030.

My Government has already committed to doing so, and current evidence shows that Malawi is well on the way to achieving that goal. Together, we can end AIDS by 2030, but it will require conducting business “as unusual” and fast-tracking HIV responses, in line with the evidence of what works. But more importantly, it will require continued shared responsibility and global solidarity in financing HIV programmes and enhancing the capacity of developing countries such as Malawi to manufacture the drugs and make them more accessible to our people.

Having said that, let me also reiterate what I have always maintained — that all of the aforementioned wonderful programmes will be realized when we, as a global family, do not leave our youth and women behind. In Malawi and, I believe, in almost all developing countries, young people and women constitute the majority of the population. It is therefore only natural that they be adequately represented at all decision-making levels of society. The late President Mandela of South Africa once said, “As long as a nation refuses to acknowledge the equal role of more than half of itself, it is doomed to failure”. That is a fact and I could not agree with it more.

Let me commend President Xi Jinping of China, and the Secretary-General, through the Office of UN-Women, for organizing on the margins of this session the Global Leaders’ Meeting on Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment: A Commitment to Action, under the theme “Planet 50-50 by 2030: step it up for gender equality”, to which a number of leaders, including Malawi’s, made national commitments.

My Government is committed to the “He For She” campaign to address gender inequality, end gender-based violence, promote women’s political participation and facilitate women’s economic empowerment. It has therefore been singled out as one of the core priority areas of our revised Malawi Growth and Development Strategy — the blueprint of Malawi’s development. Malawi also took advantage of the forum to host a side high-level event to share perspectives on demographic dividends and investing in youth, which we hope will successfully lead to improved coordination, commitment and support for youth empowerment and development for Africa.

We have expressed the desire for shared prosperity and well-being and unity and integration, for a continent where the full potential of women and youth are realized with freedom from fear, disease and want. As others taking the floor earlier have noted, two days ago we adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). That was brilliant. However, allow me to highlight SDG 4, which speaks of education. As a champion of higher education in Africa, I wish to reiterate in no uncertain terms that all of the brilliant resolutions and decisions coming out of this great forum, and many similar ones across the world, will fall flat if countries ignore the task of educating the people, especially young people and, even more so, girl children.

In that vein, I am pleased to note that Sustainable Development Goal 4 is about “ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning”. However, it does not fully capture the centrality of higher education in achieving the wider Sustainable Development Goals and targets. Allow me to express gratitude to those partners that continue to stand with us to promote higher education in Africa. With improved and increased access to higher education, the world will strike a massive blow at poverty.

In fulfilling its national and international responsibility, my Government recognizes the cross-cutting role of respecting and protecting people’s

human rights and the rule of law. My Government will continue to promote human rights, inter alia, by enhancing awareness of human rights, promoting equitable access to opportunity and strengthening legal protections.

The full enjoyment of people's human rights cannot be achieved in a society full of fraud, corruption and theft of public resources. Those vices must be dealt with in order to protect people's human rights and ensure the delivery of expected services from their Government. Our Government has therefore always been committed to fighting corruption, fraud and theft. It is against that background that we are pursuing and prosecuting suspects for the theft of public funds. May god bless the United Nations family.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service for his statement.

*Mr. Arthur Peter Mutharkika, President of the Republic of Malawi, Minister for Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Malawi Defense Force and the Malawi Police Service, was escorted from the rostrum.*

#### **Address by Mr. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the European Council.

*Mr. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, was escorted to the rostrum.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, and inviting him to make a statement.

**Mr. Tusk** (European Council): I am here today to reassure the General Assembly that Europe is as committed to its values and objectives now as it has ever been. Europe will stay the course, even though it is now confronting challenges that we have not witnessed for decades. Wars are raging both to the south and east of our borders. European leaders are tackling the consequences of borders being changed on our continent by force — as is the case in Ukraine — in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. We are also dealing

with the refugee crisis, with terrorist attacks inside Europe and with economic difficulties in some member States.

As difficult as the situation is, I am sure that we will find ways of dealing with it and, most importantly, we will at the same time remain dedicated to helping make the whole world a better place. Everyone who wishes to contribute to eradicating poverty, supporting peacekeeping missions and solving the migration crisis, as well as handling the causes and effects of climate change, can still count on us. For Europe, isolationism has never been and never will be an option. We are always ready to listen to the good and sound advice from our friends on the unprecedented refugee and migrant crisis that we face today.

The myth prevails that Europe is the only rich place on Earth. That is not true. There are other places comparable to us in terms of wealth, but for some reason refugees and migrants are not flowing there. That is because wealth is not the only element that determines the place where people choose the future of their children. Values such as tolerance, openness, respect for diversity, freedom, human rights and those enshrined in the Geneva Convention are also a magnet attracting them to us.

