



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> ):	
Speech by Mr. Barrera-Valverde (Ecuador).....	631
Speech by Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast).....	635
Speech by Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic).....	639
Speech by Mr. Saúde Maria (Guinea-Bissau) .....	643

*President:* Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. BARRERA-VALVERDE (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Permit me, Sir, before I begin my statement to express the profound sorrow that my country feels over the death of President Sadat, a death which is a cause for grief among all peace-loving nations.

2. Mr. President, in you I greet one whose intellectual qualifications are worthy of the presidency of the Assembly, and I welcome the fact that your election reflects a general tribute to the image of a centuries-old country which, in our day, maintains a cordial friendship with Latin America.

3. Ecuador extends a friendly welcome to the new Members of the United Nations and offers them its support in achieving their goals and overcoming their problems.

4. The principles that govern international life are well known and my Government fully respects them. Those principles are contained in the Charter of the United Nations, or which, being fully in accord with its aims, require reinforcement through acts of conduct that will give them effective force in the international field. In that regard, I would point out that my country attaches the utmost importance to the strengthening of the principles of non-intervention, self-determination of peoples, the equality of States in law, ideological pluralism, repudiation of any form of racial discrimination, condemnation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, respect for legally concluded agreements, rejection of any form of aggression, non-validity of territorial conquests obtained through the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes.

5. With regard to a principle as fundamental as that of respect for human rights, Ecuador not only believes in it and practices it, but also maintains the need for its universal application and above all for a general adherence to it and recognition that all the régimes of the world are mor-

ally obliged to accept it. In fact my country maintains that in the various international forums and organizations, no representative should take a public stand on how far human rights are respected in other nations without first reporting on the situation with regard to those rights in his own country.

6. I particularly wish to mention freedom of speech. Ecuador is a representative, republican democracy with free elections for the three branches of government; it has no political prisoners, no martial law, and it gives generous hospitality to those seeking asylum, exiled or fleeing from brother countries. It also prides itself on having absolutely unlimited respect for freedom of opinion, allowing access to any source of information and absolute freedom for newsmen to travel anywhere in the national territory and to enter or leave it. Ecuador's view of the debate during the last few decades about the idea of freedom of the press is that it is better to have great latitude rather than restrictions, and my Government prefers to surround the owner as well as the editor and the reporter with guarantees. Ecuador is proud to report that its media enjoy the right of dissent, within a broad democratic framework where, of course, the political parties, both inside and outside Congress, are respected in accordance with their own decisions on their degree of co-operation, independence or opposition.

Moreover, the Government of Ecuador believes there is a clear choice: and instead of dictatorship, which provides safeguards and privileges for the ruling régime, it prefers the democratic system, where strains and discomforts are absorbed by the executive branch in the interests of the well-being of the majority.

7. That is a principle that is backed by ethical concepts and it is also the most solid basis for any legal argument in the international field.

8. While registering the gratitude of the Ecuadorian people for the expressions of solidarity received from abroad on the occasion of the tragic death of President Jaime Roldós, I must also mention the fact that Ecuador's democracy has functioned steadily following that unforeseen and regrettable event. The Vice-President, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado, a university professor, politician and writer of broad experience, well versed in the study of our national circumstances, elected to his office by a popular vote, assumed the presidency in accordance with strict constitutional norms, and the Congress appointed as Vice-President of the Republic, by a majority and in conformity with the law, León Roldós, a lawyer, an expert in economic and monetary matters, and one long familiar with the subjects relating to national development. I am therefore pleased to state that the restoration of democracy in my country has suffered no setbacks, nor is there any

legal or political reason to justify or foresee any in the future.

9. Ecuador believes that the problems of regions other than the Americas which fall within the ambit of interests of the United Nations are governed by the same principles. To be specific, three pillars should uphold the legal structure that should be formed by the resolutions and actions of the United Nations, namely, the withdrawal of foreign troops from wherever they may be; the return of territories occupied by force; and free elections so that the people may exercise their capacity for self-determination and go forward by themselves to meet their destiny.

10. Of course, those are the same norms that inspired the recent Ecuadorian statement on El Salvador. My Government maintains that "it is up to the Salvadorians alone to find a political and democratic solution to their problems, free from any kind of foreign intervention, either direct or indirect. Within a traditionally Ecuadorian conduct opposed to violence, this statement means a condemnation of any possible military solution."

11. Ecuador, which in its domestic affairs respects and practises ideological pluralism and in the international field is ruled by the same guidelines and maintains relations with all kinds of countries, has since the inauguration of the present constitutional Government extended its relations to more than 20 nations of the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. Those principles governed its entry into the non-aligned movement, the members of which I greet cordially, while reaffirming that the international conduct of the Ecuadorian Government will continue to be independent and that it will not submit to any directives of the hegemonic blocs of the world, since the autonomy of our decisions and daily exercise of freedom are as deeply rooted in us as our continuous struggle for justice.

12. My country associates itself with those most characterized by their attachment to peace. That spirit, which is the inheritance of centuries, and our concept of the dignity of man make it inconceivable to us that scientific development, the world's industrial structure and the economic power of a few nations should be oriented towards warlike purposes. Such a prospect is even more fearsome if one recalls that in industrial societies man has reached the absurd extreme of producing and storing some 50,000 nuclear bombs capable of exterminating the human race 20 times over. It is therefore urgently necessary to establish a continuous warning system so that mankind may recover a certain measure of good sense, for if it should come to the extreme of arguing in favour of certain recent weapons that they destroy only human beings, that would amount to declaring that human existence is subordinate to the armaments business.

13. The unbelievably high military expenditure, which now amounts to well over \$1 million a minute, is the real cause of inflation, of the disturbance of the very concept of international trade, and of distortion of the principles at the basis of economic activity, which is currently being conducted by those arms merchants.

14. Consistent with that reasoning is the clear condemnation of the policy of increasing military expenditure in

developing countries, particularly those whose confidence that they can impose solutions to their external problems stems from their belief that they have a greater military capacity than their neighbours.

15. Among the theatres of confrontation that represent a threat to the world is Namibia. In that connection, as in others, my country's position is clear. The foreign troops that are occupying that Territory are committing an act of rebellion against the United Nations and are the accomplices of *apartheid*, one of the worst forms of discrimination and racism. Therefore South Africa, a Power typified by its violations of international law, must move without delay to accept the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), a just, solid and practicable basis for the solution of that serious problem.

16. Lebanon is a pathetic example of wars imported by elements foreign to the spirit of the peoples in whose territories the conflicts take place. The Lebanese people are being martyred and it is the responsibility of all, and particularly the United Nations, to put an end to this. My Government fully understands that unfortunately the solution of the Lebanese tragedy depends to a great extent on measures that must be taken by all the peoples of the Middle East. That is why we reiterate the basic principles applicable to the region, principles which in this case constitute also norms of procedure: the right of all States, including Israel, to existence and security; the need for solutions concerning all the peoples, particularly the Palestinian people; the condemnation of all forms of violence and of the retention of territories occupied by force; and the need to settle disputes by peaceful means.

17. Perhaps all the world's dramas are rooted in the situation I shall now present. One of the major frustrations of the poor, who make up the majority of the world's population, consists in the persistence of economic injustices from which the affluent societies derive a profit. This generates deep resentment, acute tension and the misunderstandings between the industrialized countries of the North and the countries of the South. The objections of the former, which in international forums take advantage of the smallest preliminary points of procedure, not only hamper any kind of global strategy and common progress but also constitute a threat to the future of those same enclosed societies. If the forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún does not succeed in opening the way and establishing at least some new guidelines for conduct, the United Nations will continue to be a forum for the expression of vague hopes and concrete disappointments and will not open up the ways towards the new international economic order, the philosophy and Programme of Action of which were adopted in 1974 [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

18. Among the resources of primary interest in connection with which we wish to avoid the depredations and injustices of which we have been both witnesses and victims in the distribution of the world's wealth—are, without doubt, the resources of the sea. Ecuador attaches due importance to those resources, and it affirms that they are the heritage of the riparian States within the already his-

torical limit of 200 miles. But it does not limit itself to that. It further maintains that the agreements will become a mere list of theoretical calculations unless the world Powers are confronted with the firm and clear exercise of sovereignty by the riparian States over that area, sovereignty that encompasses the resources of the sea as well as those of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

19. My country will also more assiduously protect its rights to the finite natural resource of the increasingly occupied geostationary orbit. It will do so in conjunction with the other equatorial countries and in co-operation with other developing countries, in order to make a joint contribution in an area that vitally affects the future of our peoples.

20. We are concerned that the space Powers, in an expansionist manner, may be, for purposes of power competition, exploiting outer space, which should be conceived of as a zone of peace. The arms race already involves artificial earth satellites, which are being launched at the rate of three per week; thus more than 1,700 satellites of a military nature have been placed in orbit during the past decade. Of the existing total of satellites, 75 per cent are for warlike purposes, according to the latest reports of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which includes in that figure the functions of navigation, communications, meteorology, geodesy, remote sensing and anti-satellite capability. This alarming race must be halted and brought back within the normal evolution of the universe, instead of incurring the risks of a course that could be tragic not only for the space Powers themselves, but for all the peoples that share this great spaceship called Earth.

21. Casting a glance at what man is doing, or has already created, of which art is a prime example, Ecuador calls for the restitution of cultural assets to their legitimate owners, even though their acquisition may have resulted from centuries-old spoliation, tantamount, in fact, to colonialism, a vestige of times long past. World-wide restorations by the Powers involved to the native peoples that have created cultural eras could be initiated under the sponsorship of the United Nations. In this regard, the direction given to the activities of UNESCO is praiseworthy, as are the incentives extended to those who support it.

22. Fortunately, there are signs of understanding between dissimilar societies when they resort to the framework of the United Nations. An example of North-South co-operation in positive terms, although on a very small scale, is UNDP, with its flexible and co-ordinated action to meet the requirements of the developing world—above all in the matter of the technological gap. Ecuador has firmly supported the principle of universality on which UNDP is based, and has repeatedly appealed for increased voluntary contributions on the part of all countries, rich and poor alike. For its part, despite its financial constraints, my country has amply responded to the recommendation for a minimum increase of 14 percent per year—a recommendation still being ignored by those who could most afford to respond.

23. At the other, more fruitful, level of co-operation—South-South—Ecuador has entered, this year, into a spe-

cific project of co-operation with the sister Republic of Equatorial Guinea, with which we share a common heritage of Spanish colonization. This is but one example of the activities which Ecuador, a small country with limited economic capacity, has undertaken in co-operation with countries both within its region and in more distant latitudes.

