



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): It is with great pleasure that I bring to the Assembly the greetings of my head of State, King Moshoeshoe II, and of my Prime Minister, Mr. Leabua Jonathan.
2. Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known qualities and experience as an illustrious and dedicated diplomat certainly augur well for the Assembly. We are more than confident that you will guide its deliberations to a successful and fruitful conclusion, because your country is not only a prominent member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries but also has an illustrious record on such issues as the eradication of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, matters which are of paramount importance to us.
3. We also congratulate the other officers of the Assembly on their unanimous election. To you, Sir, and to all of them I pledge my delegation's full co-operation.
4. I also take this opportunity to express our satisfaction with the excellent manner in which the President of the thirty-seventh session and his officers concluded the work of that session.
5. I should like to convey my delegation's commendation of the Secretary-General and his championship not only of the rights of the smaller and weaker Members of the Organization but also of the independence of those few parts of the globe that still labour under the yoke of colonialism. To us, his office is the pivotal point of the entire work of the United Nations, and we hope and believe that with him the responsibilities of that office are in very good hands.
6. In accordance with our firm belief in the Organization's universality, we were more than delighted to be among the sponsors of the resolution admitting Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership. We are doubly gratified because that nation is a fellow member of the Commonwealth. This event is a credit to the British Government and to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We view it with mixed feelings, because we are once again reminded of those countries and peoples that are still denied their rightful place in forums such as this one. In our view, the independence of Namibia is now overdue.
7. On the economic front, we note that the Assembly meets at a time when prospects for prosperity are at their bleakest. The economies of more than two thirds of the Organization's Members are being hit by the worst recession since the Second World War, and all of those

countries are pinning their last hopes on the Assembly. It is imperative, therefore, that the Assembly live up to those expectations.

8. When the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries pledged their commitment to the North-South dialogue at their sixth conference, at Havana in 1979, it was because they had recognized its significance in their area, especially in view of the prevailing world economic crisis. The situation facing these countries can be tackled only through a collective global approach. It is their belief and ours that these problems call for a genuine dialogue and a willingness to recognize and accept not only the gravity but also the urgency of the matter.

9. However, we regret to note that despite all the efforts made by the developing countries during the eleventh special session, in 1980, and during subsequent General Assembly sessions, no agreement has yet been reached regarding the agenda, procedure and time-frame for these global negotiations. In the meantime, the world economy has been experiencing the most critical decline since the great depression. It may be noted that in some developed countries of the North there have been signs of recovery. But the rigidity in some of these countries' financial policies resulted, for instance, in the failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. These developments leave no room for optimism.

10. It is three years now since the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade was adopted, and its overall review and appraisal is due in 1984, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 35/56. The indications are, however, that there is very little movement, if any at all, towards achieving the objectives of the Strategy. The past three years have seen a sharp decline in the rate of growth of world production, which reached in 1982 its lowest figure in three decades. In 1981 world trade was stagnant for the first time since the Second World War, and it declined by 6 per cent in real value in 1982. The responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs should be attributed to a fall in commodity prices by 16 per cent between 1981 and 1982. Protectionism persisted and grew stronger, and as a result there was a decline in exports and intense pressure on the balance of payments position of the developing countries.

11. Signs of recovery have recently emerged in some developed countries, but they appear tentative and far from reaching developing countries. Debt servicing among the developing countries continues to be widespread and unmanageable, while interest rates have remained at unprecedented levels since 1980. The aid performance of donor countries is still one half of that called for in the Strategy, and the volume of contributions to the multilateral programmes has actually declined. Official development assistance receipts by the least developed countries by no means constitute the substantial increase needed to enable them to double their national income during the decade, as envisaged. The message is therefore that we cannot look forward to the

review and appraisal of the Strategy with any encouragement. It is also evident that the General Assembly should agree on a continuing annual review and monitoring of the Strategy until such time as an improvement in the world economy can be widely recognized.

12. It is regretted that the ministerial meeting of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held from 24 to 29 November 1982 at Geneva failed to utilize its chance to turn the tide against protectionism. It was also unfortunate that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last June failed to agree on any steps aimed at reducing barriers to free trade as a starting point in an economic dialogue on fostering the growth of output and employment without provoking inflation and/or balance-of-payments problems. Finally, it was disappointing that that session failed to come up with a resolution on the need for a conference on money and finance with a view to restructuring the Bretton Woods system, despite forceful appeals from the third world and some industrialized countries. In the circumstances, it remains the responsibility of the General Assembly to address itself fully to all these questions, and it should do so with a commitment to success.

13. In this regard, the General Assembly should seriously consider the call of the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at their seventh conference, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, urgently to convene an international conference on money and finance for development. This conference should aim at meeting effectively the development and other financial requirements of international economies, particularly those of the developing countries. It should also examine any necessary growth-oriented structural adjustments. There was a similar call to pursue monetary and financial reforms capable of arresting the continuation of the economic crisis by some leaders of industrialized countries in other forums earlier this year. This indicates that there is some consensus and only details need to be worked out.

14. It is, however, our belief that the idea of a world development fund should be kept alive. This idea calls for a move towards greater equality and partnership between North and South in financial institutions; universal membership, including full representation of Eastern European countries; new lending policies; export credits; commodity financing and the channelling of new resources raised on an international basis—in other words, the restructuring of the Bretton Woods system should incorporate this idea.

15. On the political front, we note with much trepidation the multiplicity of problems facing the world today, ranging from the Middle East to Central America to southern Africa. The worsening situation in Lebanon, a country torn apart by forces stronger than itself, most of them external, can only force us to pray that enough is enough. We in Lesotho, surrounded as we are by a similarly threatening external factor, have reason to understand in the fullest sense the tribulations of the people of Lebanon.

16. The world conscience continues to be affronted by the impasse on the Palestinian question. Lesotho has in the past made its position very clear, that, without prejudice to anybody's interests, the Palestinians have a right to their land, identity and sovereignty. We have always urged that the Middle East issue must be viewed in the context of Security Council resolutions. In Central America, Lesotho supports the efforts of the Contadora Group.

17. Within the context of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], we are eagerly looking forward to the OAU machinery for resolving the problems of Chad and Western Sahara. Lesotho enthusiastically supports any practical measures that may contribute to the speedy solution of those problems.

18. South Africa's policy of destabilization manifests itself in diverse ways, encompassing and affecting all the independent States in southern Africa. Its main victims include the entire membership of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and the front-line States. Africans have come to regard the major cause of this scenario as what they term "the constructive engagement syndrome". We all know that the present United States Administration meant well in its initiation of this policy. What is important to us in Africa is not the good intentions of Washington but how its good intentions are being taken advantage of by Pretoria. Indeed, the latter interprets this United States policy as a *carte blanche* allowing it militarily to disregard internationally accepted civilized norms in relationships with its neighbours for the sacrosanctity of its strategic position and mineral wealth as it is supposedly seen by Washington.

19. Namibian independence has yet to materialize. What is the problem? Why is Namibian independence being indexed to the unrelated issue of Cuban withdrawal? We condemn in the strongest terms these delaying tactics, which can only result in the intensification of the armed struggle and, with it, continued loss of life on both sides. We should like to repeat that we find totally unacceptable attempts to establish linkages between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We know that since 1975 the People's Republic of Angola has been subjected to constant military incursions by South African troops which are now occupying southern Angola. South Africa's main motive seems to be the promotion of the puppet, Savimbi, to the status of a serious factor in Angola.

20. If it is the intention of South Africa to use its military might to partition Angola, then the Government and people of Angola are left with no choice but to resort to the assistance of countries friendly to it. The suffering in Angola as a result of the war situation there is a matter of great concern. The Assembly may not permit any parties to this conflict to look upon the suffering of innocent citizens of Angola and the very security and survival of that country as a bargaining chip in an attempt to stall Namibia's independence.

21. It is ironic that, when the General Assembly and the Security Council have set the target of achieving the noble aim of Namibia's independence, and despite the Secretary-General's attempt to execute his mandate to implement this target within the context of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the very countries which are normally most vocal in portraying the importance of the United Nations in resolving international problems are the ones which are now blocking the vindication of the Organization's success by indexing irrelevant issues to Namibia's independence.

22. Lesotho, as an independent country, continues to look at the future with anxiety, especially as its giant neighbour continues to view it as the source of all security problems within its territory. It is now a matter of record that South Africa's own investigations have failed to show Lesotho to be a party to any action intended against the security of South Africa. Lesotho is fully aware of its national and international responsibilities, and South Africa should have no fear of insecurity because of any actions emanating from Lesotho. For

example, with regard to the Pretoria bomb blast, which was followed by South Africa's imposition of a nearly total economic embargo, the South African security service itself has absolved Lesotho from allegations that it was the country from which the operations were planned.

23. Historically, Lesotho is a country of refugees, who were received in the mountain kingdom and moulded into one nation by the great Moshoeshoe I. The conflicts at the time in southern Africa which were responsible for the refugee movements have now been replaced by the actions of the present South African Government through its policy of *apartheid*.

24. As a consequence of the latter, Lesotho has continuously received refugees from South Africa. Our accession to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees¹ and the 1967 protocol² is an event that conforms naturally to our basic national character, but, because of our geopolitical situation, we have always made it a condition of asylum for all refugees that they may not use Lesotho to plan and launch attacks against their countries of origin. This is especially the case with South African refugees, who form the majority of refugees in Lesotho and whose country of origin is the closest to Lesotho geographically.

25. Lesotho does not solicit these refugees, but we are fully aware that the tide will continue as long as *apartheid* remains the official policy in South Africa. Recently Lesotho has witnessed restrictions on its common borders with South Africa, which have affected the movement of people and goods; there have been incursions into Lesotho's territory by armed bandits who come from South Africa and have unrestricted access to its territory whenever they are forced to retreat. These bandits, when caught, testify readily to the fact that they are trained in South Africa and are armed and given logistic preparation by white South African security officers. Because of South Africa's intermittent embargo on the transit of essential security equipment, the internal security and maintenance of law and order of Lesotho become heavily compromised. The significance of this fact is that cross-border incursions are intensified simultaneously with the holding back of the arms.

26. We have appealed to the Secretary-General and through him to the Member States of the Organization, especially those which have contacts with South Africa, to persuade South Africa to desist from its punitive measures against Lesotho. Lesotho genuinely wants a return to normalization of relations with its neighbour but should not, in the process, be forced to abandon its obligations under international conventions with regard to the welfare of those genuinely seeking political asylum. South Africa is demanding, as a condition for normalization of relations between the two countries, the return to it of all refugees of South African origin or their expulsion from Lesotho.

27. Lesotho finds those demands unacceptable. We repeat our appeal to the Secretary-General and to the countries that have contacts with South Africa—and there are many in this Assembly—to ask South Africa to accept Lesotho's genuine interest in its own security, which cannot be enhanced by attacks into South Africa from its territory.