And we refuse to change in those respects. If in Europe we are engaged in animated discussions on relocation quotas, it is because we care; it is because we seek to be as effective and as inclusive as possible. But establishing quotas are just a small part of what Europe is already doing to help those who flee wars and persecution. By contrast, many countries represented here deal with that problem in a much simpler way, namely, by not allowing migrants and refugees to enter their territories at all. That is why suggesting that Europe represents an example of poor treatment or indifference towards asylum-seekers is sheer hypocrisy. In fact, the opposite is true, as we can see from the direction of their travel. No one seems to be escaping from Europe, while people from all over Eurasia and Africa are coming to Europe. The crisis we are talking about has global dimensions and demands a global solution. First of all, it demands global solidarity. Everyone can offer help to the refugees, and those who do not want to should at least refrain from hiding their indifference by criticizing Europe for doing too little.

It is no coincidence that the general debate this year is focused mainly on the situation in the Middle

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East, especially in Syria. Let us have no illusions. Syria's crisis will not be resolved unless a common denominator of interests is found among the regional players. But a peace plan must not be only a formula for defining a new division of spheres of influence; here in the United Nations we should speak not only about the interests of the regional Powers but, above all, about the interests of millions of Syrians, including the internally displaced and refugees. The fight against terrorism is no doubt important in that context; that is why we welcome the fact that this objective is gaining the support of new and quite unexpected allies. But we cannot overlook the fact that many refugees are fleeing State terrorism, which is demonstrated dramatically by the case of Syria.

Europe, which every day witnesses the tragedies of millions of Syrian refugees, must be their advocate. We all want to see stable States in the region. Stabilization is a value beyond any dispute, but stability cannot be won by the use of barrel bombs and chemical weapons against civilians. Today, the circle of those proposing the idea that Bashar Al-Assad should be part of Syria's transition is growing, yet we cannot forget that millions of people have fled his horrific methods of trying to secure stability in Syria. During my trips to the region, I was told that Al-Assad's victory would lead only to further exodus. The only goal and intention of a peace plan for Syria must be to make it possible for the people to start leading normal lives in the region once again. That message, and that message alone, will be consistent with the values of the international community and the European Union, and with the values that the United Nations has held dear for more than 70 years.

This year will also be crucial in the global efforts to fight the causes and consequences of climate change. Over the past days and weeks, we have listened with great hope and satisfaction to the pledges of leaders committed to fighting global warming. Europe is determined that the Paris Climate Change Conference will be a breakthrough, symbolizing our readiness to undertake unified action in confronting that global problem.

With a pledge to reduce carbon dioxide emissions to 40 per cent of its 1990 levels, Europe remains in the lead of that process, but fighting global warming is not a sports competition. Victory is possible when everybody moves in the same direction and at a similar pace. That is why we invite all Member States to take part in that common endeavour. Without a global

agreement, Europe's isolated efforts will be impractical. What matters for Europe is practical effects and not ideological fervour. Global challenges must be dealt with multilaterally or they will not be dealt with at all. We all have a duty to make the international community mean something real. We are facing multiple global emergencies. Let them pave the way to forge a global community that is truly strong, truly global and truly real.

**The Acting President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the European Council for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, was escorted from the rostrum.*

**Address by Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan**

**The Acting President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of Japan.

*Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, was escorted to the rostrum.*

**The Acting President:** I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, and inviting him to address the Assembly.

**Mr. Abe (Japan)** (*spoke in Japanese; English interpretation by the delegation*): The United Nations, which this year commemorates the seventieth anniversary of its founding, brings together people who do not easily despair even in the face of desperate circumstances. What else can explain the Organization's ability to withstand such adversity and to arrive at this moment? The Ebola virus has spread wildly. Extremism is running rampant. And now an immense tide of refugees is attempting to flee from horror, with their very lives at risk. We must address whatever challenges arise, under the auspices of the United Nations. Each Member State must bring its own distinctive capabilities to the struggle.

Japan has a history of supporting nation-building in a wide range of places. We have worked extensively to enhance human resources, and we have given our utmost in humanitarian assistance and in the promotion of women's rights. Now more than ever, Japan wishes to offer its wealth of experience unstintingly. Japan will further enhance its assistance for refugees and internally displaced persons from Syria and Iraq. In monetary terms, our assistance for 2015 comes to approximately

\$810 million, triple the amount we provided last year. In Lebanon, we will spend \$2 million in new assistance measures. We will leverage that amount in order to give momentum to the collaboration between humanitarian and development actors. We will also provide approximately \$2.5 million in humanitarian assistance to neighbour countries of the European Union that are grappling with the influx of refugees and migrants, such as the Republic of Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Each of those assistance measures is an emergency countermeasure that Japan is able to implement. At the same time, however, our steadfast principle is always to endeavour to return to the root causes of a problem and to improve the situation on the ground. In order to bring stability to the daily lives of the Iraqi people, it is vital to ensure that they have dependable water supply and sewage systems. Taking those programmes into account, Japan is preparing assistance worth approximately \$750 million to help build peace and fully consolidate peace across the Middle East and Africa.

It is important to look squarely at the facts. Behind the present tide of refugees is a far greater number of people who are unable even to flee and become refugees. Rebuilding devastated countries and transforming them into places that allow people to resume the pursuit of happiness may seem like a roundabout way of reaching our goal, but promoting and cultivating each human being's abilities and capacity to fight fear and want at the grass-roots level is in fact the shortest path to that end. That strong belief has guided Japan's policy of prioritizing the promotion of education and health and, in particular, the importance of strengthening women of all ages. Our policy seeks to fully ensure human security. I am extremely pleased that such efforts to value each individual were thoroughly incorporated within the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (resolution 70/1) set forth by the United Nations community.