24. Because of its intrinsic value for development, and because it is the best possible form of co-operation, we have faith in economic, social and cultural integration. For this reason, Ecuador remains active in the Andean Group, where it seeks effective fulfilment of the commitments undertaken in respect of sectoral industrial development programmes, as well as those concerning a common external tariff, the lowering of duties, the common treatment of foreign capital, and, above all, the structuring of the Andean Tribunal of Justice. We Ecuadorians believe that the sub-regional process helps reduce the dependence of developing peoples, promote their harmonious progress and facilitate a consolidated position in international forums.

25. We also believe that a prerequisite is the removal of real or potential threats among its members. In this respect, it is only natural that I should mention an issue that is of crucial importance to my nation.

26. In his statement to the Assembly [6th meeting], the Foreign Minister of Peru made specific reference to the territorial problem that his country has with Ecuador. On that occasion, the tone of the statement by the Foreign Minister of Peru was conciliatory, and we Ecuadorians and all Latin Americans must appreciate it, since it can be interpreted as a shift in attitude towards a peaceful line of conduct on the part of his Government. That, assuredly, is something most worthy of note.

27. On the substance itself, when he asks that an end be put to the problem by the placing of landmarks along a 78-kilometre stretch, he is, while admitting that there is a disagreement, maintaining, in short, that the formula for a solution is Ecuador's acceptance, 100 per cent, of Peru's case.

28. In a constructive spirit, it is pertinent to recall, among the main Latin American problems related not only to the loss of territory but also to the historical exercise of sovereignty, the irrevocable rights of my country over the Marañón, or Amazon river, which it discovered, and part of whose basin it evangelized and civilized up to its banks, on the basis of the Royal Deed of 1563.

29. I shall not tire the Assembly with a review of the four continuous centuries of Quitonian and Ecuadorian presence in the Marañón or Amazon, and its basin. To avoid entering into this long and comprehensive review, I have submitted to the Secretariat and to representatives a brief summary of the unsung heroic deeds of our religious communities and of our lay people, who devoted literally thousands of lives to the cause of the inclusion of the Amazon region within what was then the Audience of Quito and which is today the Republic of Ecuador.

30. The discovery of the Amazon river by Francisco de Orellana took place within the framework of the continu-

ous efforts which finally led to the inclusion of the Marañón, or Amazon river—also called the River of Quito—in the geography of the world.

31. The sequel to these efforts of discovery and colonization took concrete form in the Royal Deed of 1563, which, by creating the Audience of Quito, at the same time recognized for it all of the territories to the east which it might discover or colonize, which was done for no other South American Audience.

32. Thus it was that during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the religious and secular citizens of Quito navigated the Napo, the Pastaza, the Morona, the Santiago, the Putumayo and other rivers, while populating Amazonia.

33. In order to counter the effects of this historical truth Peru opposed the creation by Ecuador of the See of the Bishop of Maynas by the Royal Deed of 1802, which was not implemented, even in its religious aspect, since there was no territory.

34. Peru maintains that the discovery of the Amazon started from Cuzco, but the route followed by Orellana started from the very centre of what is today our capital city. The route is a road that we use today to go to Amazonia, a road where 4,000 native citizens of the Audience of Quito died during the epic of 1541.

35. I have emphasized the fact that this discovery, which was the result and the background of a long and sustained religious community effort, bears out the Ecuadorian right, which is recognized by titles beginning with the Deed of 1563 through those of 1717, 1720, 1739 and 1740, and ending with the Treaty of Guayaquil of 1829, following the declaration of Marshal Antonio José de Sucre, that victory grants no rights and justice must be the same before and after battle.

36. In this same brotherly spirit I say that the instructions of the armed forces and those of the Governments of all States must be positive. It makes no sense that Peru's objective should be to ignore our right and prevent the attainment of the national objective embodied in the history and in the feelings of all our people: namely, Ecuador's Amazonian destiny and its character as a riparian State of the river it discovered. It makes no sense that Peru should have undertaken to confine Ecuador by force of arms to the Amazonian tributaries only up to the point where they become navigable. It cannot be said that a country is denied its right to such banks in a zone extending east of the Cordillera del Cóndor, when its own representatives in 1890 acknowledged that "not a shadow of reason" could be adduced and that "nowhere is its right less defensible". With regard to that region, where the confrontations of early 1981 took place, the Foreign Minister of Peru himself publicly acknowledged at the Organization of American States [OAS] on 3 February 1981 that his country as its first act of presence, established a military outpost in 1938, that of Chávez Valdivia, thereby admitting the truth of an old Ecuadorian accusation, that Peru had violated by force of arms the *status quo* of 1936.

37. The Protocol of Río de Janeiro of 29 January 1942,<sup>1</sup> the very text of which states that it was imposed by force, mentions for the said zone a *divortium aquarum*, a geographical feature which in reality does not exist. The words "Cordillera del Cóndor", the feature at which Peru demands that the border be set, do not even appear in that treaty. The geographical reality of the zone was discovered in 1947 through mapping done by the Aerial Photography Service of the United States Air Force, and it was definitively confirmed by other later work.

38. That fact is so irrefutable that Ecuador has from the start repeatedly invited the Peruvian Government to set up a commission whose fundamental purpose would be to verify the geographical facts. Faced with Peru's refusal, in 1956 Ecuador reiterated to Peru, through Brazil, Chile, Argentina and the United States that it was necessary to survey the zone. Invited through these countries, Peru once more refused and went to the extreme of rejecting the suggestion by these four States that a new aerial photographic survey of the zone be made.

39. Peru unilaterally maintains that the boundary in that area is the Cordillera del Cóndor and that it owns the eastern slope. It cites an award of 1945, which was prior to the discovery of the problems in 1947. On the basis of that reasoning, in 1981 it machine-gunned and bombed Ecuadorian outposts located in the Cordillera del Cóndor, on the eastern slope, even after the cease-fire had been formally agreed upon within OAS.

40. Ecuador, then, must recall that Peru has not complied with the undertakings which it was led to make by the consultative meeting and the four friendly countries, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States, to which Ecuador reiterates its gratitude for their endeavours in the defence of peace, which they conducted with sincerity and impartiality. Ecuador has formulated and is formulating emphatic public reservations as concerning whatever Peru may do in the zone extending east of the Cordillera del Cóndor, a zone as yet without boundaries, even under the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>1</sup> It is simple and categorically a matter of occupation of territories by force. The reservations which my country has encompass any military outpost, human settlements, any general infrastructure and anything that is contrary to the spirit of coexistence, which requires the parties to negotiate on pending problems and not presume to solve them unilaterally or limit themselves to denying that such problems exist.

41. On this occasion I address a new appeal to the Government of Peru to undertake and maintain negotiations leading to an understanding that may solve one of the oldest problems of the continent, as mentioned by the Secretary-General, whose concern for the restoration of peace was appreciated at the time by Ecuador, and his reference to the problem in his report on the work of the Organization [see A/36/1, sect. IV] is inspired by a spirit of concord with which my country fully concurs.

42. I reiterate before the Assembly the words President Osvaldo Hurtado spoke before the National House of Representatives in his message of 10 August:

“The armed conflict of the beginning of the year and its dramatic after-effects must lead us Ecuadorians to meditate seriously on our territorial tragedy and to find a solution that would allow us to solve it definitively. Ecuador has permanently sought, by various means, what constitutes its vital aspiration: a solution of peace and justice to the border problem with Peru.”

43. Ecuador, a signatory of the San Francisco Charter, looks upon the Organization as the maximum guarantee and the embodiment of the will of the peoples, which is the source of international law in our time. That is why it gives its support, without reservation, to the United Nations, in which it places its trust, and expresses its fervent wishes for the attainment of the noble ideals which inspire the Organization. My people and my Government will spare no effort that may be necessary to achieve that end.

44. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking as I am after the passing of the Egyptian head of State, allow me first to associate myself with the homage that has been paid to his memory. The tragic death of President Anwar El Sadat is a cruel loss, not only for his country, but for the United Nations and for all who are working to achieve peace and love between peoples, to which aim he dedicated himself with unshakeable faith and exceptional courage. To the sorely bereaved delegation of Egypt and, through it, to the fraternal people of Egypt, I address our heartfelt condolences and sincere compassion.

45. Sir, in electing you to the presidency of its thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly has acquired the experience, competence and effectiveness of a seasoned diplomat that you have always shown, both in the service of your country and in the United Nations. I am happy to extend to you, on behalf of my delegation and in a personal capacity, our heartfelt congratulations, assuring you again of my high and very friendly esteem.

46. As you begin your important task, I should like to express to your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, our high appreciation for the brilliant manner in which he discharged his duties.

47. I should also like to express once again to the Secretary-General our deep gratitude for the exemplary devotion with which he carries out his important responsibilities.

48. Over the years, the United Nations has ceaselessly reaffirmed its universality. Since it is the framework *par excellence* for co-operation and reconciliation between human communities, we are highly appreciative of that fact. We therefore welcome the entry of Vanuatu and Belize to the United Nations. We regret that some States are not yet members, although they have become members of the specialized agencies, and we invite them to join us.

49. The Ivory Coast hopes that in the near future the United Nations will be welcoming a new member, the independent State of Namibia. We reaffirm our support for Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides for Namibia's accession to independence and self-determi-

nation through the organization of free elections under United Nations supervision.

50. The implementation of that resolution has been too long in coming. Any further delay would be intolerable and would have heavy consequences for peace and security in that region. It is time for the killings and tortures in Namibia to stop, as well as the massacres of innocent populations in the States that are neighbours of South Africa, particularly in Angola, by the South African Government and the bombings which it carries out, sowing death and desolation in peaceful villages, as well as that country's repeated violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States contrary to the dearly held principles of the United Nations and condemned by the international community.

51. To avoid the risk of being accused of attempting to sanction South Africa's delaying tactics, of laxity and, consequently, of complicity, the five members of the contact group must unequivocally reaffirm their determination to do everything in their power to implement resolution 435 (1978), which does no more than reproduce the plan they themselves worked out in answer to the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to freedom and human dignity. In drawing up that plan, they assumed a commitment to the international community to ensure that Namibia accede to independence in a peaceful manner. They have the means to achieve this. They are in duty bound to succeed, for if that plan is not implemented, the ensuing disappointment will be commensurate with the immense hope that they have aroused throughout the world, and particularly in Africa.

52. It is with satisfaction, therefore, that we who have trusted in them from the outset and have supported their plan, note that following their meeting in New York on 24 September, they reaffirmed “their determination to pursue their efforts” to “assure without further delay a peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia”.

53. Unfortunately, there is another problem that constitutes a treat to peace and security in southern Africa: *apartheid*, that odious system based on the segregation of human beings according to race, that ensures the reign of the minority over the majority and that deprives that majority of human rights and fundamental freedoms, debasing them solely because they are not white.