28. The expulsion of refugees from one country to another offers no permanent solution to the basic problems involved. Just as the dispersal of the Palestinians all over the Mediterranean countries has failed to bring peace to the Middle East or even to wish the problem away, to the same extent the dispersal of refugees from

southern African countries will not solve the problem of South Africa, which is an internal problem fraught with dangerous consequences for all of us in southern Africa; nor will the problems of South Africa be wished away. Rather than stabilizing the situation, the dispersal of the refugees in other southern African countries will cause the entire region to be destabilized. This presents a very bleak picture.

29. Members will recall that in 1976 South Africa gave its brand of so-called independence to one of its black "homelands". Since then, another three have acceded to this dubious status. This relegation of black South Africans to just 13 per cent of South Africa's most impoverished areas that had always existed as reserves for, and sources of, cheap black labour is an ominous enough development. But it has even more ominous connotations when this "independence" is used, in the final analysis, to denationalize all South African blacks. This banishment to the remote barren part of South Africa, with which they have no connection at all except remote ethnic links, to us constitutes the bleakest and most wicked aspect of the *apartheid* policy.

30. Recently the white South African Parliament passed legislation for a three-chamber parliament, including the Coloureds and the Indians, once again totally excluding the black majority. This development is by its very nature unacceptable because it continues to entrench race as a factor in constitutional reform. It also retains the supremacy of the white Parliament over the other so-called parliaments. But, worst of all, now it not only makes denationalization of the black majority a matter of *ad hoc* legislation but also elevates it to the status of constitutional entrenchment. We call on all mankind to condemn these actions, which are intended to deny over 18 million people their basic birthright of citizenship of their country. South Africa must be persuaded to start an immediate dialogue with genuine leaders of black opinion in South Africa, as the only alternative to an intensified armed struggle.

31. To us in Lesotho the so-called constitutional dispensation provides no hope or solace, since the politically ostracized black majority will continue to struggle for its rights within South Africa. The intensification of this struggle will surely mean more refugees, more attacks in South Africa resulting in more attacks on us from South Africa, more economic and arms embargoes and, indeed, a constant threat to our very existence as a nation and a people.

32. This grave situation is also exemplified by Pretoria's rejection of the Security Council's directive in resolution 527 (1982) calling on the Republic of South Africa to pay damages to Lesotho citizens for the unwarranted killing of persons and destruction of property during the deplorable 9 December 1982 attack on Lesotho by the South African Defence Force. As I have said earlier, the contemptuous rejection of that resolution—and this is only one of many—is an indictment against South Africa in its pursuit of a policy of continuing to defy the Assembly, thus contributing to its general paralysis, only to turn around and accuse the Organization of impotence.

33. Despite this picture of gloom and uncertainty, my Government and the Basotho people in general have been strengthened by the manner in which the plight of the refugees in Lesotho and of the Basotho in general, and the attendant unfair pressure upon them, are being understood by the international community. The international community has been a source of strength to us during our darkest hour. The ideals for which the international community strives and for which we also strive create a bond generating the belief that collectively we

are fighting for a just cause. The international community has stood with us during the crisis we are facing. We request the Members of the Organization, in the name of fairness and justice, to continue to give us moral, political and material support. For what has been done so far, whether at the bilateral level with those countries with which we have friendly relations or at the level of pressure groups or even individuals, we wish to say thank you.

34. May right always prevail over might.

35. Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most cordially on your election to the highest office of the thirty-eighth session. This brilliant election is a well-deserved ratification of your talents and personal experience and of the role played by Panama and Latin America in the cause of peace and independence in the world.

36. I warmly congratulate Mr. Imre Hollai, President of the thirty-seventh session, for his important contributions to the results achieved at that session in extremely difficult circumstances, thanks to his dynamic and skilful guidance of its work.

37. The Secretary-General has worked tirelessly throughout the past year to promote a greater degree of understanding and compromise on difficult questions. He deserves our gratitude for all his inestimable contributions to the improvement of the international climate.

38. I extend sincere greetings to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, who, in her capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, brought us [9th meeting] the message of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, and who has worked tirelessly to ensure that the thirty-eighth session would be crowned with success for the sake of peace, independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

39. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to extend best wishes and a warm welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis, a new Member the United Nations.

40. The current session is taking place against a background of very serious international tension. The horrendous threat represented by colossal arsenals of nuclear weapons weighs heavily upon mankind. The arms race is proceeding on an unprecedented scale and relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have become dangerously strained.

41. Flashpoints around the world, particularly in Central America and Lebanon, are reaching the point of explosion. Military manoeuvres and demonstrations of force have occurred throughout the world—particularly in Central America, the Middle East and the Pacific—accompanied by interventions and threats of aggression and of a second lesson against the independence and sovereignty of peoples.

42. The world economic crisis has grown worse. Trade and monetary wars have been unleashed. An unprecedented escalation of foreign indebtedness has led a number of developing countries to a state bordering on despair. The gap between the developed industrial countries and the developing countries is constantly growing wider, while the solution to the grave problems posed by international economic relations is still impeded.

43. The three aforementioned fundamental aspects of the present international situation, being closely linked to each other and having a great influence on one another, are leading to a very serious, sensitive situation that could easily explode. All that is needed to lead the world into

a global crisis with unforeseeable consequences is a single irresponsible act by a single statesman. Such a situation requires from all statesmen a high sense of responsibility towards world peace and security.

44. Until late August 1983 mankind noted that there had been a little progress in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and placed great hopes in future meetings between the leaders of the two countries. Suddenly, the South Korean aircraft incident produced a grave crisis in the world, cancelling the much-desired meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union and plunging this session into a stifling cold-war atmosphere. It is regrettable that civilian lives were lost in that incident. Civilians were used to cover up a far-reaching espionage venture, and their death has been used for political ends. Conscientious and thoughtful men ask why the United States authorities have used that aircraft incident to set in motion such an extraordinarily rapid reaction, together with an extremely thorough campaign of mass hysteria on a world-wide level, leading mankind to the threshold of a global crisis.

45. It will be recalled that those now raising such a din over the spy plane affair were precisely the ones who completely fabricated the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964 and used it as a pretext to launch their aggression against Viet Nam. The secret documents known as the Pentagon Papers, made public in 1968, have already fully exposed this gross act of treachery. It is therefore quite easy to understand how, in an atmosphere overheated by the South Korean aircraft incident, the United States Congress has adopted the largest peacetime military budget.

46. It is true that the policy of the United States is one of tensions and crises—a policy dictated by the interests of its global strategy. The United States has declared that the period of détente in the 1970s was not profitable to it at all. Since the end of the 1970s, it has set in motion its policy designed to create tensions, undermine East-West détente and speed up the arms race to secure maximum economic and political advantages for itself. Protagonists of political adventurism are working overtime to revive anticommunist hysteria and rekindle tensions in the world in order to go back to the cold-war period and to the brinkmanship policies of the 1950s.

47. In the economic sphere the United States is doing its utmost to preserve the current unfair world economic order. It is impeding the opening of North-South global negotiations and has caused the failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It has maintained its refusal to sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. It has sought to ensure its economic recovery to the detriment of all other countries.

48. It is obvious that the United States is not prepared to enter into negotiations aimed at removing injustices in international economic relations, insisting stubbornly instead on using its economic superiority to compel the other countries to abide by the present world economic order.

49. In the political and social spheres, who is it that invariably gives its blessing to all the pro-American dictatorial régimes around the world and opposes all the peoples of countries struggling for independence and freedom and against social injustices? Who invariably supports Israel against the Palestinian and Arab peoples? Who backs the *apartheid* régime against the South African and Namibian peoples, Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States? Who persists in supporting the bloodthirsty Pinochet clique against the Chilean people?

Who supports the bloodthirsty junta in El Salvador against the Salvadorian people? Who has been threatening the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Nicaragua and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya? The answers to all those questions are henceforth perfectly clear to all.

50. Striving to maintain its economic and political interests throughout the world to the detriment of those of other peoples, the United States inevitably runs into the dynamic opposition of those peoples. But it does not wish to enter into negotiations to resolve world political and economic problems on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of other countries. Its basic policy is the big stick and the carrot—but mainly the big stick. The most striking and clearest manifestation of that policy could be seen in the Viet Nam war.

51. The United States ranks first in the world in terms of gross national product and the Soviet Union comes second, its gross national product accounting for only 60 to 70 per cent of that of the United States. With its economic and technological superiority, the United States is the only one which can make a large budgetary allocation for military expenditures to guarantee its military superiority in the world. Its 1984 military budget will be the largest ever in peacetime and the largest in the world. With a much lower gross national product than that of the United States, the other countries cannot spend a comparable amount on the arms race. At present the United States is inventing a supposed Soviet military superiority, just as it thought up the supposed missile gap in the early 1960s in order to force Congress to agree to a reckless increase in military expenditure.

52. Acceleration of the arms race has thus proved to be a long-term United States policy, even during the 1950s when it had a monopoly and superiority in the nuclear field. That is precisely what brought the negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and of medium-range missiles to a stop. That is also what has created tension throughout the world.

53. With present-day nuclear arsenals and the arms race, mankind finds itself on the brink of a catastrophe which would spell its own extinction. The general debate during the past days in the General Assembly has brought to light the profound concern of the international community as a whole as to the urgent need to prevent the nuclear arms race from getting out of hand and reaching the point of no return.

54. The socialist countries, non-aligned countries, peace-loving Governments and all peoples throughout the world at this very moment are working hard to strengthen their solidarity and their determination to defend peace. Together, and solidly united, they are certain to confront successfully the danger of a nuclear war of extermination. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes it to be known that it fully supports the proposals of the socialist countries, the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries designed to put an end to the arms race, to promote disarmament, to prevent a nuclear war and to preserve world peace.

55. While they are committed to the prevention of a new world war, the peoples of all countries will have to struggle with equal vigour against local wars. Since the end of the Second World War the international community as a whole has been able to enjoy the longest period of peace in this century. But, notwithstanding the absence of a world war in the last four decades, the quantity of bombs and ammunition used during that period of peace against the struggles for independence and freedom of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has reached a record in this century. The quantity of bombs

and ammunition used in the Viet Nam war alone far exceeded the amount used in both world wars combined—and that is not taking into account the quantity of weapons and ammunition used in the war of aggression against Korea and the wars waged by Israel against the Arab peoples and by Pretoria against the South African and the Namibian peoples and against the front-line countries. What is particularly dangerous is that the United States authorities are using their absolute military superiority to intimidate, threaten, directly intervene in and commit aggression against the countries struggling for independence and freedom, countries whose military forces are many times weaker than those of the United States.

56. At the end of the Viet Nam war the United States said that it would make sure that it never became involved in a second Viet Nam. After the Korean war it said that it would not get involved in another war on the Asian continent. However, 10 years later it set in motion the Viet Nam war, a war on the Asian continent which was more bloody than the Korean war. The Viet Nam war ended 10 years ago, but the United States is now busily engaged in precisely the same conduct as got it into the Viet Nam war in the first place.