Japan wishes to create an environment in which mothers of newborns are free to focus exclusively on the healthy growth of their children. In reflecting on that premise, I came across a photograph that portrayed the contents of a bag carried by a female refugee. I asked myself what people would pack in the one bag they take with them when fleeing hardship? Abessa, a 20-year-old woman who crossed the Mediterranean Sea on a rubber raft, was able to bring very little with

her when she fled a Palestinian refugee camp south of Damascus. Everything in the photograph was for her 10-month old daughter: a clean change of socks, a hat and a single jar of baby food.

But as I contemplated that photograph, my eyes were drawn to a notebook that had been wrapped carefully in plastic to protect it from getting wet. I recognized it as a handbook on maternal and child health that Japan has been distributing in refugee camps in Syria. In Japan, all pregnant women receive this handbook, in which they can keep records about their own health and that of their child. This handbook system has been in place for more than 70 years.

Who among all the mothers who smile sweetly at the hand-written records of their child's heights and weights could wish for that same child to grow up to become an apostle of fear? Each woman's handbook is a record of her prayers for her child to grow up healthy. Her notebook acquires a power of its own: the power of the mother's wish for her child's life not to be squandered. We have distributed maternal and child health handbooks in refugee camps in Palestine, Syria, and Jordan in the hope that a mother's love can transform the soil that sometimes gives rise to despair and fear. We know that some women continue to treasure those hope-infused handbooks even during their exodus. I am struck by the fact that the concept of human security, which seeks to empower each individual, has produced such eloquent, albeit bitter results.

The rule of law and the principle of equality before the law are values that Japan respects above all others. The extension of those principles also begins with fostering human capacity. I would like to share with the Assembly the story of a young Japanese woman who has been giving her all through Japan's training assistance programme for police officers. In order to break with the very root of violence and fear, it is critical to cultivate good police personnel and good police governance. In that conviction, we have been directing our efforts at training police personnel in Afghanistan and many other locations. Through the Japan International Cooperation Agency, Japan has been steadily providing such assistance to the national police force of the Democratic Republic of the Congo since 2004. More than 20,000 police personnel to date, including women and a number of former armed insurgent soldiers, have received such training. Our motto has been to cultivate a police force that is friendly towards the local people.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency was responsible for developing and implementing the training plan, and women have consistently been in charge of Japan's staff on the ground in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. One such woman was called a "little giant" when she first arrived. Seen alongside her male police colleagues, she was indeed small in stature. yet she was dubbed a giant because she never flinched from difficulties and took the initiative to grapple with issues, making full use of the French language skills she had acquired. The national police personnel respected and trusted her. Two years ago, here in the General Assembly (see A/68/PV.12), I emphasized that Japan has recently made a point of establishing itself as a proactive contributor to peace, based on the principle of international cooperation. The woman I just mentioned is one of the Japanese individuals dedicated to this and working on the front lines.

I am one of Japan's biggest champions of ensuring that women take on many of the roles that will shape our country's future. In our external assistance efforts, too, we emphasize policies and measures aimed at improving women's safety, health and well-being and upholding their human rights. In countries recovering from civil war, Japanese women have been making splendid contributions in support of those working to uphold the rule of law, something I am particularly proud of. On a number of previous occasions, I have urged the international community to ensure that the twenty-first century will be an era in which women's human rights are protected.

Today, I am also pleased to be able to report that Japan has finalized its action plan on women's participation and protection based on Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), important aspects of which include protecting women and girls from violence and providing them with basic health services. Moreover, this year, for the second consecutive year, we hosted WAW! 2015, the World Assembly for Women, holding meaningful discussions with a view to creating a society in which women can shine.

I believe the United Nations is a venue where optimistic realists can come together. It does not give itself up to impotent despair of the future, but neither does it avert its eyes from reality. That is how it has shaped the 70 years of its history. And I, too, feel compelled to face up squarely to reality on several issues, the first of which is North Korea. In that regard, Japan intends to work in coordination with other relevant countries

in an effort to arrive at a comprehensive resolution of the outstanding issues, including those related to abductions, nuclear power and missiles.

This year, the seventieth anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was one in which we relived our grief. Regrettably, however, it seems that in some places nuclear arsenals, with no transparency, continue to grow. Moreover, this year's Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons failed to come up with guidelines for future nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. We believe that the United States and Russia should continue to reduce their nuclear weapon stockpiles, while we also insist that other States possessing nuclear weapons should also work to reduce their arsenals. In its determination to eliminate nuclear weapons completely, Japan is preparing a new draft resolution aimed at promoting united action on the issue by the international community that I am sure many countries will support.