54. The strikes that have been called in South Africa and the acts of violence that have taken place in that country in recent years are ample proof that the majority is awakening and rejecting its present status.

55. Like clouds preceding a storm, rancours, hatreds, feelings of frustration and revolt, are piling up. The longer the scourge of *apartheid* goes on, the greater the danger of confrontation between the white minority and the majority of the South African community. Each day that goes by brings us closer to war and its consequences—destruction of human lives and property, foreign interventions and the risks of the conflict's being extended.

56. It is clear that the so-called “homelands” or bantustanization policy of the Government of South Africa is

not capable of preventing such gloomy prospects, lacking as it does popular support and disapproved of as it is by the international community. This could not be otherwise with regard to a policy that allows the minority to enjoy exclusive control of the country's principal resources and confines the majority of the population in one seventh of its territory on less productive land. It is obvious that the solution to the problem is to be found only in the participation, on an equal footing, of all the inhabitants of South Africa in determining their future.

57. Some, considering the measures adopted thus far as insufficient to eliminate *apartheid*, and becoming impatient, advocate a recourse to war to achieve this; an understandable attitude, but one which should not exclude the use of other means.

58. We think, indeed, that it is possible to prevail upon the Government of South Africa peacefully to bring about the changes that are desirable in that country. We can never over-emphasize the special responsibility incumbent upon the Powers which have economic relations with that country. We appeal to them resolutely to embark in this direction, because their long-term interests are at stake, and so as to avoid the problem of *apartheid* degenerating into armed conflict and opening up the way to foreign interference in Africa.

59. We want Africa to be really neutral, to be free from foreign interference in its affairs. We are convinced that, left to themselves, Africans can resolve their differences. The Ivory Coast therefore welcomed the progress achieved by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in the quest for a peaceful solution to the problem of Western Sahara.

60. To our mind, what we should do, now that the principle of self-determination of the people of Western Sahara has been acknowledged by all parties concerned, now that the organization of a referendum has been agreed upon during which the United Nations is required to give its assistance, now that practical ways to implement this have been defined, and a progressive relaxing of tension in the region is taking place, is to avoid debates and decision which would revive passions, provoke an escalation of fighting and frustrate the efforts of the OAU to bring about a peaceful solution to the problem.

61. It seems to us that the United Nations should confine itself to taking note of the agreement which was reached this year in the OAU at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and in the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara, and to invite the pan-African organization to pursue its efforts. The parties concerned should co-operate honestly in implementing the self-determination process. We urge the African countries in particular to facilitate, as is their duty, the very delicate and complicated task of the Implementation Committee.

62. Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination should be admitted in other situations of conflict as well. The United Nations in 1947 recognized that the Palestinians had that right, and since 1947 the Palestinians have been deprived of it. The Palestinian problem is at the core of the Middle East conflict. As long as the Pal-

estinians do not exercise their right to self-determination and the consequent creation of their own State, this region will continue to be the theatre of ever-renewed crises, sporadic fighting, repeated attacks, assassinations and violence, to which this distressing tragedy has accustomed us. We have grown used to this almost permanent state of war. We have grown used to a sword of Damocles hanging over international peace and security.

63. The major obstacle to the exercise of the Palestinians of the right of peoples to self-determination seems to be the absence of mutual and simultaneous recognition of their existence and that of the State of Israel. We welcome the approach made in that direction by Saudi Arabia. We venture to hope that this initiative will be welcomed by all parties concerned and by the Powers involved, and that it will give new impetus to efforts already undertaken to bring about a comprehensive peaceful solution to the conflict.

64. Almost two years ago the United Nations proclaimed its indignation and condemned the invasion of Afghanistan by foreign forces which, as in similar situations, reminded us sadly of *coups de force* in the past and re-established the climate of the cold war which, we believed, had gone for ever. Recalling the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the right of peoples to self-determination and, in particular, to decide their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system without intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint from outside in whatever form, the General Assembly requested the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan [resolution ES-6/2]. It renewed this request last year at the thirty-fifth session [resolution 35-37], but for almost two years now Afghanistan has been occupied by foreign troops, obviously against the will of the Afghan people.

65. The situation prevailing in that country is disturbing for more than one reason. It has caused the displacement of people who look for shelter in other countries, in particular in neighbouring States. Whatever action is undertaken, bilaterally or multilaterally, to assist them, will be only a partial solution to a phenomenon which has political, social and economic consequences. The situation creates a danger of confrontation between the great Powers. It also hampers the development of that third world country. It constitutes an extremely dangerous precedent for the progress and security of a large number of developing countries.

66. To prevent such situations, there is only one reliable method: the neutrality of the developing countries towards the two blocs. That means that peace must reign between these countries and within each country, and in order to do this they should resort to permanent dialogue to settle their disputes, whether internal or against one another. This means the practice of a true policy of non-alignment towards the great Powers.

67. What the developing countries need are not imported ideologies but technology and resources for their economic, social and cultural development. What they want is not to be the pawns in this political rivalry be-

tween the great Powers, but to see that rivalry become strictly financial, economic and technical. What they would like is the establishment, for their benefit as well as that of the developed countries, of international co-operation to resolve a fundamental problem of today, namely development.

68. Today in the developing countries 1.8 billion people live in poverty, and it appears that 800 million will find themselves in a state of absolute poverty in 1990 unless we are careful. Now in these countries two out of three people die of hunger. Seventy per cent of the children suffer from malnutrition, a billion people are condemned to illiteracy, three quarters of the population of the earth have only one fifth of the world's income. In the developed countries, on the other hand, one quarter of the people possess four fifths of that income; a human being will rarely suffer from hunger and will receive an education to a level at least equal to that of secondary education, and the majority have a life expectancy of 50 years at least.

69. The efforts to bridge this gap are frustrated by the short-term instability of commodities markets which manifests itself in severe annual price fluctuations. The trend is usually downward and therefore export earnings drop. This has had an adverse long-term effect on markets. Between 1950 and 1970, the price ratio for primary products sold by the developing countries and manufactured products sold by the developed countries went down by 35 per cent. In 1981 a ton of cocoa, coffee or cotton—to take only these examples—in the best possible circumstances only buys half of the capital goods, particularly agricultural capital goods, that could be bought 20 years ago.

70. Commodity price fluctuations and deterioration of the terms of trade have, for the developing countries, severe financial consequences which jeopardize their ability to save, invest and therefore to develop, but the two phenomena also have consequences for the developed countries.

71. Indeed commodities from developing countries as a general rule are processed in the developed countries before being consumed. A drop in commodity prices discourages producers, makes them reduce their output and finally creates supply difficulties at the industrial level in the processing countries, not to mention the unemployment which might result.

72. Some developed countries producing raw materials or synthetic goods also suffer from the deterioration of the terms of trade. Differences in cost structures often bring activity to a partial or total halt. Some coal basins in Europe, following the continued fall in oil prices from 1960 to 1972, are a case in point.

73. As we see, excessive price fluctuations and the deterioration of the terms of trade are the cause of economic waste for all countries, whether developed or developing, and this demonstrates a major fact of our times, the growing interdependence between national economies.

74. The solutions which have so far been put forward to solve these two problems have not been entirely satisfac-

tory. The compensatory financing machinery—STABEX, a tool of IMF—is aimed, as its name suggests, at compensating for the nominal losses in export earnings from commodities, but unfortunately, it does not compensate fully. Furthermore, it does not cover the loss in the purchasing power of export earnings due to inflation.

75. The so-called price stabilization agreements seek to avoid excessive price fluctuations that would jeopardize the long-term interests of producers and consumers, and to stabilize and increase export earnings for the producer countries. However, where they exist, these agreements promote the first aim better than the second. Furthermore, difficulties arise when it comes to determining the minimum and maximum prices to be fixed, which provide the benchmark for the application of the stabilizing action, as can be seen in the International Cocoa Agreement.

76. These difficulties are due to the way the stabilization agreements are conceived. Generally, from the consumer's point of view, they are conceived not as a means of ensuring effective price stabilization but as an instrument to maintain free market conditions, in accordance with the wishes of those who think that commodity prices should result from market forces. To be sure, this market is effectively free of any State intervention. But can one say that it is a free market when the means to market these products are more or less out of the hands of the developing countries, when, at the pre-marketing stage the economic decisions are not taken by those countries; in brief, when the market is dominated by the importers, distributors, processors and a whole gamut of middlemen from the developed countries whose activity is often exclusively financial, and only very distantly connected with the product concerned.

77. In addition, how can one offer the developing countries the argument that the market forces must be given free play, when those who put forward that argument refuse to apply it whenever their products are threatened by competition from products originating in other developed countries? Is that not a tacit admission that a free market is one in which right is right? That amounts to recognizing both the need to correct the short-comings of the market and the legitimacy of the desire of developing countries for a policy ensuring remunerative prices for their commodities.

78. Furthermore, attainment of the objectives of the stabilization agreements is hampered by the lack of adequate funds for the operation of the machinery provided for that purpose: buffer stocks and stocks established by producer countries to ensure fulfilment of their export quotas. The Common Fund for Commodities will make it possible to remedy this situation, if its reliability is guaranteed.

79. The idea of setting up this kind of machinery bears witness to the need for more co-operation among all countries in order to solve the problems inherent in the imbalance of trade in general, and in the commodity trade, in particular.

80. Apart from trade, the development of the poor countries is meeting with obstacles in the industrialization sphere. If those countries are to develop some of their

industries, they must find markets for their products. But access of those products to the markets of the developed countries is hampered by a protectionism running counter to the laws of free trade and by the unilateral setting of exorbitant freight rates. In 1978 the industrialized countries imported from developing countries manufactured and semi-manufactured products to the value of only \$32 billion, as against \$125 billion in the opposite direction, that is, a cover rate of 390 per cent. This is a regrettable situation, since, industrialization in the form of processing before export of some of their raw materials would provide the developing countries with relatively stable export earnings.

81. Those countries are also having difficulty in acquiring, adapting and disseminating industrial techniques, and when transfers of technology take place, they often have onerous conditions attached, are badly adapted, or provide elementary or obsolete technology. International negotiations aimed at organizing relationships between developed and developing countries in a just and equitable manner, in particular through the preparation of a code of conduct on transfer of technology and revision of legislation on patents, have made scarcely any progress.

82. The financial resources required for the industrialization of developing countries greatly exceeds their internal savings capacity. Official aid is well below the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product recommended by the United Nations. From 0.35 per cent in 1975, it has fallen to a level of 0.31 per cent in 1978. Furthermore, the high level of indebtedness of the developing countries, the continuing rise in energy costs and the declining trend in export earnings means that much of the aid they receive and the loans they contract go to reducing their debt burden and paying for their oil bills, instead of to new projects.