57. At the beginning of the 1960s, the United States Government slandered Viet Nam, accusing it of being a tool of the Soviet Union and China, and criticized the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence and freedom as being communist expansionism. The United States set itself the duty of defending the so-called free world. Now it is also criticizing the struggle for independence and freedom of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean as communist expansion and East-West rivalry. The United States Secretary of Defense has declared that a military victory will have to be won and the boundaries of the free world clearly drawn in Central America.

58. It is evident that the fabrications about "Communist aggression" are designed to falsify the essence of the struggle for independence and freedom of the peoples of Central America and to provide a pretext for intervention and aggression. It is regrettable that the Chinese authorities have echoed those falsifications by affirming that the two super-Powers are gradually involving Central America in their rivalry and confrontation.

59. Everyone recalls that international public opinion in general and public opinion in the United States vigorously condemned the Viet Nam war. Efforts are now being made, however, to depict that war as a noble cause in order to stir up great-Power chauvinism and impel young Americans into a second Viet Nam war.

60. Twenty years ago the United States authorities set in motion the process by granting military assistance to the puppet administration of South Viet Nam and sending military advisors to train the troops. They sent the Seventh Fleet to parade and manoeuvre up and down the coast of Viet Nam. Now they have been taking identical steps in Central America.

61. In Viet Nam at the time, having sent the Seventh Fleet, the United States authorities fabricated the Gulf of Tonkin incident as a pretext for bombing North Viet Nam and sending air force and missile units to South Viet Nam. Then they invoked the need to defend the air bases and the missile bases and sent the Marines to South Viet Nam.

62. Step by step they escalated their claims from the right of Marines to defend themselves if attacked to their right to attack whatever they felt was a potential danger.

Here we have the famous logic of military escalation which led the United States into the bloody Viet Nam war. Each of those actions, unfortunately, is now being repeated in Central America and Lebanon.

63. It is necessary to put an end to acts of intervention and aggression in Central America, the Middle East and other regions of the world while there is still time.

64. Viet Nam fully supports the just struggle of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname and that of the peoples of El Salvador and Puerto Rico and other Latin American peoples for peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We welcome the six-point position of the Government of Nicaragua and the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America.

65. Viet Nam fully supports the struggle of the Arab peoples, in particular that of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its authentic and legitimate representative, against the Israeli aggressors. We fully support the struggle of the people of South Africa under the guidance of the African National Congress and of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], as well as the struggles of Angola, Mozambique and other front-line countries, against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. We fully support the struggle of the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of POLISARIO³ for the exercise of their right to self-determination.

66. We fully support the struggle of the Korean people to bring about the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and for the peaceful reunification of their country, and the struggle of the people of Cyprus to recover their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We fully support the struggle of the people of Afghanistan in defence of the gains of their April revolution.

67. During the last four decades South-East Asia has been the only region of the world ravaged by uninterrupted wars, the bloodiest of which was the Viet Nam war. At present the region is still without peace and stability. This distressing situation has profound historic roots. For 2,000 years those in power in China always considered South-East Asia their traditional sphere of influence, with Viet Nam in particular as their main object of conquest. Since the thirteenth century Thai people have moved south from southern China and invaded the greater part of the Khmer Empire of the Angkor period and of the Lao Kingdom to found the present Kingdom of Thailand. For almost 10 centuries Thailand considered Kampuchea and Laos to be its vassal States and three times committed aggression against Viet Nam.

68. More recently, in the last four decades, Thailand has become the main ally of militarism, colonialism and imperialism against the three Indo-Chinese countries.

69. For its part, throughout that same period China has persistently pursued its aim of subjugating the three Indo-Chinese countries, while at the same time seeking compromises with France and the United States to the detriment of those Indo-Chinese countries.

70. For the past five years China and Thailand, the traditional expansionists and hegemonists with designs on the countries of Indo-China, have acted in collusion with each other to again oppose the three Indo-Chinese countries, with the complicity of the United States and Japan, the former aggressors in Indo-China.

71. It is well known that the three Indo-Chinese countries are the victims of aggression. They have never in their history invaded China or Thailand or any other country. Of course there are problems among the three

countries as a result of historical factors, but they are insignificant compared with the crimes committed against them by China and Thailand in the past. The past hundred years in particular have linked the destinies of these three peoples more closely. They shared the same colonial fate and have all been the victims of foreign aggression and of the atrocities of Pol Pot. They have joined in a long struggle to regain and safeguard the independence of the three countries and to help the Kampuchean people to rid themselves of the genocidal Pol Pot régime.

72. Vietnamese volunteers have on three occasions gone to Kampuchea to fight side by side with the Kampuchean people against the colonialists, the imperialists and the genocidal gang of Pol Pot, China's henchman. Twice they have withdrawn from Kampuchea. This time as well the Vietnamese volunteers will withdraw when the security of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is assured.

73. The Kampuchean issue, as well as the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia, in essence involves China's policy of making use of Pol Pot's supporters and acting in collusion with Thailand against the three countries of Indo-China.

74. In their last war against Viet Nam, the American troops led the aggression and the troops of Thailand and South Korea followed them. The United States was clearly exposed as the aggressor. Now China is hiding in the background, behind the scenes. It is using Pol Pot and pitting the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], with Thailand in the fore, against the three Indo-Chinese countries. It is an open secret that Pol Pot is an agent of China, maintained and supplied by China. It is clear that China is now the main obstacle to a peaceful solution in South-East Asia.

75. In an attempt to cover up its expansionist and hegemonistic policy in South-East Asia, China fabricated the so-called Soviet and Vietnamese expansion in the region. After Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea had twice undertaken the progressive annual withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea, the Peking authorities spread new slanders about a supposed dispatch of massive numbers of Vietnamese civilians in an attempt to vietnamize Kampuchea.

76. Everyone knows that the civilian Vietnamese formerly residing in Kampuchea suffered two atrocious massacres, first by Lon Nol and then by Pol Pot, and have been reduced to one tenth their former number, so that they now constitute a smaller group than the persons of Chinese origin living in that country.

77. It is also well known that there are over 20 million persons of Chinese origin in South-East Asia. These people have a considerable hold on the economies of many countries of the region, and a country was created with a population that is primarily of Chinese origin. For South-East Asia, the Chinese threat comes not only from China, but from within the countries of the region as well.

78. Any effective solution must lead to the termination of the absolutely intolerable state of affairs in which the three Indo-Chinese countries have for the past 40 years constantly been the victims of aggression and intervention, and must guarantee a lasting peace and the independence and sovereignty of all the countries of South-East Asia free of any outside interference. On the other hand, any solution favouring only one party would not solve any problem and could never bring about peace and stability in the region. Such a solution would be unacceptable.

79. The position of the three Indo-Chinese countries can be clearly stated as follows. First, the total withdrawal

of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea will be carried out concurrently with the complete cessation of the Chinese threat, of the use of Pol Pot supporters to impede the recovery of the Kampuchean people, and of the use of Thai territory against the three Indo-Chinese countries, concurrently with the disarming of the supporters of Pol Pot and the punishment of the genocidal Pol Pot criminals. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have decided to withdraw some of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea each year and will effect a total withdrawal once the peace and security of Kampuchea are assured. Secondly, the countries of Indo-China and China should sign a treaty of non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The two groups of countries, Indo-China and ASEAN, will agree on establishing a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia, based on the ASEAN proposal for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and on the proposal of the Indo-Chinese countries. Thirdly, all countries must respect the sovereign right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own affairs. Fourthly, all sides should acknowledge some form of international guarantee for the agreements reached.

80. The position of the ASEAN countries is to demand that Viet Nam unilaterally withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea, while China, Thailand and the Pol Pot clique are left free to act. This would mean that the Pol Pot clique, recognized by the United Nations as the legal Government, would have the right to reimpose its genocidal rule on the Kampuchean people. The Pol Pot clique would continue to serve as China's instrument in carrying out its hegemonist policy against the three Indo-Chinese countries. During the past 40 years in South-East Asia Thailand has always allied itself with the aggressor and its territory constantly has been used as a base for foreign intervention and aggression against the three countries of Indo-China. These three countries, Kampuchea in particular, have been the constant victims of those aggressions and interventions. The ASEAN countries demand that Kampuchea be neutralized, while Thailand and some other ASEAN countries continue freely to put themselves at the service of foreign aggression and intervention against the three Indo-Chinese countries. This would clearly tie the victim's hands while encouraging the aggressor, a completely unacceptable demand.

81. From 1945 to 1975 foreign Powers imposed 30 years of war on the three countries of Indo-China, which were fighting for independence and freedom. But they were doomed to failure.

82. In the past five years China, in collusion with the United States and Thailand, has forced ASEAN countries to adopt a policy of confrontation and pressure in all spheres, military, economic and diplomatic, against the three Indo-Chinese countries with the intent of imposing a solution benefitting only China, the United States, Thailand and other ASEAN countries. That policy has jeopardized peace and stability in South-East Asia and has further sharpened the memory of the crimes they have committed against the Indo-Chinese people throughout history, as well as during the past 40 years.

83. That policy too has failed. It is now high time to end the confrontation and to settle peacefully all the differences on the basis of equality and mutual respect. The countries of Indo-China are pleased to note the gradual steps towards a dialogue which reflect the common desire to end the confrontation and to enter into negotiations. It is regrettable that only China rejects all the proposals by Viet Nam for an end to the conflict and the resumption of negotiations between the two countries.

China has also rejected all the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries for treaties of mutual non-aggression and non-interference. China has invaded Viet Nam and is still threatening to teach Viet Nam a second lesson. This is the clearest example of Chinese hegemonism. In our time all countries, large or small, are equal. There are neither master countries nor pupil countries, neither mother countries nor child countries. Such concepts belong to the realm of the pipe dreams of the former Chinese emperors.

84. China claims that the so-called Kampuchean problem is a matter between Viet Nam and ASEAN. If that is so, why does China oppose dialogue between the ASEAN countries and those of Indo-China? If that is so, why does China consider the Kampuchean problem to be the main obstacle to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations and demand that the issue be discussed with the Soviet Union instead of leaving it for the ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries to discuss among themselves?

85. On two occasions China has negotiated, first with France in 1954 for a solution to the Indo-Chinese war, at the expense of the three Indo-Chinese countries; and in 1971-72 with the United States for a solution to the Viet Nam war, again at the expense of the same three countries. At present China, pursuing its hegemonistic policy, also at the expense of the Indo-Chinese countries, seeks to negotiate a solution to the Kampuchean problem. The Soviet Union, however, has categorically rejected this attempt.