This year, as we celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, a major push for reform of the Security Council has begun. During the last session of the General Assembly, the assiduous efforts of dedicated individuals and various countries greatly intensified the discussion of Security Council reform. And two weeks ago, here in this very Hall, that enthusiasm was passed on to the current session as the entire Assembly applauded (see A/70/PV.1). Emboldened by that enthusiasm and by my conviction regarding the role that Japan should play in that process, I will continue to work to achieve reform of the Security Council with the cooperation of the President and Member States. Japan hopes to become a permanent member of the Council and to make a commensurate contribution.

Here I would like to emphasize three points. First and foremost, Japan has remained a strictly peace-loving nation during the 70 years since the end of the Second World War, and we have accumulated a successful record in our efforts to foster peace and prosperity around the world. Japan worked hard diplomatically in Cambodia and Timor-Leste, first by sending personnel to participate in peacekeeping operations there and later by providing assistance over the long term.

The first of the three stages involved in peacekeeping operations is decision-making, in which we determine what is to be done and where. That is

followed by the necessary preparations of personnel and financing and, lastly, by the process of launching physical operations on the ground. Japan has been able to help to bridge the information gaps that tend to occur between those stages. We have also been able to make a positive and major contribution by ensuring that we take full responsibility for our decisions and actions at every stage. Right now, members of an engineering unit of Japan's self-defence forces are working around the clock in South Sudan. In Kenya, experts from our ground self-defence force are training members of the Kenyan, Ugandan, Tanzanian and Rwandan armed forces on the best ways to operate heavy engineering equipment so as to deal with the problems that arise when peacekeeping operations become hopelessly trapped in areas where roads and bridges have been destroyed. We also recently made changes to our domestic legal framework that will enable us to contribute more broadly to peacekeeping operations going forward.

Secondly, Japan is a country that values ownership and partnership. We have been of the view for many years that if we are to overcome despair and improve our welfare, it is important to give equal consideration both to the wishes and intentions of the parties concerned and to international cooperation. Our ultimate objective is to ensure that the people themselves gain the ownership that will enable them to determine the direction of their own lives, and by emphasizing that approach to arrive at the concept of valuing human security.

My third point is that Japan always strives to listen actively to the voices of the parties concerned. Three days ago, for the third consecutive year, I hosted the Japan-African Regional Economic Communities Summit Roundtable, meeting with leaders from the African countries concerned. For the past 20 years, Japan has also hosted the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), and next year for the first time TICAD will convene in Africa, where I hope to be able to listen to an even richer spectrum of African voices. Last night I also met with leaders from the Pacific island countries to discuss such matters as observing 5 November in common as World Tsunami Day, as well as conducting training and capacity-building related to tsunamis.

Japan became a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the first time in 1958, two years after it was admitted to membership in the United Nations. If we are again selected this year thanks to

the gracious support of all those here, it will be our eleventh time serving on the Council.

More than any other country, Japan has subjected itself to review by its peers. The three points I have noted today represent some of Japan's strengths, something that all here will concur with, based on the path we have trodden so far. We intend to use those strengths to help strengthen the United Nations. We are a people who have always seen in the two letters "UN" a certain radiance. Bearing the standard of its role as a proactive contributor to peace based on the principle of international cooperation, Japan is determined to undertake reform of the Security Council in order to transform the United Nations into a body relevant to the twenty-first century and subsequently, as a permanent member of the Security Council, to fulfil its responsibilities by making still greater contributions to world peace and prosperity.

In conclusion, I look forward to Members' kind understanding.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Japan for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, was escorted from the rostrum.*

**Address by Sheikh Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah, Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait**

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait.

*Sheikh Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah, Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait, was escorted to the rostrum.*

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I have great pleasure in welcoming His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah, Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait, and inviting him to address the Assembly.

**Sheikh Al Sabah** (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, on behalf of the Government and the people of Kuwait, I extend our sincere congratulations to the President of the General Assembly and his country, the Kingdom of Denmark, on his election as President of the General Assembly at its seventieth session. We



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believe that his vast experience in political affairs will enable him to conduct the deliberations of this session wisely and ably. We wish him success in that endeavour.

We also note the successful manner with which his predecessor, Mr. Sam Kutesa, conducted the deliberations during the previous session. In that regard, I also would like to pay tribute to the tremendous efforts of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in leading the Organization in accordance with his vision and ideas based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, while simultaneously striving to achieve the Charter's goals in a sustainable manner by confronting the manifold risks and challenges that are engulfing the world.

Once again, we express our most sincere condolences and heartfelt sympathy to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in connection with the stampede that resulted in numerous deaths and injuries at Mina during the Haj. While we pray to Allah, the Almighty, to accept the victims in His Grace and grant them eternal peace, and solace and fortitude to their bereaved families, we also pray for the speedy recovery of the injured. We appreciate and are grateful for the enormous human and material assets that the King, his Government and people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia make available every year to organize and facilitate the Haj and to provide every comfort to the pilgrims.