83. Because of such obstacles, the industrialization of the developing countries is making slow progress. The share of those countries in world industrial production was only 7 per cent in the 1960s; it has risen since then, but was only 9 per cent in 1977. Taking the broad view, those obstacles also have consequences for the developed countries.

84. By providing considerable subsidies and buying up part of their output, Governments prolong the existence of firms which cannot compete with similar products from developing countries. Thus protectionism leads to higher prices, which are a burden to the consumer, and in the long run, to inflation and losses for the economies of developed countries as a whole. Furthermore, to block exports from developing countries means reducing their capacity to import and in the final analysis to preventing the creation of more productive employment in developed countries.

85. Studies have shown that although initially increasing imports of finished and semi-finished goods from developing countries can cause employment problems in some sectors of the economy of developed countries, at a later stage it should enable them to increase their exports in other sectors, a process leading to an upsurge in the world economy. It is therefore in the mutual interests of

developed and developing countries for obstacles to the industrialization of the latter to be removed and for world industry to be restructured with a view to an equitable division of labour. That aim can be attained only through international co-operation.

86. The disorder in the monetary system since the general floating of major reserve currencies authorized by IMF in 1976, which has resulted in wide fluctuations in exchange rates, is also hampering the developing of the poor countries. Bearing in mind the instability of the currency market and the prevailing uncertainty there, transfers from multilateral financial institutions and private sources are too burdensome and ill-suited to the specific needs of those countries, and are subject to the harmful effects of the floating of reserve currencies, like their export earnings, quite apart from the fluctuations in commodity prices.

87. The developed countries responsible for this monetary disorder have not been spared. The increase in interest rates is leading to a slowing down of investments and growth and, finally, to unemployment in those countries.

88. Any new monetary order aimed at more stable international currencies will make sense only if it takes into account all economic interests, and if all States participate in its management. Thus, wherever one turns, it seems that the developed countries cannot obtain prosperity by themselves; that they must, by way of efficient international co-operation, help the poor countries towards development and that, in so doing, they are both helping themselves and working for peace, for the poverty of the developing countries gives rise to disturbances, political instability, foreign interference and international tension.

89. What framework could be better than the United Nations for such co-operation? This sentiment reflects the hope which we place in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which will take place at Cancún, for launching global negotiations. We also hope that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held next year, will be the start of a new awareness of the obstacle represented by the arms race, that will make it possible to mobilize additional resources for development.

90. It is inconceivable that military expenditures should have grown year after year to reach in 1981 the astronomical figure of \$500 billion, whereas development aid is falling, and is only \$20 billion. It is repugnant to see that the resources devoted to works of death are 25 times as great as those devoted to works of life, and that the programme of WHO for the eradication of malaria, which represents only one thousandth of military expenditures, should lack funds and the cost of the 10-year programme to cover the essential needs of food and medical care should be less than 50 per cent of these expenditures.

91. May the Cancún Meeting and the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament pave the way to international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations, bringing peace and happiness to all, thus justifying the very reason for the existence of the Organization.

92. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, please accept the congratulations of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR on your election to the responsible post of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and our wishes that energetic efforts should be made in the quest for constructive solutions for the sake of peace, international security and fruitful co-operation between peoples.

93. At the last session we noted with concern a marked complication of the international situation because of imperialist and hegemonistic forces. At the same time, the forces of peace and progress, deeply conscious of their responsibility for the destinies of mankind, succeeded underlining in a number of General Assembly resolutions urgent measures for lessening the danger of war, curbing the arms race and solving vitally important problems through negotiations in the interests of peace and co-operation among peoples.

94. Regrettably, it is still to be noted today that the international situation continues to remain extremely complicated and that it has even worsened in the past year. The true reasons for this are well known. Imperialist Powers, primarily the United States, deliberately heat up the international situation and continue their policy of confrontation with the world of socialism, try to achieve military superiority, feverishly whip up the arms race, which is unprecedented in its dimensions, while avoiding negotiations on disarmament, interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States in a bid to subordinate them to their diktat and oppose the political settlement of conflicts and the elimination of hotbeds of tension. They are pursuing a policy of expanding the system of aggressive blocs, fighting national liberation movements, hampering the normal development of inter-State relations and trying to bury everything positive that was achieved in the 1970s in the field of détente.

95. The policy of the ruling circles of those States at the present time particularly blatantly demonstrates adventurism, and a readiness to risk the vital interests of mankind in the pursuit of their criminal designs. The closeness between imperialism and Beijing hegemonism is becoming ever more obvious. The military co-operation between the United States and China, with its far-reaching expansionist goals, is taking on tangible shape.

96. In this situation, the United Nations, which comprises practically all countries in the world, is called upon to concentrate its efforts as never before on the implementation of the primary task proclaimed in its Charter: to save the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

97. Comrade T. Y. Kiselev, Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, pointed out in his statement during the adoption of the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to parliaments and peoples of the world that the conscience of peoples cannot remain silent when the aggressive circles of imperialism, especially United States imperialism, whip up

tensions, engage in gangster-like sabre-rattling and push the world towards a thermonuclear catastrophe. The time has come for all those who hold dear the cause of peace and progress to act immediately and persistently, for there is no international task that is more important today than that of safeguarding peace. We note with satisfaction that in the course of the general debate a unanimous and resolute "no" was given to the arguments espoused by certain people in Washington alleging that "there are things more important than peace".

98. For us, peace matters more than anything else. Peace-loving forces had to pay a very high price for the right to live in conditions of peace, for the opportunity to work peacefully and creatively for the benefit of their peoples in the interests of international economic co-operation. More than 20 million Soviet people, including every fourth Byelorussian inhabitant, perished in the scorching flames of the Second World War, which caused enormous suffering and misfortune.

99. Everyone needs peace. War in the nuclear age is a calamity for all and is a direct threat to the existence of human civilization itself. What is needed is an active joint struggle against war and the forces which threaten to disrupt peace. The source of wars and of the arms race is generally known: it is the tycoons of the war business rather than peoples who make profits out of armaments and wars.

100. Unswervingly following Lenin's behest that all our policy and propaganda are aimed at putting an end to war rather than dragging peoples into it, the Soviet State has made the struggle for peace and for the prevention of the threat of war and for curbing reactionary and militaristic forces the cornerstone of its international activities. The policy of peace which flows from the social nature of the socialist system is the fundamental course adopted by Soviet foreign policy. It has found its expression in specific foreign policy actions and proposals advanced by the country of the Soviets in the international arena. That was once again convincingly demonstrated at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which put forward a whole series of new sweeping initiatives aimed at preventing the threat of a nuclear war, curbing the arms race and strengthening international security. They deal both with nuclear missiles and conventional types of weapons as well as with land, naval and air forces. Those initiatives touch upon the situation in Europe and in the Near, Middle and Far East. They include the adoption of specific measures of both a political and a military nature.

101. Those proposals constitute an organic continuation and a further development of the Soviet Programme of Peace adopted at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the context of the most important contemporary problems. As Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stressed "It is not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace—that is the clue to the future".

102. The Soviet Programme of Peace for the 1980s and specific proposals for its implementation, including those submitted at the present session of the General Assembly for its consideration, are imbued with concern for removing the threat of nuclear war that looms over the peoples, defusing tensions, preserving and extending détente, settling the most pressing international problems by peaceful means, halting and reversing the race in nuclear-missile and conventional arms and contributing to the development of peaceful co-operation between the States of all continents. Also proposed is the way to achieve those goals—negotiations based on the principles of equality and equal security, without any pre-conditions or diktat and with careful consideration given to all constructive proposals put forward by other countries.

103. The general debate about to be concluded testifies to the fact that the majority of States share this approach. Yet forces which are against it are also active. This can be seen in their approach to any problem that the international community expects the United Nations to help resolve.

104. All States Members of the United Nations, even though they have their own specific interests, should be guided by the major commitments freely assumed under the Charter of the United Nations, that is, “to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security”. Yet, is everyone complying with the aforementioned requirements? No, unfortunately not. We see instances of irresponsibility, attempts by the ruling circles of some Western countries to build their relations with peace-loving States on the basis of hostility and the desire to unite the forces of aggression and reaction to undermine peace and the security of the peoples. All this is accompanied by disgraceful political blather about the hackneyed subject of the so-called Soviet military threat. Under its cover the United States has taken the decision to deploy 100 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles and to build 100 strategic bombers of the new B-1 type. As a result of this, military expenditures by the United States will increase by over \$180 billion.

105. Besides, various malicious and fraudulent allegations are being turned out one after another, like for example the one contending that sometime, someone, somewhere in South-East Asia used toxic chemical substances said to be of Soviet manufacture. Yet what is known to be true is that the United States, in busily waging a hostile anti-Cuban campaign, is using biological weapons against it and is engaged in a new round of the chemical-weapons race, in particular, the binary system of warfare, and that the consequences of the large-scale use by the United States of the chemical means of warfare during its aggressive war in Viet Nam can still be felt.

106. Some people are deliberately ignoring the indisputable fact, solemnly reaffirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in its appeal to parliaments and peoples of the world, that the Soviet Union is not threatening anyone, nor does it seek confrontation with any State, and that safeguarding peace has been, is and remains the highest goal of the foreign policy of the Soviet State.

107. The Soviet Union, the entire socialist community and the peace-loving forces of the planet press for the elimination of hotbeds of military conflicts and tensions and propose realistic ways of settling them and of preventing the emergence of new explosive crises. Also to be found among those proposals are initiatives by the USSR to expand confidence-building measures and the zone of their application in Europe, and to impose a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles and the United States forward based systems in that area.

108. So far there has been no positive response to those initiatives from the United States and a number of its partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. In fact, the opposite is taking place, namely, the idea is being persistently impressed on Western Europe that the so-called dual decision does not in the least call for the entry into force of the SALT-II treaty on the limitation of strategic arms or for negotiations on all the aforementioned proposals, but that it merely envisages “additional armament” and the deployment of new United States medium-range nuclear systems, and now the neutron weapon as well, on the territories of some Western European countries contrary to the will of their peoples, who do not wish to live on top of a nuclear powder keg or close to it. Europe, which has received tangible benefits from the process of détente, is now being pushed towards the deterioration of relations with the socialist States, allegedly for the sake of “NATO common interests”.

109. It is to be hoped that the Soviet-American agreement on the resumption of negotiations on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe, which we welcome, will help to overcome those unfavourable trends.