86. At the present time there are two different approaches in the search for a solution to the South-East Asia problems, including the Kampuchean issue. They are reflected respectively in the resolutions of the United Nations and the declarations of the summit conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

87. In the last four years, the United Nations has adopted some erroneous resolutions concerning the admission of the Pol Pot clique into the United Nations and on the so-called Kampuchean question. On the one hand, these resolutions have recognized the genocidal Pol Pot clique, and on the other have supported the erroneous positions of only one side, thus opposing the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, the interests of the Indo-Chinese countries and the cause of peace in Southeast Asia. That is why these resolutions remained a dead letter. If the United Nations persists in this erroneous course it will only become more deeply involved in the impasse over the Kampuchean issue.

88. As a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, China has emphatically called for the enforcement of United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. One may recall that in 1950 China sent one million Chinese volunteers to help the Korean people fight United States aggression. The United States used its majority at the United Nations to have the General Assembly adopt resolutions 498 (V) of 1 February 1951 and resolution 500 (V) of 18 May 1951, condemning China as an aggressor in Korea and demanding the complete withdrawal of the Chinese armed forces from Korea and appealing for an embargo against the People's Republic of China. China rightly rejected these resolutions, and Viet Nam, the socialist countries and other peace-loving countries in the world firmly supported the Chinese position at that time. Now, however, having committed aggression against Viet Nam on its south-east flank through the Pol Pot clique, and along its northern frontier with a 600,000-man army, China has also had recourse, acting in connivance with the United States, to the majority at the United Nations to push through

erroneous resolutions, this time condemning the Vietnamese volunteers for having come to help the Kampuchean people. By so doing, paradoxically China has repeated at the United Nations what the United States did at one time against China itself. We find that it is improper for a great power like China to adopt such a thoughtless attitude towards an international organization such as the United Nations.

39. For their part, most of the ASEAN countries, which had participated directly or indirectly in the United States war of aggression in Viet Nam, are now working hard, together with the United States and China, to demand that Viet Nam should apply erroneous United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. However, they are supporting the occupation and annexation of East Timor by Indonesia and that country's refusal to apply Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976), as well as resolutions adopted invariably since 1975 by the General Assembly on the question of East Timor. Similarly, they have supported Indonesia's rejection of decisions taken on East Timor by various summit conferences and ministerial conferences of the non-aligned countries.

90. While the United Nations has adopted erroneous resolutions on Kampuchea, in the last four years the movement of Non-Aligned Countries has come to adopt judicious positions with regard to the representation of Kampuchea and the situation in South-East Asia, including Kampuchea, at its Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held at Havana in 1979, and at its Seventh Conference, at New Delhi in 1983, as well as at its various conferences of foreign ministers since 1981. These conferences of non-aligned countries decided to leave Kampuchea's seat vacant since 1979 and endorsed a comprehensive solution for all the questions of South-East Asia, including that of Kampuchea. These decisions were adopted unanimously, and the two groups of countries of South-East Asia, that is ASEAN and Indo-China, welcomed them and accepted them.

91. We now find ourselves, therefore, in the presence, on the one hand, of United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea which support one group of countries in South-East Asia and oppose the other, and on the other hand, of the resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement, which have been adopted by both parties. Given this situation, we feel that the only path to follow is that of helping the two groups of countries of South-East Asia to embark upon negotiations based on the principles of equality and mutual respect and on the basis of the resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement.

92. The international community, and in particular the peace-loving countries, and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have recently thrown off the colonial yoke, place great hopes in the United Nations in the quest for peace, stability and justice. However, as the Secretary-General has rightly observed in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], 1983 is "a frustrating year . . . for those who believe that the United Nations is the best available international instrumentality to achieve these ends".

93. These observations of the Secretary-General prove to be judicious with regard to the role played by the United Nations with regard to South-East Asia, not only in 1983 but throughout the entire history of that region in the 38 years of the Organization's existence.

94. The realities of those 38 years have amply demonstrated the impotence of the United Nations in the face of uninterrupted wars of aggression with great bloodshed which have been waged against the three Indo-Chinese countries, even though those wars were condemned by many States Members of the United Nations.

95. Since 1945, the majority of the Members of the United Nations have remained silent while tens of millions of tons of bombs and munitions were being dropped by the aggressors on the territories of Indo-Chinese countries. Not only were the aggressors not punished, but they are still sitting in the seats of permanent members of the Security Council while their victims remain outside the Organization and do not benefit from its protection.

96. It should be noted that four countries, permanent members of the Security Council, have committed aggression against the three countries of Indo-China. The Soviet Union is the only permanent member of the Security Council which has, with all other peace-loving countries, invariably supported our struggle for national independence.

97. In the last five years China has pressured the majority at the United Nations into opposing the Indo-Chinese countries. Instead of raising high the banner of the protection of human rights, the United Nations has recognized the genocidal Pol Pot criminals, the very ones who should have been judged and punished by an international court similar to the Nuremberg tribunal.

98. Viet Nam, a Member of the United Nations, sincerely hopes that peace and stability in South-East Asia will be achieved with the active participation of the United Nations. We do not at all want to have peace and stability restored in that region without the participation of the United Nations, or even less, over the opposition of a majority of the United Nations.

99. We do not oppose the United Nations. But there is certainly a problem, created by the United Nations itself, which is that the Organization recognizes the illegal Pol Pot clique and opposes the right to life of the more than half of the Khmer nation that managed to escape genocide. Moreover, virtually all the humanitarian assistance to Kampuchea has been going to the genocidal criminals, to help them sabotage the renaissance of the Kampuchean people.

100. That explains why all solutions in regard to Kampuchea undertaken so far within the framework of the United Nations must, paradoxically, be based on the premise of the legality of the criminal Pol Pot clique. If the United Nations persists in its current course, the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia will be resolved outside the framework of the Organization. That will not be a happy precedent for the United Nations; far from it. Let it be recalled in this respect that the first Indo-China war, and the second, were settled outside the United Nations. In any case, the three Indo-Chinese countries highly appreciate the role and personal contributions of the Secretary-General to the promotion of understanding among the countries of the region.

10. Since the victory of the Russian Revolution, the world has witnessed the emergence of countries with differing social systems, and hundreds of countries have been freed from colonialism and have become independent. That is the law of historical development. Certain statesmen who are very fond of boasting loudly about freedom and diversity in their countries are nevertheless unable to accept diversity and freedom in the world. They would like to keep intact the old world order, and they use force towards that end.

102. Hot wars, like the Second World War and the Viet Nam war, and cold wars such as those of the fifties, sixties and eighties are all powerless to thwart these historical developments. The gunboat policy of past centuries, which has become completely anachronistic, can lead only to failure.

103. There is only one path — the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social régimes, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and the peaceful settlement of differences on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

104. That is true of international problems as much as it is of regional problems. It is true also of the problems of South-East Asia.

105. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you at the outset of my statement, Sir, my warmest congratulations on the well-deserved confidence shown in electing you President of the thirty-eighth session. You are most worthy of and qualified for this important responsibility. I am sure that your long experience and your skill will be of immense help in your noble task of guiding the session towards the desired goals, for the attainment of which we shall all exert our sincere efforts.

106. It gives me pleasure also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the manner in which he led the work of the last session. In so doing he earned our appreciation and esteem.

107. I should like also to express, with great respect, our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for the honest and sincere efforts he steadily makes to attain the Organization's goals. Like the rest of us, his belief in those goals has a noble and human dimension, on the basis of which all the obstacles and problems blocking the road to their attainment can be overcome. Perhaps the best evidence of the Secretary-General's enthusiasm and determination is his report on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*], in which he realistically describes the problems besetting the international community—problems that have weakened and shaken it, indeed almost pushing it to the abyss—the effective and constructive role that the United Nations must necessarily play and the worthy remedies he proposes for those problems.

108. I also extend the warmest welcome and congratulations to the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to the United Nations as a new Member. We wish it all success in contributing to the achievement of the noble goals of the United Nations.

109. Years pass and international problems remain unchanged—if they do not become worse and more complicated. The situation in the Middle East remains unchanged, as does the situation with regard to the Iran-Iraq war. The situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue to deteriorate and tensions in Central America increase, as does racial oppression in South Africa. And all that is in addition to the economic and social deterioration that has beset the world.

110. It goes without saying that the super-Powers bear the greatest share of the responsibility for all these circumstances, for on every occasion they work for the advancement of their own special interests at the expense of the common international interest. The world has witnessed the super-Powers exploiting these situations, not in order to resolve them but, rather, as part of the strategic balance of those super-Powers.

111. The impotence of the United Nations in regard to resolving these issues is a true reflection of the international situation; the international Organization is being increasingly pushed to the margin of events by the super-Powers instead of being allowed to act as the basic and principal mechanism for solving them.

112. The best example of this is the Palestinian question. The world is aware that everything that happens in the Middle East is a natural and expected result of that question, which is the core of what is known as the

Middle East problem. The best evidence of the international community's awareness of the importance of this issue is the convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, at Geneva, under the auspices of the United Nations, to prove to the world as a whole that the use of force to occupy the territory of others and usurp it from its people and to expel that people to various parts of the world does not mean that it will be silenced or that this is the end of the road for it.

113. The State of Qatar fully supports the content of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine⁴ and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights⁴ adopted at that Conference, calling for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and have their property restored, to self-determination and to establish an independent State; recognition of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and stopping the creation of new Israeli settlements and removing those already built in occupied Arab territories.

114. One of the biggest challenges facing the United Nations is Israel's continuing racist policy against the Palestinian people and its continued use of the policy of *fait accompli* through consistent aggression to reinforce its attempt to distract the world with new adventures to cover the old.

115. American support for Israel in its continued disregard of United Nations resolutions, especially those of the Security Council, and its continuous military and financial support have made Israel a force for the implementation and application of American strategy in the Arab world at the expense of the legitimate interests of the States of the region. It goes without saying that only a just stand by the United States on this issue could restore balance and establish peace in the region.

116. The Israeli aggression against brotherly Lebanon will be an everlasting disgrace to Zionism. Israel, by its inhuman action, has caused the splitting up and destabilization of an Arab country. The continued presence of its troops on Lebanese territory is evidence of its aggressive nature and its inhumanity.

117. In the name of the State of Qatar, I call upon the international community to do all it can to condemn the Zionist entity for this heinous action and to force it to withdraw completely from all Lebanese territory, instead of supplying it with machinery for war and destruction and providing it with political cover for its disgraceful aggressive policies. We appeal for the implementation of Security Council resolutions calling for immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the cessation of its interference in the internal affairs of that country and incitement of civil strife among the Lebanese people.

118. We stand with all firmness for Lebanon's independence, unity and territorial integrity, so that it may again know stability and prosperity.

119. The worthy efforts of brotherly Saudi Arabia, the use of its good offices to secure the unity of Lebanon and the outstanding results it has achieved—namely, the agreement on a cease-fire between the conflicting parties and the movement from the dialogue of arms to the negotiating table—testify to the ability of the international community to overcome problems and remove obstacles when its intentions are forthright and sincere. While praising the sincere efforts of Saudi Arabia, we look forward to the support of the family of nations for

those efforts, so that stability may return to the whole of Lebanese territory and to all segments of the Lebanese population.

