SAFEGUARDING
THE SECURITY
OF SMALL STATES

Text of major addresses given during 1982.

by
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Governmental Documents
(Guyana)
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STATEMENT BY COMRADE RASHLEIGH E. JACKSON
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GUYANA
AT THE THIRD UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON THE LAW OF THE SEA FINAL SESSION
MONTKGO BAY, JAMAICA – WEDNESDAY, 8 DECEMBER 1982

Mr. President,

The journey from Caracas to Montego Bay has taken eight years. It has been long and it has been arduous. That so many of us have stuck to the course stands as a tribute to our acumen and to patient scholarship. But the presence here today of the representatives of so many countries, liberation movements, and organizations, governmental and non-governmental, and the purposes for which we have gathered together, give us attributes that in the individual and collective political commitment to concert our respective national interests for the democratisation of international relations, and for promoting conditions propitious for harmonious relations between states and mechanisms for strengthening international peace and security.

That we have reached this stage in the progressive development of a regime of international law governing the territorial sea and ocean space, covering 73% of the world's surface, is due in large measure to the astute leadership which this conference has had. Let me put on record Guyana's appreciation of your own outstanding contribution, Mr. President, Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore, and that of your colleagues who make up the collegium. And you will know understand when I plead for pause to recall and record the yeoman service given by your predecessor in office, my departed friend and colleague, Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka. Among the many monuments to him, and to you, sir, must be the successful conclusion of this conference. But this tribute will not be complete if we did not acknowledge the high quality of support which the conference, received from the special representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Bernardino Zuñiga, and his able staff.

The Convention on the Law of the Sea which will be signed on Friday, December 10, 1982 represents a watershed in international relations. Beyond the particularity of its provisions, the Convention demonstrates what is possible through international negotiations when they are conducted in good faith and when there is a shared concern among the peoples of the world in recognition of their common humanity and their desire to build appropriate regimes which can serve to fulfill their aspirations for justice and equity.

It is now time to say that we live in an inter-dependent world. But this inter-dependence must not be an inter-dependence I daresay, akin to the relationship between the master and slave. Rather, I suggest that the inter-dependence of which we all so easily speak must be one in which we are all ready to make adjustments in the sure knowledge that one person's gain is not necessarily another's loss. Furthermore, the results or our efforts as a collectivity to give practical expression to inter-dependence must be arrangements from which there is mutual benefit.

This Convention is an imperfect one; and it cannot be otherwise because it represents an attempt to reconcile conflicting interests. Yet, despite its imperfections it is an integrated package and an remarkable achievement. The Convention and the experience of arriving at a final text can in many respects be beneficial in providing examples of modalities, some of which you so aptly described, for agreeing multilateral arrangements in other areas of human commons.

Turning to the provisions of the Convention itself, the regime it proposes leaves several issues ambiguous. It is not entirely satisfactory to Guyana, to other states in the Group of 77, indeed to any state which will look at it here or later, it however embodies the best results that could be achieved under the circumstances. In any event when it becomes operative, as it must, the Convention will in Guyana's view, serve as an inhibiting factor where states might be tempted to go outside the curtilage of international law in an endeavour to place their perceived national interests above those of the international community as a whole.

More positively the Convention treats of some of the fundamental needs of mankind, food, energy and development.

It sets a standard for the protection and the preservation of the marine environment and the transfer of marine technology. It makes provision for the pre-occupations of states on the question of freedom of passage and innocent passage, and it seeks to reconcile those interests with the pre-emptive interests of coastal states in the security, good order and management of the seas and oceans around their shores. For small states like Guyana the recognition by the Convention of the community of specific areas of the seas and oceans as being under the exclusive jurisdiction of coastal states confers on them a certainty in the disposition of their maritime zones.

It does more. The Convention provides for a twelve-mile territorial sea, for an exclusive economic zone and for the determination of the outer limits of the continental shelf of a state. This is a signal contribution to the development of the international law of the sea. The Convention embodies too, a concern for those who are less well endowed in the living resources of the sea; and it provides for land-locked states to enjoy access to the living resources of the seas in their region or subregion and takes account of the interests of states which are geographically disadvantaged.
For neighbouring states, the question of delimitation looms large. In the final analysis, this has to be achieved by agreement as is provided for in the Convention. Articles 74 and 83 provide the basic guide to the approach of parties in this regard.

Yet we must be on guard lest there are attempts to insinuate into bilateral relations under the guise of maritime delimitation, disputes and controversies which owe their inspiration to ambitions rooted in territorial aggrandisement.

The Convention elaborates a regime for the peaceful use of the seas. In this sense Guyana notes with keen interest the provisions dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes through compulsory procedures. Furthermore Guyana is particularly attracted to Article 30 under which states “in exercising their rights and performing their duties under the convention” are enjoined to “refrain from any threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state…”

Some changes in international relations are evolutionary, others are revolutionary. Arvid Pardo whose seminal contribution Guyana acknowledges, was revolutionary when he proposed in 1967 that the resources of the deep sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be “the common heritage of mankind”. We have not fully realised his dream, but we have made a modest start towards achieving equitable treatment for all in sea-bed mining.

We urge all states to comport themselves in the spirit of Pardo’s “common heritage” and to take positive action to associate themselves fully with the provisions of the Convention.

Like others, Guyana cannot say that all parts of the Convention meet with our support. That notwithstanding, Guyana will sign the Convention for we believe that it provides for the orderly enjoyment by man of the seas and oceans, that it will promote harmonious relations between states, and that it will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

I could not conclude without saying how privileged I and my delegation feel at being in the sister Caribbean state of Jamaica for this historic occasion. Less than a month ago, those of us from the Commonwealth Caribbean had savoured of the hospitality of the government and people of Jamaica when we met in Ocho Rios for the Third Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community. We express our profound gratitude to our Jamaican brothers and sisters who have spared no effort to make us comfortable and to provide us with a home away from home. Thank you Jamaica.