110. In the Middle East, stubborn attempts are still being made to push through the Camp David deal rejected and condemned in the United Nations. The Arab territories captured by Israel in 1967 have not been vacated, and the Arab people of Palestine is still being deprived of its inalienable right to create its own State. On an ever-growing scale, Israel is undertaking aggressive actions against Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, while the United States is taking Israel under American protection, even in the Security Council, and is entering into a “strategic alliance” with Israel, while fattening it up with what amounts annually to \$5.5 billion of the American taxpayers’ money.

111. The current situation makes especially timely the USSR proposal concerning an honest collective search for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem on a just and realistic basis within the framework of a specially convened international conference, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

112. The United States refuses to support the relevant proposals on normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf area, on turning the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace and co-operation or on establishing nuclear-free zones in the north of Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Those proposals are countered with the policy of an accelerated establishment of the “rapid deployment force” and military bases, the expansion of the NATO

bloc and the desire to scrape together new aggressive alliances, some of them to include racist South Africa.

113. In Asia imperialists and hegemonists are pursuing a policy of stepping up tension and direct interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Indo-China and continue to wage an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In the United States statements are being made at the highest level about the intention to continue arming counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries to be sent into Afghanistan. To that end arms which had been shipped to Egypt to help Israeli aggression are put up for resale.

114. Regrettably, some participants in the hastily convened so-called "Conference on Kampuchea" in fact took their cue from the United States and China which are attempting to impose on the Kampuchean people bloodthirsty butchers who have been cursed and rejected by them and to keep those political corpses in the United Nations. Apparently, some people in those countries are deliberately forgetting or ignoring the fact that it is the United States and China which have turned down the idea of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation and that it is the United States which has foiled the convening of a conference on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, refused to participate in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa and opposed the positive conclusion of the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. They only need conferences that poison relations among States.

115. We vehemently reject the approach of imperialists and hegemonists to the problems of Asia, fraught as it is with the gravest consequences. A realistic approach to the settlement of problems in that area by peaceful political means has been outlined in the relevant proposals of Afghanistan [see A/36/457] and the countries of Indo-China [see A/36/86, annex], the proposal of the USSR on the implementation of confidence-building measures in the Far East,<sup>2</sup> the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic on the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and renunciation of force in relations among the States of Asia and of the Pacific and on the convening of a conference of States of that region [see A/36/388, annex] and the proposals of the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the peaceful solution of the Korean question, formulated by its President of the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

116. Any attempts to resolve questions related to the problems of Asia, which disregard the will of the peoples of the States concerned who have independently chosen the path of their development, and of their legitimate Governments, are doomed to failure.

117. We are convinced that joint constructive efforts by delegations to work out decisions designed to avert a nuclear catastrophe and to curb the arms race should occupy the central place in the work of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is obviously urgent for the General Assembly to adopt a declaration on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, a draft text of which was submitted at the current session by the Soviet Union [A/36/241, an-

nex] and substantiated in the statement made at the 7th meeting by Comrade Andrei Gromyko, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The General Assembly should clearly proclaim that "States and statesmen who would be the first to use nuclear weapons would commit the gravest crime against humanity" and that there would be no justification or pardon for them. Our duty is to do our utmost to eliminate the risk of a nuclear conflict emerging.

118. A new impetus should also be given to the solution of questions relating to ending the nuclear arms race and reducing nuclear arms stockpiles until they are completely destroyed. Here, too, the process of negotiations to limit strategic offensive arms should be resumed as early as possible, while preserving the results already achieved in that field. Naturally, a reliable barrier should be established against the monstrous neutron weapon which threatens universal peace and the whole of mankind. That weapon can play the role of a fuse that could detonate a large-scale war. It dangerously lowers the so-called nuclear threshold; once it has crossed it mankind will find itself in the abyss of catastrophe. There is something sinister in the fact that that particularly barbaric weapon of the mass destruction of people which is meant to be used for seizing their material assets and natural resources received the blessing of Washington on the very day that the civilized world bowed to the memory of the victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. For Washington strategists who expatiate on the subject of the "acceptability" of a nuclear war and of "limited" nuclear wars to be waged on foreign soil, Hiroshima was not enough, they need "Euroshima"—a Europe scorched by a fire-spitting tornado. And not only Europe it seems, for the neutron weapon may appear anywhere where there are United States military bases or rapid deployment forces, or in any area of the world which Washington would take it into its head to declare the sphere of "vital interests of the United States", even without the consent of the countries concerned.

119. Tales about the "clean" or "humane" nature of that weapon should mislead no one. We all remember how, using similar arguments, the United States went ahead with building up and improving its current nuclear potential.

120. The General Assembly should advance and should react positively to new important initiatives while making further efforts to achieve the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the strengthening of security guarantees of non-nuclear countries, the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of those States where there are none at present, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the consolidation of the nuclear-weapon non-proliferation régime and the prevention of their acquisition by South Africa, Israel, Pakistan and other countries, the prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons and of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, the limitation of conventional weapons and the reduction of military expenditures, as well as coping with other tasks stemming from resolutions previously adopted in the United Nations which are as yet unimplemented because of Western countries. We call on

all delegations to support the proposal of the USSR entitled "Conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space" [A/36/192, annex] and thereby to complete steps already taken in the United Nations in order to rule out the possibility of using outer space as an arena for the arms race and for the aggravation of relations among States.

121. The elaboration and implementation of measures in the field of limiting the arms race and of disarmament should be linked inseparably with strengthening political, international and legal guarantees of the security of States. Of crucial importance here is the speedy elaboration and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

122. In the course of the general debate numerous figures have already been cited concerning the nefarious consequences of the arms race for the cause of peace and for the economic and social progress of peoples. It has been said, for instance, that in *per capita* terms there are more explosives than foodstuffs in the world. It may also be recalled that world expenditures on armaments in the post-Second World War period totalled more than \$6,000 billion, a sum of 15 times that of the gross national product of all developing countries taken together and that profits of United States monopolies from the sale of arms to African countries alone surpassed threefold the volume of United States economic aid to those States.

123. As military expenditures increase, inflation and unemployment increase, since military expenditures do not produce the goods needed for the market and create fewer jobs than would be the case if the same amount of money were invested in peaceful branches of the economy. Naturally the question arises: why does the United States step up the arms race and force other countries to join in it? There are numerous reasons, such as the desire to establish their diktat, military supremacy and world domination, and the need to solve its own economic problems at the expense of other countries. The militarization of the United States economy results in greater profits for the military-industrial complex and for those that deal in lethal weapons. The dragging of other States into the arms race not only ties them to the militaristic course pursued by United States foreign policy, to the detriment of their natural interests, but also lessens the prospects for the development of their peaceful economies and sharply decreases the competitiveness of their goods on the world markets, which is to the advantage of United States business, already secure behind protectionist measures.

124. As Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has pointed out, "peace based on mutual intimidation is not attractive to us. We prefer peace in which the levels of armaments become lower and lower while the scale and quality of co-operation in all fields grows and improves." That is the keynote of all the initiatives of the Soviet Union, including the proposals advanced at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the creation of a competent international committee, composed of the most eminent scientists of different countries, which would demonstrate the vital need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, and to convene a special meeting of the Security Council at the highest level in order to look

for ways of improving the international situation and preventing war.

125. Along with the other countries of the socialist community, the Byelorussian SSR consistently fights for the elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*; actively supports the struggle of peoples for their national and social liberation; and opposes any attempts to suppress the will of peoples to self-determination and independence and to label liberation fighters "terrorists". Those who do so are also those who shamelessly equate national liberation struggles with terrorism, who overtly equip and send armed bands to subvert Governments supported by the peoples, who use mercenaries to suppress national liberation movements, who encourage aggressive actions by Israel against the Arab peoples as well as Pretoria's State terrorism and its aggression against Angola and other African countries, who shoot down aircraft in foreign air space, who stage political assassinations and provide assistance to odious dictatorial oppressive régimes, as is the case in Chile, El Salvador and some other countries.

126. As in the past, our delegation will actively contribute to the adoption, at the current session, of further steps aimed at ensuring the complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the plan of action adopted last year [resolution 35/118] to further its implementation with regard to Namibia as well as Micronesia or any other territory where imperialists, colonialists and racists hold sway.

127. We welcome the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of Vanuatu and of Belize, which have freed themselves from colonial oppression. We wish their peoples every success on the road to independent development.

128. Newly free independent States are facing the huge and difficult task of overcoming their economic backwardness, which can be done only in conditions of peace. Those countries can rely on our solidarity and support in their struggle for the elimination of all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations and for the eventual initiation of global negotiations on the problems of economic development and mutually beneficial co-operation, which are currently blocked by imperialist forces. It is high time to take up the study of the problem of the outflow of financial resources from developing countries and to draw up measures for the protection of those States from the predatory activities of private foreign capital and especially the transnational corporation.

129. The States of the socialist community not only successfully resolve their economic and social problems in the interests of the working masses but also assist new independent countries in their economic development. Over the past decade the number of newly free countries receiving economic and technical assistance from the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has risen 62 to 90, and the amount of credits extended to them has increased by 110 per cent. During the same period 47,000 persons from developing coun-

tries were trained as highly skilled experts in educational establishments of the States of the socialist community. For instance, in the 1980-1981 school year alone, 3,419 foreign nationals studied in the Byelorussian SSR, including persons from 76 developing countries.

130. We shall have another opportunity to express our views on various items included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

131. In conclusion, allow me to stress our readiness to support proposals designed to develop and deepen the political dialogue between States, to resume suspended talks and to initiate new negotiations, both bilateral and multilateral, including negotiations at the highest level. These should be based on the principle of equality and equal security; they should not be conducted from a position of strength and military superiority. They should be aimed at achieving specific and positive results in the interests of the prevention of the danger of nuclear war, the strengthening of peace and international security, the triumph of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, the curbing of the arms race and peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation among peoples.

132. We call on all delegations to take such an approach, and we believe that compliance with the obligations stemming from the Charter and progressive United Nations decisions and our collective efforts will make it possible to adopt at this session decisions that will contribute to peace and progress on earth. We regard that as the primary role of the United Nations and as its principal responsibility to mankind.

133. Mr. SAÚDE MARIA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):\* I am particularly pleased to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Our satisfaction is all the greater since, quite naturally, you were destined, by reason of your exceptional diplomatic background, to assume this lofty responsibility. The international community has thus honoured a remarkable career that has been closely linked to the life and activities of the United Nations for over a quarter century.

134. The prestige of your country, Iraq, with which Guinea-Bissau has fraternal relations of friendship and co-operation, has thus been further enhanced, and it extends to all member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. My delegation will lend you its friendly co-operation throughout this particularly important thirty-sixth session.