120. The ongoing battles on the boundaries of our region are a source of continuing concern. Those battles have entered their fourth year, causing a great deal of destruction. Their escalation threatens not only the warring countries but also the region as a whole, a region of vital importance to the world at large.

121. Through the Gulf Co-operation Council we have made great and sincere efforts, through the repeated contacts undertaken by Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Information Minister of the State of Kuwait, and Mr. Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates, with the two warring countries. Similarly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations have made great efforts in this respect. We still hope that those efforts will be successful in ending the state of war.

122. While appreciating the positive attitude displayed by the Government of Iraq in order to reach a solution to this problem, we express from this rostrum the hope that our Muslim neighbour, the Islamic Republic of Iran, will respond to those efforts in order to achieve a solution that will end the shedding of Muslim blood and allow the two countries to devote their attention to the reconstruction of what the war has destroyed and to contribute to international peace and security.

123. The State of Qatar categorically rejects the use of force to settle disputes. It believes in the right of all peoples to self-determination. Based on that stand, we hope for the success of the United Nations efforts to bring back normal life to Afghanistan and to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from this friendly Muslim country, allowing its people to choose the political and social system that best suits it and to live in the manner it chooses and desires.

124. Similarly, with regard to the situation in South Africa and Namibia, in keeping with our belief in the principles of the United Nations we condemn the policies of *apartheid* and racial segregation practised by the ruling racist regime in South Africa against the national majority. We reaffirm our support for the people of South Africa and their right to national independence and for the just struggle of the Namibian people for independence and self-determination under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. We also reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the front-line African States in their stand against repeated South African aggression.

125. The current international economic conditions are a natural by-product of the economic policies pursued by the super-Powers and the industrialized countries. Those policies are based strictly on a narrow regional outlook and not on the interests of the international community. They do not take into account the interdependency and interaction necessary for the flourishing of the international economy as a whole.

126. The continuance of these trends and the failure to take into account the common international good will result, as it has in the past, in a negative impact on the international community in a way that may be incurable in the future and may cause the collapse of international economic relations.

127. The current international economic situation has had a negative impact on the oil market, which in turn has affected the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and made it impossible for

them to accept any new financial obligations. Therefore the State of Qatar does not see the necessity for the creation of new financing mechanisms. We should instead concentrate on strengthening existing mechanisms and restructuring them in accordance with ongoing international economic changes. Despite this, the State of Qatar, together with its brothers in the Gulf Co-operation Council, makes every effort to aid the developing countries and endeavours to increase the channels of co-operation with them, considering this to be a noble and humanitarian goal.

128. The problems facing developing countries, ranging from inflation to the increase in the prices of imported goods, in addition to the debt problem, do not escape our notice.

129. All the problems and issues that I have surveyed may constitute human worries that could be cured with good will and the placing of the common interest above everything else. However, the most dangerous of all problems for mankind is the insane race towards the production and ownership of the tools of mass destruction, whether nuclear or hydrogen bombs.

130. What harm would it do us if we utilized these great capabilities in the service of man, to improve his life, secure his future, reclaim the land, and narrow the gap between rich countries and those still developing? We are called upon to face up to a real challenge represented in the relationship between disarmament and development. Are we able and willing to accept this challenge?

131. We attach great hopes to this Organization. We sincerely trust that we shall all be successful in realizing those hopes, so that we may create a society in which all will enjoy security, stability and peace.

132. Mr. ANDRADE-DÍAZ-DURÁN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first, Sir, to express to you on behalf of the Guatemalan delegation, which I have the honour to lead, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of this session. Your great human and professional qualities as well as your thorough knowledge of the problems under discussion in this world forum guarantee the positive results that we will achieve in our work. Secondly, I assure you that you can count on my delegation's co-operation in the delicate and important tasks entrusted to you.

133. I also wish to express our recognition of the excellent work of Mr. Imre Hollai in fulfilling his mandate as President of the thirty-seventh session.

134. I take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Guatemalan delegation and on my own behalf, to the Secretary-General for his great efforts in the search for peace and harmony among the peoples of the world, a task that my country encourages him to continue with renewed faith in the principles of this world Organization.

135. I also bring greetings from the people and Government of Guatemala to the other representatives here, and I feel that this is an appropriate time to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to the Organization.

136. I shall now refer briefly to the most important aspects of Guatemala's national policy.

137. Upon taking office as head of State on 8 August this year, General Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores said that the political reorganization begun on 23 March 1982 would be consolidated to "strengthen the foundations of peaceful coexistence and the return to an institutional process leading towards the full exercise of social, economic and political democracy within the context of our Christian and Western culture". He added that:

"We are part of the comity of democratic nations that believe in pluralistic systems, in self-determination of the peoples . . . and in the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other States.

"Direct contact with the grievances and frustrations of the indigenous population, peasants and others who live in areas of conflict, has made us aware of the great difference existing between political rhetoric and reality for the large majority of Guatemalans . . .

"In the search for full democracy, our sacrifice and the blood shed by so many Guatemalans are of fundamental significance."

138. My Government, conscious of the responsibility that it has assumed to lead the country to democratic constitutionality, will observe the following principles. It will defend the people's fundamental rights, such as the rights to life, security and freedom. It will hold elections that will permit genuine consultation with the people. It will bring about conditions that will offer Guatemalans a better life, as well as respect for their dignity, giving them the opportunity to satisfy their basic needs and their legitimate aspirations. It will strengthen organization of the people in various ways, including civilian self-defence, which has been developing as an effective means of pacification and above all of the economic and social development of communities. It will strengthen our national identity and the cultural roots of our ethnic groups, thus ensuring their participation in Guatemala's progress. It will ensure the autonomy of State bodies. The executive branch will not interfere in the work of the judiciary in any way, so that justice may be done in strict compliance with the law. It will give unconditional support to the supreme electoral tribunal which guarantees the electoral process. It has already abolished the special courts, in order to strengthen the country's judicial system and to guarantee the principle of due process and the right to legitimate defence. It will have absolute respect for the autonomy of the University of San Carlos de Guatemala and of the private universities. It will guarantee freedom of worship and recognize the exceptional spiritual and religious wealth of the people of Guatemala. It will respect the faith and the traditions of the people. Incidentally, the massive demonstration, unprecedented in Guatemala's history, during the visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II is clear proof of the religious feeling of the people of Guatemala. The Government will support democracy, not as a way of maintaining privileges for traditional minorities which through economic power have had a profound influence on political activity, but as the opportunity for all the people to elect freely, without pressure of any kind, those who govern them. The authorities will guarantee effective respect for human rights. The Government will punish those who, directly or indirectly, try to restrict human rights. It will support respect for freedom of expression and will recognize the work done by the media in providing information and shaping opinion. It will support every process of gradual, democratic change with a view to guaranteeing a more just distribution of wealth. It will give priority attention to the interests of the producers who work the land and to their associations or co-operative or community organizations which seek the integrated development of Guatemala.

139. It should be pointed out that in the context of the political change which began a little over a year ago, important laws have been enacted in Guatemala which underscore the principle that a pluralistic democratic system is the only one through which the world's nations can fully realize their aspirations and satisfy their hunger

for the freedom, justice and well-being to which they are entitled.

140. The law on the registration of citizens was promulgated as a guarantee of electoral honesty and of free participation by citizens in the structuring of public power.

141. The law on political organizations is essential in order to achieve the fundamental goal of the provisional Government: the creation of a legal and political structure which will lead the country to a constitutional régime. This system of political organizations is designed to lead to effective democracy, not only as a guarantee of the right to vote, but also as a way of providing appropriate ways to initiate and develop a national dialogue and the active participation of proponents of different ideological trends, thus creating conditions in which the people of Guatemala can achieve the social peace it needs.

142. In this context, the Government of the Republic of Guatemala understands the imperative need to return as soon as possible to a constitutional system of government, and this is the fundamental purpose of the change that took place on 8 August this year. In March 1984 elections for a national constituent assembly will be announced. They will take place on 1 July 1984, and that important body will take office on 15 September of that year. General elections for the presidency and other State offices will take place in 1985.

143. Like the majority of the countries represented here, Guatemala is in the midst of a process of development and is facing the problems inherent in that process. My Government is striving to solve those problems.

144. The development philosophy we hold and apply is based on the concept of an integral development which seeks material improvement while respecting human rights and safeguarding freedom.

145. In the context of that concept of integral development we are working to create a model for the solution of the problems of the Guatemalan nation on a step-by-step basis. Our needs in the areas of housing, health, education and employment are of the highest priority, and they need to be met speedily. But the drop in prices for our export products on the international market, our indebtedness and the scarcity of foreign exchange, among other factors, have an impact on our people and make it more difficult to find solutions to the most pressing problems of Guatemala.

146. To the factors I have mentioned we must add the problems arising from the subversive violence which has plagued some regions of the Guatemalan highlands and which has contributed to a decline in food production and to the forced displacement of a considerable number of people in rural areas who have had to seek refuge in municipal areas. The subversive groups operating in some regions of the country continue to receive financing and supplies from the outside. This constitutes not only interference in our internal affairs, but also a way of prolonging the suffering and misery of our civilian population.

147. A further consequence of the subversive violence is that a number of Guatemalans have left the national territory. They have gone in particular to areas of Mexico close to the Guatemalan border, where several refugee camps have been set up. The Government of Guatemala reiterates that it will welcome those Guatemalans back with open arms, and it urges them to return voluntarily so that they can once again become part of their original communities. In order to facilitate their orderly return, we have requested the co-operation of the Guatemalan Red Cross and the Mexican Red Cross, and the Catholic

Church and other Churches have been asked to co-operate in expediting this process. At the diplomatic level, we have continued talks with the Government of Mexico and have maintained contact with UNHCR. Guatemala has acceded to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees,¹ and we are extremely pleased to announce that the relevant instrument was deposited with the Secretary-General a few days ago.

148. The Government of Guatemala is prepared to make every effort to bring about the voluntary return of Guatemalan refugees, for we are convinced that one of the most important rights of the human person is the right to live in one's country of birth. No one has the right to prevent this.

149. The foreign policy of the present Government of the Republic is independent and uncommitted and has its own characteristics. It is a policy of active and resolute participation in attempts to achieve peace and peaceful coexistence in Central America, and its aim is that the highest values of mankind—namely peace, freedom, justice and the dignity of nations—should be achieved.

150. Its guiding principles are based on the ideals of democracy and respect for human, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights; international co-operation as a prime factor in accelerating the integrated, harmonious development of peoples; the elimination of the social injustice which exists in today's world; solidarity with just causes and attachment to the principles of international law, foremost among them those of the sovereign equality of all nations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the self-determination of peoples and the fostering of international social justice.

151. The Government of Guatemala is aware that the Central American region is going through perhaps the most troubled period in its entire history. In the Central American sphere, Guatemala is exerting every effort to ensure that the problems of the area are solved by peaceful means and through multilateral agreements.