This year, the international community is celebrating 70 years of service by this great leading world Organization, during which it has worked to create a world in which humankind can enjoy peace and security during a period marked by exceptional circumstances — a period when the political, economic, social and humanitarian challenges in the world have increased. During that time, the United Nations has continued to provide its service in accordance with the aims and objectives of its Charter in order to surmount those growing challenges and confront them by creative means. Those undertakings have to a great extent become history to be taught to future generations in order to demonstrate the importance and inevitability of international cooperation and the capacity of the United Nations system to continue its boundless giving to the peoples and countries of the world.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding milestones on the path to the success of the United Nations is embodied in the adoption of the post-2015 development

goals in the form of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (resolution 70/1), which can be considered to be an extension of the international community's efforts based on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs have, by and large, achieved their purposes, and the United Nations has surpassed its goals in facing up to the challenges that it is confronted with, and has proceeded to implement comprehensive, radical solutions in the areas of human development and individual rights. That includes the goal of totally eliminating poverty in its multiple forms, ensuring that all human beings enjoy equal rights in dignity and access to education and health care, as well as ensuring political participation, gender equality, youth empowerment and addressing the ongoing environmental degradation.

In that regard, the State of Kuwait affirm its effective participation in the international partnership to fully implement the Sustainable Development Goals over the next 15 years. That is based on Kuwait's firm belief in the Charter of the United Nations and on Kuwait's support for the Organization. Kuwait will continue its funding in appreciation of the certificate of appreciation presented by the Secretary-General to Sheikh Al Sabah, the Amir of the State of Kuwait, as a humanitarian leader. That award is tantamount to a medal of honour for the leadership displayed by the Government and the people of Kuwait in saving the lives of millions of people. Indeed, Kuwait occupies first place in the provision of humanitarian assistance globally as a proportion of its gross national income, the highest percentage provided by a donor State, according to the *Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2014*.

Furthermore, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development continues its leading role in providing development assistance to developing countries, without any regard for geographical location, religious belief or nationality. Since its establishment, in 1961, more than 100 countries in all parts of the globe have benefited from the Fund's projects, which total \$18 billion. Over the next 15 years, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development will continue to provide loans and create development programmes within its operational programmes, which are based on its own resources, including \$15 billion to meet the needs and requirements of sustainable development.

Undoubtedly, it is important for the international community to work to consolidate and promote the existence of peaceful societies that are based on

justice and are free from all manifestations of violence and radicalism. That confirms the principle that no sustainable development can take place without security, and no security can exist without sustainable development.

There has been a proliferation of conflicts and civil wars in our world today, accompanied by the emergence of violence and the dangers of radicalism and terrorism, with their multiple causes and employing diverse means in a number of countries, particularly in the region of the Middle East. It is civilians who make up the majority of the victims. The international community must stand up to those challenges, which threaten international peace and security; it must address their causes and dry up the resources that fuel them.

The Republic of Yemen and its brotherly people face serious challenges owing to the intransigence of the Houthi militias and their insistence on breaching their commitments and on threatening the security and stability of our region and our countries. That situation requires strong action to support the legitimate Government of Yemen and to achieve peace and stability in our region. We would like to emphasize the need to commit to the Gulf Cooperation Council initiative, comply with the outcome of the National Reconciliation Conference and respond to the efforts of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Yemen in that regard. The State of Kuwait has not ignored the humanitarian needs of the Yemeni people. Kuwait announced, upon instructions from His Highness Sheikh Al-Sabah, the donation of \$100 million to meet the needs of Yemen.

In Syria, as that disaster enters its fifth year, the scope of humanitarian suffering is exacerbating the multiple other parameters of the crisis. The number of dead and injured are rising, and the number of refugees and internally displaced persons continues to increase. The flow of Syrian migrants and refugees to Europe attests to the magnitude of the crisis. We have warned against the dire consequences of the situation on Syria, the Syrian people, their neighbours and the entire world. In view of the aforementioned, the State of Kuwait reiterates its firm and principled position, namely, that the solution to that disaster can be achieved only through peaceful, political means, as opposed to other means, whose price would be paid by our brothers in Syria. In that regard, we welcome the endeavours of the United Nations and those of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Syria, Mr. Staffan de Mistura,

which seek to mobilize efforts to implement the Geneva communiqué (S/2012/522, annex), issued in 2012, aimed at establishing a transitional Government that is fully functional, and at maintaining the territorial integrity of Syria, preserving the coherence of Syrian society and meeting the needs for dignity of the Syrian people.

Within the framework of supporting international efforts to alleviate the humanitarian suffering in Syria, since 2013 the State of Kuwait has hosted three successive international donor conferences to lend support to efforts to improve the situation in that country. The pledges made at those three conferences amounted to approximately \$7.15 billion, of which the State of Kuwait contributed \$1.3 billion. The bulk of the money pledged has been delivered to the United Nations specialized agencies and other international, governmental and non-governmental organizations in the humanitarian affairs field. The remainder of those contributions has been distributed through local charitable institutions working in the humanitarian and development fields.

With regard to the situation in Libya, we are closely following the agreement announced in the Moroccan city of Skhirat by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, aimed at forming a national consensus Government that would put an end to the fighting. We look forward to a positive response to that initiative from our brothers in Libya, so that they can stop the bloodshed, preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their homeland and restore security and stability throughout Libya.