135. Mr. President, you succeed a distinguished personality known for his devotion, competence and initiative throughout the work of a heavily charged and trying session and between that session and this one. Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar deserves our congratulations and warmest thanks for the excellent results attained by the thirty-fifth session. We are particularly grateful for his efforts to reactivate the global negotiations.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

136. It is a great pleasure for me to extend greetings to the Secretary-General to whom I convey my Government's tribute for his contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

137. The admission of two new Member States to the United Nations is a source of particular satisfaction to my delegation. Aware, as we are, of the hard trials which preceded that important event in Vanuatu and Belize, we warmly welcome the representatives of those two countries and assure them of our determination to develop strong bonds of frank, friendly and mutually beneficial co-operation with them.

138. In response to an increasingly pressing need for world-wide agreement, leaders and politicians of most of the countries of the globe come together in this forum every year to analyse the international situation. This phenomenon, although traditional, is not a ritual: it is the logical outcome of our will to seek, together, the ways and means likely to ensure us of peace and happiness. For the radical changes that have taken place in the world thanks to the enormous progress made in the fields of science and technology have confirmed the interdependence of nations and forged the common destiny of mankind.

139. Today the world belongs to all its inhabitants. Its progress—or its destruction—can no longer escape the rule of participation, but depends on the individual and collective efforts of our Governments. Each one of us bears a share of the responsibility for building our common edifice. Peace in the world cannot be brought about by a single nation, however powerful it may be, nor can it be the fragile result of a transitory compromise among major Powers. If peace in the world is to be lasting and is to respond to the aspirations of our peoples, it must be forged by the international community as a whole and must be based on its need for progress.

140. The liberation struggle of oppressed peoples is founded on every human being's right to freedom. It is an inalienable and unique right; it is the same right for all people throughout the world. It is a sacred right which must be respected and defended by all available means, wherever it may be ignored or flouted.

141. On the basis of that principle, and aware of its own collective responsibility, the international community lends its total support to the cause of peoples fighting for their independence. This solidarity was once again expressed, in support of freedom fighters, at the eighth emergency special session, devoted to the question of Namibia.

142. International public opinion has recognized the urgent need to put an end to the sufferings imposed by the racist *apartheid* régime on the African people of southern Africa. An independent and non-aligned Namibia would be an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, because each and every one of us is aware of the gravity of the situation obtaining in that region.

\* Mr. Saúde Maria spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

143. South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States—particularly against the People's Republic of Angola—demonstrate the extent to which the racist *apartheid* régime mocks the norms of international law and the decisions of the United Nations. The occupation of southern Angola, and the well-known quantities and types of military equipment, bear eloquent witness to the bellicose and dangerous nature of the Pretoria racist régime. The hundreds of victims of the savage bombings by the South African Air Force, and the vast extent of the material damage to the Angolan economy, are macabre pieces of evidence of Pretoria's true designs.

144. Disdain for the human person can only evoke abhorrence and condemnation. The international community and the Governments which represent it cannot tolerate such acts, which seriously jeopardize international peace and security. Our need for peace in order to ensure mankind's survival and our people's prosperity calls for action. But our action should not be inspired by selfish interests. To be effective, it must be based on our common destiny and start with acknowledgement of the need for all people on earth to pool their efforts so as to shoulder fully their collective responsibility for saving the world from destruction.

145. South Africa cannot alone defy the rest of the international community. It persists in its racist policy of *apartheid*, domination and aggression because of the support it receives from certain countries. True, that support most frequently takes the form of economic and military co-operation, but there can be no doubt that it constitutes moral and political support for the practitioners of *apartheid*, who derive sure encouragement from it for the perpetuation of their domination.

146. The independence of Namibia cannot be deferred *sine die* without there being unforeseeable consequences, to say the least, for the entire community of nations.

147. The contact group continues to be responsible for the strict implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which those Members themselves sponsored, and which provide the only real basis for a swift and peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. The contact group must go beyond the stage of ambiguous behaviour and laconic communiqués and devote itself with determination to the quest for a true and definitive solution to the problem. The five States must bring to bear their power of economic, political and moral coercion on the Government of Pretoria to prevail upon it to come to terms with the international community and with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has already expressed its readiness and preference for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

148. Since the problem of Namibia is a problem of decolonization there is only one solution: the accession to independence of the Namibian people and the exercise of its inalienable right to decide its own fate. Such independence is inevitable; contemporary history confirms this. What is important at present is to preserve the chance of brotherly coexistence among all the components of the Namibian population so that, rich in ethnic and cultural

diversity, the Namibian people may, in a climate of peace and national harmony, in the near future achieve rapid and harmonious development.

149. The racist régime of *apartheid* will not be able to oppose indefinitely the struggle of the South African people and its determination to restore justice and impose respect for the human condition. To judge by the recent events in that country and the scope of the struggle being courageously waged by the South African patriots under the banner of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, its days are limited.

150. It is essential for the international community to play an effective part in the establishment of a climate of peace in that part of the African continent by stepping up its aid to the African patriots and increasing its pressure on Pretoria in order to force that *apartheid* régime to recognize and respect the basic rights of every South African citizen.

151. It is also necessary for the United Nations to decide during this session to grant special emergency aid to the People's Republic of Angola. That aid should be commensurate with the damage done and the suffering so courageously borne by the people of Angola, and should be given in the name of the United Nations and in keeping with the obligation of the international community as a whole to contribute to the cause of the independence of Namibia.

152. Needless to say, the countries that have close relations with the Republic of South Africa have an undeniable moral obligation to contribute to that international effort, thus acting pursuant to the relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations.

153. My Government welcomes the results achieved by the OAU at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held last June at Nairobi, with regard to the question of Western Sahara.

154. Acceptance by the Moroccan Government of organizing a referendum in Western Sahara no doubt constitutes a decisive step towards the just and definitive solution of the problem. The consensus reached by Africa, with the direct participation of all the interested parties, although all aspects of the question were not defined in detail shows the unanimous will of the African States to contribute together to a peaceful settlement of the conflict. We hope that the referendum will enable the Sahraoui people to determine their future and to satisfy their legitimate aspirations to independence. My country, aware of the difficulties inherent in the complex nature of such a process, will spare no effort to contribute in a constructive spirit to its successful outcome.

155. The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, which was held last April at Geneva, made the international public aware of the serious problem which affects the existence of 5 million human beings.

156. As victims of natural disasters of all types, or more frequently of degrading economic and political sit-

uations, African refugees flee from their homes of origin to escape poverty and death. We must say here that in order to face the situation and eliminate that evil, African countries themselves must provide the necessary political effort to put an end to the dispersal and weakening of their human potential. The example of the war in Chad confirms that need. Of course, the aid of the international community is essential in order to alleviate the sufferings of those millions of human beings. However, the upsurge of solidarity which was evidenced in Geneva and which we hope will become even stronger may prove meaningless unless an effective solution to the problem of refugees is found. Last June at Nairobi the OAU adopted an African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights,<sup>3</sup> and respect for and strict implementation of that charter will contribute greatly to the solution of the problem.

157. Turning now to the eastern part of the African continent, we must express our concern over the growing tendency to install foreign bases in the region and the increasing deployment of an entire armada in the Indian Ocean, which seriously threatens peace and security in that region. The situation is even more threatening because the will of the international community to make the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace has not been carried out, for reasons that are well known to all and which we deplore. The decision of the United Nations to convene a conference on that question should be implemented as soon as possible in order to provide a positive response to the aspirations to peace and security of the riparian States of the Indian Ocean and of the rest of the world.

158. It is with the same wish to see the countries of the region devote themselves legitimately to the consolidation of their unity and their development that has led us to hope that the negotiations that have begun between the Comorian and French Governments will lead to the swift reintegration of the Island of Mayotte in the rest of the Comoros. In our view, France's retrocession of the Malagasy Islands in the Indian Ocean should obey the same logic and satisfy the same principle of respect for the territorial integrity of States.

159. For several years now we have been denouncing with the same vigour and condemning with the same force the violation of the right of peoples in the Middle East. Israel's persistent denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people continues to whip up tension in the region and is giving a world-wide dimension to the conflict.

160. Guinea-Bissau, which has always adhered to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, vigorously condemns Israel's aggressive and annexationist policy. Despite the continuous efforts of the United Nations to uphold legality and international norms governing normal relations among States, the solution of this serious conflict continues to elude us. Israel continues to defy the international community by rejecting with the greatest arrogance all of its decisions and recommendations. Its intransigence, as everyone knows, is based on its alliances with certain Western Powers which lend it the political, economic, military and even moral support that is indispensable to its policy of aggression. The contempt expressed by certain Governments to-

wards peoples whose culture is different from their own finds its most abject expression in this infamous conspiracy against human freedom.

161. The very nature of the question of Palestine, which is the struggle of a people for its most legitimate rights, is distorted and reduced to the mere matter of a refugee problem. Such an overturning of historical facts, which are nevertheless unimpeachable, is being shamefully offered to us today in the utterly absurd form of so-called negotiations on the internal autonomy of the Palestinians. The international community, having been alerted by a whole series of earlier manoeuvres and aware of the deception involved, must, after the well-known and inevitable failure of the partial accords, demonstrate with even greater vigour its disagreement, and it must condemn this plot.

162. The free exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent State continues to be the *sine qua non* of any just and final settlement of the problem. The question of Palestine, representing as it does the heart of the problem of the Middle East, as has been stated many times, must form the basis of any peace initiative which, in order to be viable and to be acceptable to the community of nations, must consider that problem in all its aspects.

163. First and foremost, Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and must recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to form their own State.

164. Israel must recognize the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States in the region.

165. Israel must renounce its policy of aggression and its expansionist aims, just as it must put an end to its murderous attacks against Lebanon. It is obvious that the Israeli bombings are designed to disrupt the Lebanese State and to destroy its national unity. This further act committed by Israel with impunity shows the seriousness of the situation with even greater clarity and places the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to this problem in its true context. Guinea-Bissau strongly condemns the flagrant violations of the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and repeats to the brother people of Lebanon its unswerving solidarity.

166. Another example of the escalation of Israel's aggressive policy is the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installation at Tamuz. The entire world has condemned the criminal nature of that act, which was designed solely to halt Iraq's technological development.

167. The world cannot remain idle in the face of the groundless decision of the Israeli authorities to make Jerusalem the capital of the Hebrew State. The method used, it is true, stems from the same arrogant and aggressive Israeli policy. However, such contempt for the faith of millions of believers will inevitably aggravate the situation

in the region and give rise to consequences that are, to say the least, unforeseeable.

168. Israeli has neither the right nor the strength to shatter the spiritual longings of millions, who will take up this new challenge in order to preserve for the Holy City of Jerusalem its sacred and indestructible nature as the cradle of the three major monotheistic religions.