152. It is essential to maintain an open, honest and sincere dialogue to facilitate negotiations among Central American countries. We must therefore rid ourselves of political prejudices and act in good faith so that we can find formulas and alternatives which could lead us to concrete results in re-establishing peace and security in the Isthmus.

153. Our country has unreservedly supported the Contadora Group. We have taken an active part in its meetings, and we believe that it offers a viable means of achieving the goals I have outlined. We recognize and appreciate the value of the creative and realistic mediation of the Contadora countries. We believe that their sustained effort has borne fruit and that there is still hope of a comprehensive agreement. That is why my delegation considers it unnecessary at this point to discuss the problem of Central America in any other international forum. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that my Government has unconditionally endorsed the Document of Objectives⁵ resulting from the fourth meeting of Central American Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Contadora Group, which was held at Panama City from 7 to 9 September. This document represents a very important step forward in the process of negotiation and establishes solid foundations for a permanent understanding. This step is highly significant and should be considered as an achievement in the quest for peace. Of course, it is solely for the Central Americans to make the decisions leading to formulas for a settlement.

154. Guatemala is an independent country, jealous of its sovereignty, which takes its decisions in absolute freedom. It is not, nor will it be, a possible springboard for any military intervention, as one country suggested, nor is it, as that country is, a spokesman for any Power nor a gratuitous defender of hegemonic positions. It is not our policy to make unfounded accusations or to use epithets which demean those who use them.

155. Guatemala reaffirms once again its commitment to integration in Central America. It considers it basic and fundamental to bring about the economic recovery of the region and is convinced that the economic problems of the area must be approached jointly by the five countries. To the extent that we can overcome economic problems in Central America we shall also contribute to alleviating social and political tensions. The joint presentation of the economic and financial situation made by Central America to the European Economic Community at Brussels recently is very significant proof that the co-operation of all is possible when dealing with questions which are common to the five sister nations.

156. Guatemala is a Latin American country which is loyal to the peoples of the continent, and it takes an active part in the various regional structures which ensure co-operation at different levels on various questions. The Organization of American States [OAS] is the representative regional body, and at the same time it is an important forum where the problems which concern the region as a whole should be raised, analysed, discussed and resolved. The Latin American countries have signed and ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco forbidding the introduction of nuclear weapons in the region,⁶ since our peoples desire peace and fear a nuclear holocaust which could strike a mortal blow at mankind.

157. Guatemala, as is the case with the majority of States represented in this Assembly, also suffers directly from the effects of the structural imbalances in the international economic system which aggravate the internal political and social problems. The continuing and increasing deterioration of the terms of trade is having damaging effects on our economy which preclude us from envisaging any short-term solutions without the efforts and good will of the developing countries and of the international community.

158. I wish to state that my country is aware of the many problems in the economic field that affect international relations as a whole and, when participating in various international forums where this subject is discussed, it strongly supports formulas and proposals aimed at overcoming this crisis. However, we see with deep concern that opportunities to improve multilateral dialogue have not been properly used. We regret that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has not fulfilled expectations that we could reach agreements of collective benefit and became to some extent a stage for explanatory statements, losing sight of reality and frustrating the express desire for concrete measures.

159. In considering the economic situation in the world, the various approaches agree in their diagnosis that treatment of this question must relate to the progress of recovery and growth in the developing countries, and therefore it should not be considered that the only requisite is the economic recovery of the highly industrialized countries.

160. Distortions in the world economy affect all States to different degrees, and there is above all an effect on the values of the common welfare, justice, security and peace.

161. Any other criterion will respond only to very specific interests of some nations, since the vast majority is in favour of dialogue, of objective analysis and of open negotiation in the face of common problems, always seeking concerted action which may contribute to freedom from pressures of various kinds.

162. In this context, Guatemala identifies fully with the third world and shares its cause, which is that of development and peace. It takes part in initiatives to eradicate all forms of inequality and seeks the final elimination of the scourge of hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy. It stands ready to contribute to strengthening the capacity for action of developing countries to attain their goals within a framework of economic and social co-operation. In this regard, we must emphasize and draw attention to the economic content of human rights, which can be fully realized by a people only when they are assured of food, housing, clothing, education and health, in other words, their fundamental rights.

163. Guatemala, as an integral part of the Central American Common Market, undertakes efforts to maintain and strengthen that subregional system of co-operation despite the serious political and social difficulties besetting it. That same desire for integration is found in the broader regional and international spheres through our active participation in all those activities that enable our people to have better resources with which to achieve our development goals.

164. The present world economic, monetary, financial and trade relations are typified by a marked discrimination and unjust treatment of developing countries. This has contributed to the weakening of our economies, bringing about increasing imbalances in the balance of payments, to which we must add an increasingly high cost for servicing the external debt, an increase of indebtedness leading to greater dependency, and a lack of transparency on the part of many industrialized countries in treating the problems which most affect third world countries.

165. Latin America has a very high external debt level, and in order to deal with it we need the assistance and understanding of industrialized countries and the international and private financial and banking institutions. There must be preferential treatment, including extending loan periods and reducing interest rates to moderate levels. There must be Latin American action at the international level to obtain a just and equitable renegotiation which, while respecting the sovereignty and the dignity of our countries, will permit the introduction of new procedures and the maintenance of the rate of public investments, in order to avoid holding up the progress essential for our peoples.

166. Guatemala considers that the recently created Latin American Economic System should be used as an instrument for giving a regional response to the international economic crisis.

167. Latin America is facing this crisis by making sharp adjustments in its economy, with high social and economic costs. So far, in the majority of cases the results are not in keeping with the sacrifices made. A new modality of development should aim at substantive changes in economic relations. Reactivating the economies without significant changes in the areas of commodities, opening up of markets, halting protectionism and the transfer of technological and financial resources would make no real impact in overcoming the situation found in some of our countries.

168. In the human rights field, a series of internal measures have been taken by my Government which have

been welcomed enthusiastically by our citizens and with particular satisfaction by the international community.

169. My Government, knowing that some Guatemalans had been lured by the falsehood of subversive forces, granted a broad and generous political amnesty to permit them to return to their communities and again become useful citizens. The results to date have been impressive, since a good number of peasants and their families have sought the protection of the authorities, and this constitutes a major step towards national harmony. The decision was also taken to broaden the individual guarantees established by the fundamental statute of government to guarantee defense by trial and to safeguard the right of every person to benefit from due process of law.

170. The question of human rights has not always been treated with the required objectivity and fairness in the United Nations. Very often, for political reasons, various countries have been condemned without sufficient justification for the sole reason that they do not enjoy the protection of powerful political, military or commercial alliances. Thus we have seen that some States that commit serious violations of human rights are not even mentioned, let alone censured for those violations. This situation has diminished the moral force of the United Nations and has created certain doubts about its impartiality in the treatment of human rights.

171. We believe it is the duty of the Governments of States Members of the United Nations to ensure respect for the inalienable right of human beings to be consulted in the choice of those who are to guide their destinies and of the ideological system under which they wish to live. Thus it is essential to protect the right of suffrage and to permit competitive and pluralistic political activity so that men may truly, freely and with responsibility choose their own destinies and seek the common good.

172. The fundamental statute of government in force in Guatemala protects and guarantees the full exercise of both individual and social human rights.

173. My Government shares the view that the international community must guide and protect human rights. For this reason it has permitted and facilitated visits to the country by representatives of the human rights commissions of the OAS and the United Nations, as well as non-governmental organizations and groups concerned with human rights. We have also been visited by various notable individuals, journalists and foreign correspondents, all of whom have had the opportunity of ascertaining the facts about the situation in our country.

174. From 25 June to 4 July of this year we had a visit from Viscount Colville of Culross, special rapporteur appointed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, who had been given a mandate to report on the human rights situation in Guatemala. That distinguished visitor remained in the country for ten days, four of which were spent in the highlands living with the inhabitants of those areas who have been the victims of subversive activities.

175. On 15 July of this year a mission from the European Parliament arrived in Guatemala and also had the opportunity of checking the efforts made by the Government of the Republic to accelerate the process of integral and harmonious development, of verifying the existing respect for human rights and of learning about the plans and projects being carried out in the highlands of Guatemala, where poverty is most severe and whose needs must therefore be given priority. We have nothing to hide from the international community and, unlike some other countries, we maintain an open-door policy so that anyone may verify that at present there is no reason

whatsoever to have any doubts about the human rights situation in Guatemala.

176. My delegation wishes to reiterate in this Assembly the rights of Guatemala to the territory of Belize and also its objection to the independence that was unilaterally granted it by the United Kingdom. Consequently the Government of Guatemala maintains its firm position of not recognizing Belize as a State, nor its alleged land and maritime borders.

177. Guatemala once again expresses its readiness to engage in whatever talks may be necessary and to continue negotiating directly with the United Kingdom in the search for a solution to this problem which would take into account the interests of all the parties involved. My country believes that the dispute over the territory of Belize should be resolved through the peaceful settlement procedures established under international law and that therefore the United Kingdom cannot dissociate itself from its obligations towards Guatemala.

178. The Government of Guatemala is pleased to announce that it has signed the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. We are convinced that this legal instrument provides the proper means of regulating the interests of countries in this field.

179. I wish to reiterate to the General Assembly, on behalf of my delegation, my deep concern at the fact that the question of Afghanistan has not been resolved. My delegation considers that the presence of occupation forces in that country violates the basic principles of international law, jeopardizes peace and seriously threatens the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other countries. We wish to express our support for the efforts being made by the Secretary-General to find a peaceful solution to the problem and to establish conditions that will enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

180. On the question of the reunification of Korea, my delegation believes that this matter should be resolved by the Koreans themselves through direct negotiations. An open dialogue between the Governments of South Korea and North Korea could lead to options which eventually could bring about the peaceful reunification of the country. A resurgence of mutual trust would alleviate the tensions in that peninsula.

181. We urge the Governments of North Korea and South Korea to encourage action by the Secretary-General in lending his good offices to assist in finding the solution to the Korean question. The United Nations cannot and must not remain indifferent to this problem.

182. Guatemala is deeply committed to peace and therefore it considers it relevant to express its concern in the Assembly with regard to an item that is very important for the peace and security of the world. The arms race, especially in the nuclear field, has entered a new and dangerous escalation. While the possession and use of nuclear weapons and technology are mainly in the hands of the great Powers, my country considers that limitation in this field must exist also on the American continent.

183. In the inter-American system we have the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁶ to which Guatemala is a party, as an instrument designed to prevent Latin America from entering an arms race of this kind.

184. When I referred to Central American problems I mentioned that one of the items discussed among the Central American foreign ministers and the Contadora Group has been that of the arms race in the region. An increase in sophisticated armament in the Central American area would aggravate and complicate the situation,

with serious consequences for the development process of the countries of that area, depleting even more the scarce resources available, which are essential for meeting the basic needs of our peoples.

185. If the economic resources that the great Powers allocate to military spending and to increasing their arsenals were devoted instead to assistance programmes for developing countries, no doubt the situation of humanity would be quite different.