Our region faces exceptionally delicate dangers that threaten its security and stability. They stem from terrorist and violent groups that commit, supposedly in the name of Islam, criminal acts rejected by all religions. The brutal crimes committed by the so-called Daesh/Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant have spread death and destruction, particularly in Iraq and Syria, and are a threat to international peace and security. A much-needed international coalition has been formed to tackle those terrorists. The State of Kuwait took part in the establishment of the coalition by providing logistical support. The practices of that terrorist organization have extended to the State of Kuwait. Daesh committed a cowardly terrorist act, targeting a mosque during the holy month of Ramadan, which killed and injured a number of our citizens. The national unity and cohesion between the people and the leadership of Kuwait made those who wished Kuwait ill miss their mark, thereby

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reaffirming a long, honourable national history that has witnessed floods of sacrifices for the sake of the unity and stability of the State of Kuwait.

In the humanitarian field, the State of Kuwait has also responded to the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people. Kuwait announced the donation of \$200 million to assist our Iraqi brothers in alleviating the suffering caused by the brutal practices of the Daesh terrorist group. Work is ongoing to disburse that donation, in cooperation with the competent parties in Iraq and international organizations. We reaffirm our support for all the measures taken by the Iraqi Government to preserve the security, stability and territorial integrity of Iraq. In that regard, the State of Kuwait reiterates its firm and principled position rejecting all forms of terrorism, extremism and intolerance, irrespective of their causes or motives and whatever their sources or the identity of their perpetrators. Kuwait stresses that promoting a culture of tolerance and coexistence among peoples and nations is among the top priorities in the approach that it follows in its internal and external policies. Such policies are anchored in the tolerant Islamic sharia law and in the importance Kuwait attaches to maintaining the links between development, security and human rights, as it works to develop a global strategy to combat terrorism and achieve international peace and security.

The international and regional efforts that seek to lay the foundation for peace in the Middle East face many impediments as a result of Israel's intransigence. Israel continues its illicit expansionist policies by building illegal settlements on occupied Palestinian territory and by detaining thousands of Palestinians in its prisons and detention centres. Its repeated acts of aggression, including the attack on Gaza during the past year, has left in its wake unprecedented destruction and loss of life and property. That is in addition to its continued imposition of an illegal and inhumane siege on Gaza, and the escalation of its attacks on the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque and Muslims there. Those attacks are in violation of all humanitarian standards, international laws and the relevant Security Council resolutions. That makes it incumbent upon the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, to carry out their responsibilities and continue to put pressure on and compel Israel, at all levels, to accept the resolutions of international legitimacy, grant the Palestinian people their legitimate political rights, and recognize their independent status and sovereignty over their territory,

with East Jerusalem as their capital, in accordance with the borders of 4 June 1967 and in line with the principle of land for peace, the Quartet's road map and the Arab Peace Initiative.

In the same regional framework, the State of Kuwait welcomes Security Council resolution 2231 (2015), which endorsed the comprehensive agreement on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action concluded between the five permanent members of the Security Council, plus Germany, and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The agreement was the result of diplomatic efforts over a number of years aimed at addressing the Iranian nuclear situation. The State of Kuwait hopes that the Islamic Republic of Iran will continue to cooperate and fully implement the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and adhere to its responsibilities under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the relevant Security Council resolutions. In addition, Kuwait hopes that Iran will respond to the efforts of the countries of the region to lay the foundations of good neighbourly relations based on cooperation, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, and that it will end its occupation of the three Emirati islands, all of which will contribute to reducing tensions and to security and stability in the region.

In that context, we call upon Israel to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to subject all of its nuclear facilities to the inspection and supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in compliance with the resolution adopted at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, which called for the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize the adherence of the State of Kuwait to the multilateral international system, as well as to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I would like to underscore our belief in the importance and necessity of exerting all efforts to ensure the continuity and generosity of our great Organization through the fulfilment of all States' obligations and responsibilities, as pledged in international conventions and conferences. That will, in turn, contribute to finding just and fair solutions to global threats and challenges, while according due attention to the higher goal of maintaining international peace and security.

**The Acting President:** On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait for the statement he has just made.

*His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah, Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait, was escorted from the rostrum.*

**Address by Mr. Matteo Renzi, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy**

**The Acting President:** The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy.

*Mr. Matteo Renzi, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy, was escorted to the rostrum.*

**The Acting President:** I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Matteo Renzi, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

**Mr. Renzi (Italy)** (*spoke in Italian; interpretation provided by the delegation*): It is with gratitude and pride that I come here today to express the voice of the Italian people, a generous and responsible people, who every day have shown their commitment to saving the lives of hundreds of their brothers and sisters in the heart of the Mediterranean region.

This Hall calls for profound thinking rather than slogans. In every part of the world, political life is more and more fixated on the present. It is tied to discussions shaped by 24/7 news stations, the Internet and social media. Let me be clear. I belong to a generation for whom social media represent an extraordinary tool, a horizon of freedom that allows us to change lives and prospects. There is nevertheless the risk of reducing that horizon to a discussion of the next opinion poll or tweet. I think we should reject what has become a dictatorship of the moment, and take the time to pay homage to this Hall for its efforts in engaging in more meaningful reflection.