169. I cannot conclude these remarks on the situation in the Middle East without mentioning the painful conflict between Iraq and Iran. Guinea-Bissau's membership, at the side of those two brother countries, in the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in the non-aligned movement explains the great concern we feel at the continuance of that fratricidal war. Our bitterness is even greater since the praiseworthy efforts undertaken by the Mediation Committee of the non-aligned movement and the Goodwill Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference have not achieved the expected results. We hope, however, that our Iraqi and Iranian brothers will be able, with the contribution of all, to transcend their differences and re-establish friendly and lasting relations between their peoples.

170. In South-East Asia, the situation remains unchanged, despite the peace efforts undertaken by the international community. With regard to Kampuchea, we continue to believe that any action by the United Nations must be directed towards the exclusive defence of the higher interests of the Kampuchean people and must respect their right to settle their own affairs themselves.

171. This same approach in international relations applies also to the situation in Afghanistan, in Latin America and in the Caribbean.

172. We note that, in East Timor, in spite of the repeated appeals and relevant decisions of the United Nations, the Government of Indonesia is persisting in its policy of occupation of that country. The international community is aware of the fact that the presence of foreign forces in East Timor runs counter to the norms of international law and the right of peoples to self-determination. The session of the Permanent People's Tribunal on the question of East Timor which was held at Lisbon from 19 to 21 June of this year strongly confirmed the inadmissibility, *de facto* and *de jure*, of such action [see A/36/448, annex].

173. It is up to the international community, as we have said on many occasions, to act in accordance with justice and to assist the FRETELIN<sup>4</sup> patriots to restore their people's legitimate right to self-determination. The Portuguese Government, as the former colonial Power, must pursue its efforts in that regard and implement its will to contribute to the solution of the problem of East Timor.

174. The desire of the people of Korea for reunification deserves the attention and total support of the international community. Guinea-Bissau highly values the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to strengthen the unity of the Korean nation and strongly favours the signature of a peace treaty which would finally put an end to the presence of foreign troops in

Korea and to any outside interference. There is no doubt that the United Nations should base itself on the relevant decisions of the countries in the non-aligned movement to help the Korean people to see its dream come true and to attain its desire to live in unity and peace.

175. Regarding the question of Cyprus, we must note with great regret that the past year has not brought the progress we had hoped for. The people of Cyprus continue to struggle courageously for respect for its independence, territorial integrity and unity. We think that the talks between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots must be based on these principles, which, with the principle of non-alignment, constitute the only guarantee of peace and stability for the two communities. My delegation hopes that negotiations will be pursued in a constructive spirit.

176. The report of the Secretary-General reminds us once again of the crucial problem of disarmament, in all its gravity. I will not expatiate on this matter, which has been the subject of several publications by the United Nations and various specialized agencies.

177. The colossal expenditures on military arsenals are so distressing that they remain the primary concern of humanity. Man cannot permit his self-destruction. He must react to the dangers of a possible apocalypse. It is in all our interests to change these trends and to contribute to the prosperity of mankind rather than to its destruction.

178. Man, in his daily struggle for a better future, must likewise take account of the need to preserve the balance of nature. The decision of the OAU Council of Ministers to propose to the General Assembly the adoption of a World Charter on Nature [see A/36/534, annex I, resolution CM/Res. 852 (XXXVII)] must be studied with all the requisite care.

179. The realization of the aspiration of the majority of the members of the international community to establish a new international economic order is undoubtedly one of the vital necessities of our time. The establishment of a new international economic order would constitute a fundamental response to the need for justice and equity for all the peoples of our world. The experience of recent years shows us how difficult this goal is to achieve. Indeed, since the special sessions in 1974 and 1975, at which the Assembly proclaimed the urgent need of such an order, and the failure of the first two United Nations Development Decades, the North-South dialogue that we wished to establish has led merely to the impasse which the international community is now facing. Nevertheless, this difficulty is not insuperable and resignation is certainly not appropriate, especially on the part of countries which continue to be the prime victims of the present social and economic order. That is why we wish to join our voice to the voices of other peoples to express the hope that this new decade will really be one in which the new international economic order will be established, since the survival not only of the poor majority of the international community but also of the whole of humanity depends on it.

180. The facts clearly show that it is useless to attack partially and in an isolated manner the evils that affect

relations among nations. Indeed, substantial structural changes are needed. Happily, the initiatives that have been taken recently among the countries of the third world have given proof of their clear awareness of this need.

181. The implementation of measures to establish a new international economic order necessitates the establishment of a new system of institutions which would enable a qualitative change to be made in the present world economic structures, particularly in the trade, monetary and financial fields. The countries of the South have quite rightly remained inflexible in regard to this need.

182. The need to eliminate the structural causes of inequality is made clear in the documents adopted at the end of the most recent international meetings, in particular the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries that was held at Caracas. This action is all the more indispensable in that it is the only thing capable of bringing about a complete change in the existing order and opening the way to new economic prospects.

183. Facts show ever more clearly that because of the disparities in the present international economic order the world is on the brink of an abyss, and a revolution is necessary to change this situation. Only strong political determination based on the imperative needs of justice, equity and respect for man can lead to the solution that humanity is anxiously awaiting.

184. the promotion of individual and collective self-reliance in developing countries can be regarded as a reliable means of attaining the main goals of the new international economic order. In Africa, significant progress has been made towards developing regional co-operation, as is borne out, for example, by the establishment of joint economic institutions, such as the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS].

185. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held recently at Nairobi, has created new hopes for the developing countries in particular for the African countries which do not possess energy resources. If we use the opportunities for co-operation in this field, we shall undoubtedly be able to overcome the major problems in the field of energy, and thus help to make the non-oil-producing countries less dependent on outside sources.

186. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which is among the 31 least developed countries, continues to be confronted with great economic difficulties. We think that in speaking on behalf of Guinea-Bissau we are also voicing the point of view of other members of this group, for the simple reason that, despite the existence of certain local variations, problems are by and large the same.

187. For us, the fact that our country has been put on the list of the least developed countries is very important. Indeed, apart from the deficiencies and the multiple structural problems we inherited from five centuries of colonial domination, the seven years which have just passed since our accession to independence in 1974 have shown

us that the international situation and the present economic order discourage any initiatives which would lead to the solution of the problems posed by development.

188. The dislocation of the traditional sector resulting from the process of colonial exploitation and the impossibility for the modern economic sector to absorb workers from rural areas have given rise to serious problems, such as unemployment and under-employment, and have made difficult the participation of rural workers in a comprehensive development process within an integrated national economy.

189. Agricultural production, constantly decreasing because of desertification in the Sudano-Sahelian region, is far below the level required for us to be self-sufficient in food.

190. Our determination to support any measures aimed at bringing about a complete change in international economic relations is based on fundamental social and economic considerations. That is why we welcome the results achieved at recent international meetings on economic problems and we hope that adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action by the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which was held in Paris,<sup>5</sup> will initiate a solution to the many problems confronting these countries. Increasing international assistance to the least developed countries is essential.

191. While we are aware that the Cancún Meeting is not a forum for negotiations, we hope that a genuine will to contribute positively to the establishment of a new international economic order will prevail during this highly important meeting, thanks to the new concept of the interdependence of peoples and of international relations.

192. The draft convention on the law of the sea is an important step forward in the development of international law. Unfortunately, the hopes aroused by the possible adoption, at long last, of rules governing the sea have not been met because of the obstruction encountered at the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and in spite of the existence of a consensus which had been reached after more than seven years of difficult negotiations. However, we hope that the decision taken at Geneva to conclude the convention at the next session, scheduled to be held in New York, will be acted upon, thus allowing us to proceed to the signing of the convention in September 1982 at Caracas.

193. The proclamation by the international community of 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons is obvious proof of the abiding concern of the great family of the United Nations to find just and adequate solutions to all problems affecting mankind. My country, which is emerging from a long war, is making great efforts not only in the sphere of national reconstruction, which has been particularly affected by the international economic crisis, but also in the reintegration of the disabled into the socio-economic development process.

194. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau welcomes this important decision, which is of great help in making the international public aware of the special situation of dis-

abled persons and of the need to help them play a full role in society.

195. The problems of concern to the international community are numerous and complex. That is why it is evermore necessary for us to undertake joint action aimed at establishing a more just and more equitable world and at strengthening international peace and solidarity.

196. At a time when we are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the creation of the non-aligned movement, which is making a positive contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, it is an honour for me to pay a resounding tribute to the founding fathers of our movement.

197. My country, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, reiterates its total support for the principles of non-alignment and expresses once more its wish to establish and strengthen ties of friendship and co-operation with all countries, as well as its resolve to contribute tirelessly to the establishment of a climate of peace and progress for all mankind.

198. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

199. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I listened with surprise and regret to yesterday's remarks by the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of Nicaragua. We have sought to establish a dialogue with Nicaragua and continue to hope and to try. But our efforts are met only by rhetoric, distortions and misrepresentations.

200. Nicaragua's representative spoke of "threats" to Nicaragua. Who, in fact, is being threatened? Is it not Nicaragua that has lent its territory for use as a base for the export of violence to neighbouring countries? Is it not Nicaragua that continues to pump arms and other military support into El Salvador? Is it not Nicaragua that has built up regular armed forces, many times greater than those of the Somoza régime, and more than twice those of any of its neighbours? Is it not Nicaragua that is creating a force of Soviet-built tanks capable of invading those neighbours? Is it not Nicaragua that has sent more than 30 military personnel for pilot training in Bulgaria and other countries before receiving jet fighters? The fact is that Nicaragua is helping to subvert its neighbours, while building a force which can generate an even more fundamental threat. Nicaragua's accusations have become more and more shrill, as its military build-up moves to a new stage.

201. This military build-up and the export of subversion goes on while the Sandinist Front for National Liberation [FSLN] makes a mockery of the hopes of all who thought they were democrats. The progressive consolidation of power in the hands of a one-party dictatorship is another, even more basic, disappointment to those who believed the Sandinists to be democrats and the proponents of democracy.

202. It is preposterous that a government which closes down its country's leading independent newspaper, *La*

*Prensa*, five times in the last three months, which cuts off independent radio stations, harasses its private sector and independent political parties, bans from television the Archbishop of Managua—a figure respected by all Nicaraguans for his opposition to dictatorships and to oppression—condemns over 4,000 political prisoners to harsh, inhumane conditions, arbitrarily gaols workers who strike, citizens who speak out on economic issues and *campesinos* who engage in so-called "illegal land seizures", and then denies those so treated the basic protections of law—it is preposterous that such a government would presume to lecture to the representatives in the General Assembly on how to solve the world's problems.

203. It is not necessary to respond to all of Mr. Ortega's accusations, they will be readily recognized as being without substance. Two, however, do merit explicit rebuttal because of their erroneous malicious allegations against the United States.