186. The arms race in Central America has given rise to illegal arms trafficking for subversive activities. This factor has been considered by the Central American foreign ministers and the Contadora Group when discussing the arms race in the region.

187. With regard to the downing of the South Korean airliner, the delegation of Guatemala wishes to repeat what it has already said in the Security Council on this matter of such importance: the downing of an aircraft of the Korean airline by the Soviet Union has no justification whatsoever and constitutes an absurd and reprehensible act which endangers the security of international civil aviation.

188. The zeal to protect sovereignty should not lead any country, no matter how powerful, to the extreme of not respecting defenceless human lives when persons using a commercial airliner consider themselves protected by the international rules governing civil aviation.

189. My delegation believes that this matter should be thoroughly investigated by the relevant organs of the United Nations and that the parties directly concerned in this incident must lend their full co-operation in order to ascertain exactly what happened.

190. Guatemala cannot but strongly condemn this infamous deed.

191. With regard to British military action in the Malvinas Islands, Guatemala confirms its position of support and solidarity with the Argentine Republic. It recognizes the legitimate rights of that sister nation over the islands and expresses its deep concern over the establishment of British military bases in the South Atlantic, which demonstrates a wish to resolve this dispute by force.

192. Aware that the maintenance of colonial situations in the American continent and anywhere else in the world is incompatible with the United Nations ideal of universal peace, my delegation expresses the hope that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom will resume negotiations and find a peaceful solution as soon as possible. At the same time, we welcome the efforts made by the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices with a view to helping the parties to achieve that objective.

193. The persistence of conflicts and the outbreak of new military clashes in various regions unduly increase tension and endanger international peace. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent; it must act in accordance with the Charter, so that the international community may overcome the risk of widespread conflagrations when there are no regional solutions or when such solutions have not been attempted.

194. With regard to the problems of the Middle East, Guatemala has always had a well-defined position: to recognize and respect the independence of the State of Israel. At the same time, we consider that the aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination and settlement in their own territory must be backed by the international community, if we wish genuine peace and security restored to the area.

195. We are concerned and also moved at the suffering of the Lebanese people, which for many years has been

the victim of aggression and violence. We believe Lebanon should be given the opportunity of free determination and that the foreign forces which have so severely limited its sovereignty should be withdrawn promptly and in an orderly fashion. To avoid further bloodshed, all parties must respect the cease-fire that has been agreed upon.

196. Guatemala cannot remain indifferent to the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa. It is unthinkable in today's world that measures of racial segregation should be applied, measures which so deeply wound human dignity. We sincerely hope that this absurd and unjust racial policy will be eliminated once and for all.

197. Guatemala believes that the United Nations is facing the most important challenge in its history. More than an open forum for continuous dialogue and a centre for debating and discussing not only political questions but also economic, social and cultural matters, the United Nations must once again be an effective instrument for détente and peace.

198. The sovereign equality of States presupposes the same rights and the same obligations for each Member of the Organization, and for that reason it is essential to show a great sense of responsibility, objectivity and solidarity. Those who see in the United Nations only a sounding-board for sectarian propaganda are sadly mistaken and undermine the Organization. The moral authority of the United Nations must be recovered, and to the extent that its actions are in keeping with the principles and values contained in the Charter, its weight and its resolutions will have true validity.

199. The United Nations continues to be a beacon of hope in a sombre world beset by East-West confrontation which threatens to unleash an indescribable nuclear tragedy. Regional and internal conflicts in many developing countries, which are sometimes taken advantage of by the hegemonic Powers, are potential elements for worsening the world situation. Humanity must put an end to the wave of uncontrolled violence and reflect on its destiny. Man, the most sublime creature on Earth, with his attributes and virtues, feelings and emotions, and especially his intelligence which allows him to reason and to distinguish good from evil, has the moral duty to learn to respect the integrity and the dignity of his fellow human beings and internally and externally to respect the elementary norms of peaceful coexistence. Threat, coercion and force must be eschewed as a means of imposing ideological systems. The individual and social rights of man must be preserved so that each and every human being may freely and responsibly define his own destiny in a manner compatible with that of the others. Human nature cannot be subjugated and, therefore, State totalitarianism has been short-lived throughout history. Human beings have the inherent right to their full development, and the State and the international community must ensure that this is fully achieved.

200. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): I have the honour of conveying to you, Mr. President, and the other representatives greetings from my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the thirty-eighth session.

201. In extending our warm felicitations to you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly, my delegation feels confident that, under your able and wise guidance, the Assembly will have no difficulty in achieving its desired objectives.

202. At the same time, I wish to put on record the deep appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Imre Hollai, who

guided the business of the thirty-seventh session with impartiality and distinction.

203. We extend our congratulations to Saint Christopher and Nevis and welcome it as a new Member of the United Nations family.

204. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay our compliments to the Secretary-General for his exemplary conduct and contribution to the cause of international peace and development.

Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

205. Bound by our common allegiance to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, we are assembled here to work in harmony for the promotion of peace, understanding and co-operation among nations. This has been our pledge, enshrined in the Charter and repeated every year in this very Hall. However, as we review the prevailing international situation, it does not require much perspicacity to notice the gap to our pledge and our performance. In every area of vital interest, whether political, social or economic, the contradiction is open and obvious. Over the years we have drifted so much from our course that in 1983 the world finds itself confronting a situation which all of us wanted to avoid.

206. Despite the Organization's best efforts the cold winds of confrontation continue to sweep with renewed intensity. Similarly, while the frantic armaments race has aroused a deep sense of despair and danger everywhere, the increased frequency of wars and interventions challenges the very principles that we are all committed to adhere to and uphold. No less alarming is the widening gulf between rich and poor nations that has been further complicated by the reluctance of the North to enter into a meaningful dialogue.

207. The lack of political will to change with the changing realities may be blamed for many of our problems today. The danger inherent in such attitudes is nowhere more apparent than in the area of arms buildup. All of us recognize the immeasurable damage that an armed conflict could cause in this nuclear age, and yet the armaments race continues to escalate at a fast pace and in a pervasive manner as if it were a shield of salvation and not an instrument of annihilation.

208. We note with deep disappointment that the negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament on priority areas outlined in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*]—the first session devoted to disarmament—virtually remain at a standstill. Agreements on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban have yet to materialize, despite the removal of technical obstacles. Regardless of world public opinion and the specific commitments undertaken by the major nuclear Powers in various international agreements, specifically the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], those Powers have persisted in both the vertical and horizontal development of their nuclear arsenals. While we welcome the ongoing talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate-range nuclear missiles, we are concerned at both the apparent lack of progress and the dilatory manner in which those talks are taking place. We urge the two super-Powers to redouble their efforts in order to achieve more meaningful progress, not limiting themselves to the nuclear field but assisting and co-operating in the broader context of concluding a treaty on banning chemical weapons and initiating measures to curb the production and transfer of conventional weapons to other parts of the world.

209. In the latter context, we have seen with great regret that more and more nations of the developing world are showing a growing tendency to arm themselves at a rate faster than that of most of the developed countries themselves. This will not only weaken the third world's stand on the question of disarmament but will also exert a severe strain on its limited resources. Contrary to what the third world countries themselves have said, this has helped to increase the flow of money in a reverse direction, that is, from the developing countries to the developed ones. Moreover, such arms buildup is also likely to generate unnecessary tension, contributing to a greater sense of insecurity in the area.

210. The accumulation of modern weapons, particularly the existence and stockpiling of nuclear arms, not only presents an ever-increasing danger to the very survival of mankind in times of war but also tends to undermine the general environment of security and dislocates the socio-economic priorities in times of peace. Acutely conscious of such disastrous consequences, my delegation joins many others in emphasizing the urgent need to halt the arms race without further delay. We should in all sincerity and seriousness begin the process of the progressive reduction and elimination of nuclear arms under effective international supervision and a verification mechanism. This should be followed by similar steps in the area of conventional arms until we reach the goal of general and complete disarmament. In view of the close interrelationship of disarmament and international security, it is essential for us, as we continue the process of disarmament, to direct our efforts at strengthening the environment of security for all States on the basis of mutual trust and respect. It also calls for the peaceful settlement of disputes, together with the implementation of effective measures for peace-keeping and peace-making.

211. While the arms buildup serves as a provocation, challenging the structure of peace, we also believe that unless and until nations adhere to the basic norms of behaviour prescribed under international law and the Charter of the United Nations, the threat to international peace and security will continue.

212. It is the tragedy of our time that even the simple norms of international conduct are often violated at the expense of human welfare. My delegation considers the recent incident involving the Korean jetliner and the loss of human lives on board to be a regrettable case and also greatly deplores the tensions that have been generated by that event.

213. The utter disregard of the principles of inter-State relationships has been a source of tension and trouble in several parts of the world. In our temptation to seek greater power and influence, we tend to forget that no nation in this age can accept subjugation, much less endure it, however great may be the suffering and sacrifice. The legitimate aspirations of all countries and peoples to remain independent and to retain their own national identity cannot be denied except at the cost of a perpetual threat to peace and stability in and around the area. It is in this perspective that my delegation views the current crises in the Middle East, South Asia, South-East Asia, southern Africa and Central America.

214. The situation in Afghanistan continues to occupy the attention of the international community. It is essential, in order to bring about the normalization of the situation there and so that the people of the country may exercise their inalienable right of self-determination, that foreign forces be withdrawn from the country. Nepal firmly supports the efforts of the United Nations, and in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General's

personal representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve a negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan.

215. Regarding the question of Kampuchea, we deeply regret that despite the efforts of the international community to find a political settlement, no progress has been made in that area. We would like once again to urge all the parties concerned to join in the efforts of the United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea to achieve the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country and thus pave the way for a just political settlement of the problem.

216. In the Middle East, the situation is more volatile than ever before. My delegation has repeatedly stated its conviction that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the question must embrace the following three basic principles: first, withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied since 1967; secondly, respect for the rights of all States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and thirdly, recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to a separate State. My Government believes that the participation of the Palestinian people, represented by their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, is necessary in any negotiation aimed at a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem.

217. The question of the Middle East is also further complicated by repeated attempts to impair the sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal harmony of Lebanon and to weaken the security of its people. Nepal will support every move designed to restore full and legitimate Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon on the basis of non-interference in its internal affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

218. Similarly, my delegation would also like to take this opportunity to renew its appeal to both Iran and Iraq, two member countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to end the war between them and to seek a peaceful settlement of their disputes.