I am thinking of my country, which, on a map, appears to be shaped like a bridge, a bridge connecting North and South, Europe and Africa and East and West, a bridge that spans from the Middle East to the Balkans. Because of its geography, and especially its culture, Italy has always been a kind of extraordinary cultural laboratory affected by influences of every kind. That is the reason that we were the first country

in Europe to grasp the momentous dimension of what is happening in the Mediterranean region. From the very beginning — even in this Hall last year — we have said that the refugee question is not a question of numbers (see A/69/PV.9). The problem of migration is not one of organization or statistics. The problem is fear, the fear that runs through our societies and that we must take seriously if we wish to defeat it.

In Greek mythology, Phobos was the god of fear, able to paralyse the best armies and cause the most easily fought battles to be lost. That is why the glorious and ancient city of Sparta built a great temple to Phobos and did everything to gain his favour. Europe was born to defeat fear and replace it with the ideal of courage, peace, cooperation and civilization. And for a long time, Europe embodied that ideal. Over the past 70 years, our continent has left behind centuries of war and civil war. Europe had become a true miracle. For those like me, who as a young man witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall and found in that event a reason to devote my life to public service, to see new walls going up today is intolerable.

Europe was reborn to tear down walls, not to build them. That is why Italy is on the front line in rescuing thousands of migrants fleeing from war and despair. For that same reason, I had the privilege of accompanying Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on one of our ships currently participating in the rescue operations. Addressing migratory flows requires the capacity to respond to that emergency with a global and comprehensive strategy. In that vein, Italy has partnered with African countries through a broad array of initiatives, and in particular with the African Union, a cooperation about which I am the opportunity to speak recently at the third International Conference on Financing for Development, held in Addis Ababa, which produced the Addis Ababa Action Agenda.

In the 70 years since the birth of the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco, the Organization has learned how crucial its role is. It has had the wisdom to recognize its mistakes and the strength to correct them by writing a new chapter that will ensure a better future for all of our children. I think that it will take an effort on the part of everyone, and Italy will not shirk from its responsibilities.

That is why we decided to present our candidature to the Security Council for a non-permanent seat for 2017-2018, with the ideal in mind of building the peace

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of tomorrow. We believe that it is the job of each one of us here today to create an alternative to the culture of violence and nihilism exemplified by the recent crises in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Europe and at the borders of Europe. I am thinking, for example, of the consolidation of the ceasefire in Ukraine. I am thinking of the great joy with which we welcomed the news of the agreement between the United States and Cuba, one of extraordinary historic proportions. I am thinking of the hope that each of us now has as a consequence of the agreement with Iran on that country's nuclear programme, which begins a new hopeful phase.

While we are committed to the implementation of that agreement, we also firmly reiterate the right of the people and the State of Israel to exist. Only through dialogue and negotiation will we be able to find a future for coming generations. Moreover, on the delicate question of Israel and Palestine, there is no alternative to dialogue. It is essential to return to the negotiating table, with the goal of reaching a solution based on two States living side-by-side in peace and security.

This open debate of the General Assembly has been characterized by many discussions on Syria. All of us have acknowledged and felt, on a very personal level, the failure that years of inertia has produced. We believe that the only way out of that quagmire is through a political solution that leads to a process of genuine transition. That will work only if we have the courage to stare reality in the face and acknowledge the presence of an enemy of unprecedented danger at our doors, namely, Daesh, the embodiment of extremism and terrorism. Through its Carabinieri corps, which plays an important role in Italy and the world, Italy is proud to lead the coalition for training the Iraqi police force. We know that the work of the security forces is decisive in ensuring daily security, enabling a family to return home without incident and enabling a mother to reassure her children. We will continue working with the global coalition to counter ISIL, in particular the United States and Saudi Arabia, and will maintain our leadership role in the working group to counter financing for Daesh.

At the same time, we underscore that Daesh is not limited to the specific region of the Middle East, even if there is an extraordinary mosaic of pluralism and beauty there. Daesh may reaffirm itself with strength in Africa, starting with Libya. From this rostrum, I renew my appeal to all the parties who hope for peace and a unified nation in Libya. We must unite our forces. Our

Libyan brothers and sisters must know that they are not alone, that the General Assembly has not forgotten them. Italy is ready to collaborate with a national unity Government and to restore cooperation in key areas so as to give Libya back its future. If the new Libyan Government asks us, Italy is ready to take on the leadership role in a mechanism, authorized by the international community, to assist in the stabilization of the country.

There are many reasons for our role in the fight against terrorism. It is a battle for values, a battle for culture. The terrorists want us to die. Failing that, they want us to live under their rules. That is why the battle that we are waging is a battle against darkness and fear, because fear is the playground of terrorism. The first area in which we see that is that of culture. When terrorists attack Palmyra or the Bardo Museum in Tunisia, or a school or a university, from Asia to Africa, they are not attacking the past, they are targeting our future.