204. Mr. Ortega issued a veritable laundry list of reputed United States "aggression against Central American countries throughout more than a century". His list lacks historical accuracy, or even approximation to historical accuracy. Furthermore, it conveys a totally false impression—but only among those who know no better—that the United States Marines landed in Central America quite frequently without the host Governments' permission and did not leave. These points are quite wrong. The American military interventions were often at the invitation, indeed at the pleading, of a host Central American Government for the explicit goal of returning stability during a particularly dangerous moment in its history. Most were also of limited duration. Unlike other major Powers, the United States has never had any imperialist designs on or become a colonial Power in Central America.

205. Secondly, nor can Mr. Ortega's charges with regard to the joint Honduran-United States "Halcon Vista" military exercise be left unanswered. These periodic exercises have been conducted 16 times in the last decade. They are not directed towards any country; rather, they provide an opportunity for countries in the region to work together to contribute to the peace and stability of the region. In response to initial expressions of concern by the Government of Nicaragua about the "Halcon Vista" exercise, the United States offered to consider a request by Nicaragua to observe the exercise. Nicaragua chose not to respond. It is significant that the Nicaraguan Government made no protest when the Soviet Union held naval exercises in the Caribbean in April. Mr. Ortega did, however, choose to use the small-scale "Halcon Vista" exercise as an excuse to justify Nicaragua's militarization and to crack down on the people of Nicaragua.

206. With regard to Mr. Ortega's proposal for ending the tragic violence in El Salvador, I would remind the Assembly that only a week ago President Duarte outlined the Salvadorian Government's plans to hold free democratic elections. The United States shares El Salvador's conviction that elections in which the political currents of the right, centre and left can all test their strength peacefully and democratically offer the best hope for resolving El Salvador's political problems.

207. I would also note that the Government of Nicaragua has delayed its promised elections and has banned electoral activity so far into the future as to raise doubts as to its real intentions. The FSLN has solemnly committed itself to holding free elections, but it has pushed such a vote further and further away. In various remarks, the Nicaraguan leaders have made no secret of their opinion that competitive elections are an unsatisfactory and unnecessary mechanism for choosing rulers. In August 1980 the Council of State announced that elections would not be held before 1985. Meanwhile, no "proselytizing activities" on behalf of any candidate will be permitted before candidates are officially designated by an electoral agency which itself will be created in 1984. Violations of these rules are to be punished by terms of three months to three years in jail.

208. All this leads to the central question: will the tragic cycle that is all too familiar repeat itself here in the Sandinist revolution—the cycle of economic and social failure at home, domestic repression and external aggression? That is the fear of many Nicaraguans, of many of Nicaragua's neighbours, of many of the countries that would be Nicaragua's friends. It is for the Sandinist leaders to answer.

209. Mr. PASTOR de la TORRE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since, in his address, the Minister for External Relations of Ecuador reiterated the singular, Ecuadorian thesis about the alleged territorial rights of his country over an extensive geographical area which has been, is and will continue to be the heritage of the Peruvian nation, and about the unquestionable validity of the Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers between Peru and Ecuador, signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1942,<sup>1</sup> incidents which occurred on Peruvian border territory earlier this year, this delegation considers it its duty to make clear before this international forum the fundamental concepts which relate to the historical truth and to the reality of the Peruvian-Ecuadorian bond.

210. First of all, I should like to reaffirm that Peru has always maintained and still maintains an attitude of friendship and brotherly ties with Ecuador. Therefore it is not new and should not surprise anyone that we have the best intentions to develop mutually beneficial relations with Ecuador. If my country has been forced to resort to the use of force it has been in the exercise of the elementary principle of self-defence.

211. The Minister for External Relations of Ecuador bases the alleged territorial rights of his country over Peruvian Amazonia exclusively on the old and refuted argument that it was from Quito that the expedition which discovered the Amazon River started and that for four centuries it has continued the "civilizing and evangelizing" task there.

212. It is an historical truth proved by documents and contemporary chronicles that the expedition which discovered the great river started from Cuzco on the express orders of the Governor of Peru, Don Francisco Pizarro. May I say in passing that in 1541 Peru already existed as a constituted political entity, whereas Quito—since Ecuador could not be spoken of as yet—was merely a de-

pendent territory administratively and politically dependent on the Viceroyalty of Peru, and in no way was it an autonomous region.

213. Therefore, Gonzalo Pizarro received from his brother, the Governor, the order to undertake the discovery expedition, which started out from Cuzco and went northwards via the coast road to Quito, where it made a short stop for the troops to rest and to replenish its water and other supplies. The expedition continued from this city under Francisco de Orellana, one of the lieutenants of Gonzalo Pizarro.

214. I will not dwell any longer on an historical fact which is well known and needs no further proof. On the other hand, the Minister for External Relations of Ecuador has maintained that Ecuador's work of evangelizing and civilizing was carried out through an Ecuadorian presence in the area of Marañón and the Amazon for four centuries. This is clearly inconsistent with the geographical reality of the area. There exists no city, village or settlement which was founded by natives of the Audience of Quito.

215. As to the allegation that there are royal decrees endorsing Ecuador's aspirations regarding Peru's Amazon territories, I wish to say that the Royal Decrees of 15 July 1802 repealed or superseded them all. That instrument ordered that the Maynas Government and military district be reincorporated into the Peruvian Viceroyship and separated from the Santa Fe Viceroyship and from the Audience of Quito, the latter already attached since 1739 to the Viceroyship of Bogotá.

216. Both in 1810, when the principle of *uti possidetis* was first applied, and in 1821, the year of Peru's independence, the territory of Maynas, which today forms the Departments of Loreto, Amazonas and San Martín, which constitute approximately 40 per cent of Peru's territory, was integrated into my country, and ever since then without any interruption it has been under Peruvian sovereignty. This has been fully proved throughout history; it will not be denied through any biased pamphleteering that distorts facts and confuses concepts.

217. In short, it could be said that the sovereign rights of Peru over the territory that is still being questioned by Ecuador are based on legitimate titles, uninterrupted possession and the exercise of national sovereignty over it, which was fully endorsed by the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942, signed and ratified by both countries.

218. Therefore, there is no border problem whatsoever between Peru and Ecuador. All matters relating to their boundaries were finally settled through the Protocol which they signed in Rio de Janeiro, as I have said.

219. Two sovereign States freely agreed to that Treaty. Its validity and existence in form and in substance were and are still guaranteed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States—four nations, which, with a strong sense of loyalty to the Americas, assumed responsibility for that noble task. In strict observance of the relevant precepts of the respective Constitutions of Peru and Ecuador, the Congresses of both countries adopted and

ratified that Treaty and consequently each and every one of the commitments contained in the Rio de Janeiro Protocol. In the presence of the President of Brazil, the instruments of ratification of the Treaty were exchanged. It is therefore a perfect legal instrument whose validity and operation cannot be challenged.

220. The arguments adduced by the External Relations Minister of Ecuador cannot in any way affect the indestructible nature of that Protocol, since bilateral border treaties, in conformity with basic principles of international law, can be changed only through the expressed agreement of the parties and never through the separate action of either.

221. The Rio de Janeiro Protocol has been carefully applied. The entire border area was accurately marked in strict accordance with the provisions of the Protocol and the formula of Foreign Minister Aranha<sup>6</sup> of Brazil and the decision of the arbitrator, Braz Dias de Aguiar.<sup>7</sup> Both parties formally accepted them.

222. Ecuador refuses to take part in the placing of a few landmarks in a short 78-kilometre stretch of the Cordillera del Cóndor, even though the mixed commissions made up of experts from both countries did so over 1,597 kilometres—in other words, over 96 per cent of the lengthy border separating the two territories.

223. This attitude on the part of Ecuador can obviously in no way change the line that has been drawn and marked nor that part of the range where, by virtue of that decision, there is a clear, specific and definitive delimitation. The fact that at present Ecuador reneges on its obligation in no way affects the reality of a border that has been established in compliance with the Rio de Janeiro Protocol.

224. It is therefore regrettable that the events of January and February of this year occurred. The External Relations Minister of Ecuador confuses concepts, for it was not a matter of Peruvian aggression but, on the contrary, of the exercise of the legitimate right to repel an invasion by foreign armed forces which had infiltrated Peruvian territory. Peru acted in defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

225. On Peru's initiative the disagreeable incident created by Ecuador was dealt with, thanks to the valuable and effective intervention of the guarantor countries which, following the border incident in January 1981, addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council on 23 February 1981<sup>8</sup> reaffirming categorically the responsibilities they assumed as guarantors of the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro of 1942.

226. The legal validity of that Protocol, freely entered into by Peru and Ecuador, cannot be questioned. We urge the Ecuadorian Foreign Ministry to renew, together with our Foreign Ministry, the technical work of delimiting the

border in the Cordillera. We do so in the name of the fraternal bonds linking two neighbouring countries which wish only to develop their relations in a climate of the greatest harmony and understanding.

227. Mr. BARRERA-VALVERDE (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From the statement of the Peruvian representative I take into account his admission of his country's use of force in 1981, but I also wish to affirm that for its part Ecuador stands ever ready to engage in friendly dialogue in the search for a peaceful solution of our dispute.

228. I emphasize the fact that Ecuador has for centuries of its history and even for the 50 or 60 years of Inca domination, been a peaceful country, and is today as always committed to its social and economic development and to opposition to the arms race.

229. I fully endorse what I said in my statement concerning the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, the attacks of 1981 once again admitted by the representative of Peru, the substance of the problem, and the Amazonian rights of Ecuador, based on three facts: the discovery of the great river by the Governor of Quito and the Governor of Guayaquil, our undeniable legal titles and our civilizing work. Regarding that work, which has surprised the representative of Peru, Ecuadorian proof will be even more surprising today. A Peruvian document entitled "The Rio de Janeiro Protocol before History", dated Lima 1942, will be distributed which, when mentioning 90 Ecuadorian sites, states that through the Protocol imposed by force they are being "reincorporated and restored to Peru".

230. In any case, I repeat that we are willing to arrive at détente and at an understanding, as stated by the President of Ecuador in his message to Congress, a message that was also directed at the two basic aims of the United Nations, namely, peace and justice.

*The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers between Peru and Ecuador; see *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 56, part 2, p. 1818.

<sup>2</sup> See CD/228, Appendix II/Vol. I, document CD/160.

<sup>3</sup> See American Society of International Law, *International Legal Materials*, vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente.

<sup>5</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part I, Sect. A.

<sup>6</sup> See Ministry of External Relations of Peru, *Documentos Básicos sobre el Protocolo de Rio de Janeiro de 1942 y su ejecución*, 3rd ed., Lima 1961, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981*, document S/14384.