Italy is the country where the culture of the conservation of cultural assets was born. Proud of our roots and of our Renaissance, we have the highest concentration of UNESCO cultural heritage sites in the world. That is why, together with our partner countries and friends, we aspire to be the guardians of culture throughout the world, carrying out concrete actions, both here in New York and at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, through United4Heritage, the Blue Helmets of culture. On the basis of a model developed in our country, we are proposing the establishment of an international task force, with military and civilian members, for operations to protect and rebuild art historical sites. That is our identity. That task force will be available to UNESCO, and it could be deployed in the framework of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Let us not forget that even Europe runs the risk, in the absence of a major educational project that would show that the evil seed of terrorism is growing on European soil as well. Let us not forget that what has happened in recent months and weeks — from Charlie Hebdo in Paris to what took place in Belgium and in Denmark — involved women and men born in European countries, raised and educated in European countries and yet transformed into terrorists who sought to undermine human rights and the very *raison d'être* of our continent. I think, therefore, that it is important that we all succeed in this educational challenge together and that our peacekeeping model,

which President Obama noted yesterday and for which we thank him, can serve as an established model that can be in deployed in various countries, such as is happening now in Afghanistan. I wish to recall Italy's commitment to honouring the women and men who have sacrificed their lives for our collective security, in particular in that country. We are proud of the work of our soldiers and civilians aimed at supporting the Afghan Government on the road to peace and prosperity.

The Security Council is at the centre of the challenge. That is not a bureaucratic issue, but rather a political one. The Uniting for Consensus group is ready to continue to work with all members.

Human rights, which are today under attack, are for us a reference point at every level. I am thinking about Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), on women and peace and security. I am thinking of resolution 69/186, adopted by the General Assembly last December, with its moratorium on the death penalty, an issue on which we will tirelessly work. I also recall the words that the Holy Father Pope Francis pronounced here (see A/70/PV.3) and at the United States Congress. The resolutions against forced and early marriage (resolution 68/148) and against female genital mutilation (resolution 67/146) are clear signs of the shared commitment of our world community.

The deep connection between peace and security and between human rights and development is also the message of the current Universal Exposition in Milan. The slogan of Expo 2015, "Feeding the Planet: Energy for Life", is a message that brings together many of the aspirations of the General Assembly, in particular that of promoting sustainable agriculture. I wish to make a commitment, especially to the African countries, that we will never stop working in that direction, bolstered by Italian know-how and the desire to work together. Guaranteeing access to food for all, fighting world hunger, changing consumption patterns, ensuring the centrality of women as central stakeholders in agriculture, defending smallholder farmers, as well as easing tensions and conflicts caused by the degradation of arable land and the scarcity of water for irrigation, are not secondary issues.

The legacy of Expo Milan is assured by the Charter of Milan and by the commitments of each of us to fight climate change. Italy stands alongside Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and is mobilizing the necessary

resources to ensure that the conferences in Lima and Paris are successful.

With the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (resolution 70/1), Italy has accepted the challenge of the five Ps — people, prosperity, partnership, planet and peace, which we recognize and which inspire our action for the future. But let me say that Italy intends to contribute with strength, in particular in those battles in which some countries seem to be alone. In the next few weeks in Milan, we will welcome our partners, the small island developing States, which are considered small States but are actually great States for their value, to the events on climate-change adaptation that will take place in mid-October at Expo Milan, and we will bring a large delegation to Venice, where we will show participants, in one of the most beautiful artistic cities in the world, how we are working to combat the risks associated with the presence of high waters and the lack of attention on the part of the international community.

In conclusion, as a candidate for a non-permanent seat on the Security Council, Italy wants the values we have discussed to occupy a central place in the Security Council. But I do not want us to think of those values in an abstract way. I do not want us to forget that what brings us here is not a document. It is a face; it is many faces.

In Italian schools, our children learn about the strong connection among the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean, Africa and the Middle East. Today, those children are not just extras in a movie. They are the reason why we are here today. We believe that of all the values we teach our children at school we cannot forget that the first value is life.

Faced with the migration crisis, many of us were deeply moved this summer by the photo of a little boy named Aylan. He was a child from Kobani, who, together with his older brother, fell asleep without ever being able to see the future. He was photographed, dead, on the beach at Bodrum. We must not limit our commitment to the emotion of the moment. We must bear that image in mind and commit to doing our best. Many children have died in the heart of the Mediterranean. They died on the ships launched in the direction of Europe by traffickers, the new slave traders of today. However, together with all of those children who are no longer with us, I want to recall the names of children whom no one talks about: Yambambi,

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Salvatore, Idris Ibrahim and Francesca Marina. They are some of the children who were born on the ships of the Italian Marines and Coast Guard, which saved thousands of women, and in some cases enabled them to give birth on those ships. I wish to thank my fellow citizens for the extraordinary work that they have carried out. I want their names to be remembered with the names of those who did not make it. Their heroic actions should serve as an admonishment for all of us. Politics can be restored to dignity when we are aware of the enormity of our challenges. The old Europe, born in

the name of courage, does not give in to fear. Italy will proudly do its part.

**The Acting President** (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy for the statement he has just made.

*Mr. Matteo Renzi, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy, was escorted from the rostrum.*

*The meeting rose at 3.05 p.m.*