219. While the hotbeds of conflict demand our immediate attention, it is imperative at the same time that other areas of tension and their potential threats to international peace and security be neutralized. South Africa continues to be one of the focal points of tensions in international relations. The minority régime of South Africa has persistently refused to recognize the right of the oppressed people to self-determination and majority rule. Nepal has always condemned the abhorrent system of *apartheid* as an insult to the civilized world. We once again join the international community in urging the Security Council to take effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

220. Similarly, South Africa's refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing the plan for free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision has delayed the early attainment of independence by that Territory. We reiterate here our total opposition to any scheme which might make Namibia's independence contingent upon charges in situations in other countries. While my Government reaffirms its support for the people of Namibia and their representative, SWAPO, we also urge the Security Council and the members of the contact group of five Western States to intensify their efforts to bring about the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only internationally accepted basis for the solution of the problem. In this context, my Government also supports the initiative taken recently by the Secretary-General. We are confident that other nations will also join in the support for the bold step he has taken.

221. As regards the question of Cyprus, we continue to believe that any solution of that problem must respect the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus. With this in mind, Nepal supports the inter-communal talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

222. My Government also continues to hold the view that the aspirations of the Korean people to national reunification must be fulfilled peacefully without outside interference.

223. The recent developments in the Caribbean and Central American region have equally been a source of concern to us. My delegation supports Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which reaffirms the right of all countries in the region to live in peace and security, free from all foreign interference. In this context, we also welcome the initiative of the Contadora Group.

224. In our present interdependent world, just as instability in one area threatens peace and security in other corners of the globe, so disparity and economic inequality among countries cannot fail to have a negative impact on the international environment.

225. Although the inadequacy of the economic structure of the past to meet the present challenge is well recognized, we are currently at an impasse in the process of evolving a new international economic order because of the indifference of those who benefit from the *status quo*. A move to construct a future world system commensurate with the changing international realities must therefore be made soon in order to lay the foundation of a healthy international economic climate.

226. The high rate of inflation, protectionist policies and the deadlock in the negotiations on critical areas have aggravated the difficulties of the developing countries, which are already in a precarious position. The problems facing them, in particular the landlocked and least developed among them, are of a structural nature, and special and urgent measures are required to overcome the constraints impeding their socio-economic development. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,⁷ adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, is an outcome of the realization that that is so. We urge an immediate and full implementation of that Programme of Action.

227. The outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was received with mixed feelings by my country. Nepal had expected that the developed countries would respond in a positive manner to the draft resolutions submitted by the Group of 77 on key issues concerning all the three major areas—commodities, trade in goods and services, and financial and monetary issues. We appreciate the recognition by the developed countries of the intensity and gravity of the whole gamut of problems with which the developing countries are having to cope in the areas of trade, development, money and finance, technology, and social and institutional issues and the impact it has had on their social and economic development. But their expressions of sympathy and concern in the field of remedial measures were not matched by an equal degree of political will. This has disappointed us, because intransigence of this nature will neither contribute anything to the growth of world trade nor assist in fostering mutuality of interest among developing and developed countries.

228. However, as one of the least developed countries we feel gratified that a compromise resolution could be drawn up in which Group B countries could accept a

formulation that called for the attainment of a 0.15 per cent target for official development assistance for the least developed countries "by 1985 or as soon as possible thereafter". Their response to the least developed countries' requests for conversion of official development assistance loans into grants on a case-by-case basis, and for speedy implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action, is also appreciated.

229. We would like to stress here that no opportunity should be allowed to slip by that would enable all of us, both developed and developing countries, to gain a fair share of the wealth from world trade and development.

230. At the present time of economic insecurity my delegation believes that avenues already open for development purposes, as well as future prospects for nations, should be further widened. The meagre resources now available to multilateral bodies such as UNDP are discouraging the process of growth of developing countries. Moreover, the lack of progress in the implementation of the Nairobi Plan of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁸ and of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development⁹ has added to the frustrations of the developing countries. The present myopic vision should not be allowed to obstruct the future perspective and the prospect of meaningful co-operation.

231. In the light of the present economic realities, co-operation among the developing countries assumes great significance. We are convinced of the need for taking suitable measures to ensure effective co-operation among the developing countries themselves. Consistent with the spirit of South-South co-operation, all seven countries of South Asia have recently agreed, at their meeting at the ministerial level, to launch a programme of regional co-operation in various fields of common interest and mutual benefit. We are now at the beginning of a process which we hope will continue to grow, both in spirit and in areas of co-operation, thus contributing to the welfare and stability of the region as a whole.

232. It was against the bleak background of such an international political and economic situation that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held at New Delhi, from 7 to 12 March this year. The concern and commitment of the 101 countries represented there at the highest level find their expression in its final documents [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2]. Our crusade for peace based on political and economic justice will continue until the day every nation feels secure in its independence and all peoples share the benefits of development.

233. The non-aligned world seeks to achieve this target not as a separate bloc but as a moral and political force working in co-ordination with the United Nations system. The United Nations, with its well-defined principles, permanent structures and universal membership, has the necessary prestige and prerequisites to serve as both an ideal and an instrument of peace. Nepal, which has full faith in the Organization's principles and purposes, will continue to support all measures to strengthen the effectiveness and operational capacity of the United Nations in its efforts to create a safer and better world as envisaged in the Charter.

234. At this point I cannot fail to express our great appreciation for the valuable support and assistance extended to us by the various bodies and specialized agencies of the United Nations in our development efforts. Nepal believes that there can be no alternative to the United Nations in realizing the goals of international peace and security and promoting the cause and

course of détente, disarmament and socio-economic advancement for all peoples.

235. Our ultimate desire for peace and development is embodied in our proposition that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. This proposition is consistent not only with our traditional national ethos but also with the principles of non-alignment and the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The zone of peace proposal will not only help institutionalize peace in our country, thus enabling us to meet the growing challenges of development in an atmosphere of security and stability; it will also contribute to the cause of peace and stability in our neighbourhood. I take this opportunity to thank all those countries which have supported our proposal.

236. In conclusion let me once again reaffirm our support for the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The delicate instrument designed for the maintenance of peace and stability which was constructed nearly 40 years ago by our founding fathers still has a major role to play in the changing realities of our times. In this endeavour all the nations have significant contributions to make. My country will not lag behind in working for a viable structure of peace which is so essential for the survival of the human race.

237. Mr. GONZÁLEZ ALSINA (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my first words will be to express, on behalf of the delegation of Paraguay, the great pleasure with which we learned of the election of the Vice President of the Republic of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, to preside over this session of the Assembly, which is undoubtedly the most important world forum, the proceedings of which will be so positively marked by the intelligent leadership which we are entitled to expect from his distinguished talents.

238. The problems of the world are complex and a matter of concern, which makes the work of this forum a very difficult undertaking, if we are to keep the dialogue going and stimulate interest in solutions which will not only be just but will also strengthen confidence in the Organization and warrant the hopes and expectations of the peoples. The President has the most eminent and distinguished qualifications and comes from a noble background and we have every hope that his wise conduct of the proceedings will ensure the success of this thirty-eighth session.

239. Thirty-eight years have elapsed since the San Francisco Conference and the world has not yet rid itself of problems, nor could it have been expected to, because, given the human condition, that would be utopian. Nevertheless, we have to recognize that a solid moral scaffolding has been erected and that violations, negative facts, regressive conduct and opposition to the norms for coexistence within the global community have not gone unnoticed. They give rise to reactions, arouse criticism and condemnation, or generate solidarity, depending on the situation. As a result, there has been a definition and a deepening of a universal conscience in the future of which we must believe in order to increase our efforts on its behalf and to prepare the advent of a more coherent future, better structured around the ideals of justice, liberty, equal opportunity for all nations and an open spirit so that together we can reduce material inequality within the framework of co-operation and integration.

240. One source of tension follows another, problems multiply and become more complicated, danger assumes alarming proportions threatening to spark unforeseeable conflagrations. However, above this is the desire for peace and the determination not to slacken the efforts to reach agreements which can solve problems or conflicts with the least sacrifice. This favourable attitude towards

peaceful understandings is confirmed even in a negative sense when these problems or conflicts drag on endlessly but are kept at controllable levels, awaiting an opportune moment to be rooted out. It is a reality worth studying because no situation can last indefinitely in this way, since the patience to hope and trust can be rewarded by cruel disappointment and frustration, which lead to desperate remedies.

241. In the 38 years of the Organization's existence there have been many local conflicts which have disturbed an era which, in global terms, may be defined as one of peace and development, in spite of discrepancies and contradictions which have not always been merely anecdotal or superficial. Therefore, we must recognize that it is necessary to do much more to overcome local and regional conflicts, and at the same time promote co-operation, so that by multiplying our efforts, development in peace will become an encouraging characteristic of countries and regions, particularly those which need to do so much more to raise themselves to a decent level within the world community. In this process, which should not be delayed—and this will not be the first time this has been said—industrialized countries, particularly the super-Powers, which together form a privileged minority in the world family of nations, bear particular responsibilities, ranging from creating a climate of tranquility and confidence to assistance and co-operation, to make up for inadequacies and shortcomings and to allow the developing world, which embraces so many nations in different continents, to embark on its liberation from misery, ignorance, disease, the daily grind of subsistence living, its economic dependence on primary commodities, so that they can put into effect their plans for integrated modernization with greater ease and with more economic support.

242. With respect to Paraguay, we are not expressing ideas of frustration or dissatisfaction. Quite the contrary; in my country the process of economic and social development has been proceeding satisfactorily for several decades, so that if we must now face negative changes in the world situation, at least our country does not feel its paralyzing effects, because the momentum gained and the changes we have achieved have placed the country in a better position to face up to challenges. This is the essential merit of the Government of General Alfredo Stroessner, whose development policy has aroused the interest and participation of the citizenry, with the side effect of affirming peace and consolidating political stability. In this atmosphere governmental action and private initiative have worked in greater harmony and become more effective, leading to a better utilization of our limited resources. This reality, which is confirmed by facts and by the general atmosphere of the country—secure and confident, without ups and downs—is what has lent our situation credibility and attracted international co-operation, to which we attribute great importance. Indeed, we should very much like that co-operation to continue.

243. But basically—and this too must be recognized—there has been a will to act and a decision to begin. That has won the sympathy and respect of the organizations of co-operation and development financing, both at the world and at the regional level. Economic growth in Paraguay has been the highest in Latin America, achieving a rate of 5.81 per cent between 1980 and 1982, but it has now come up against the world economic crisis. However, if the necessary assistance is still forthcoming, and with additional support from the development of our own economy, the Republic of Paraguay hopes to measure up to its task and stand the test without postponing its expectations of a new stage of modernization of its

infrastructure, with an increase in cattle production, the initial achievements of industrial development, new prospects of regional integration in the Southern Cone and the availability of abundant electrical energy from the binational hydroelectric station at Itaipú, being built with Brazil, whose first generators will go into operation next year. We know that even with these certain factors things will not be easy, but we are talking about positive achievements of permanent value, and it is our conviction that circumstances will change for the better throughout the world, which will mean for my own country the opening up of yet another stage, in better conditions and with better prospects.

244. This capacity for peace, this dedication to development in a climate of political normalcy, free from the corrosive harassment of extremist violence and political and social disruption, make it possible for the Republic of Paraguay to come to this body with full confidence to proclaim our faith in this Organization and our certainty that with time, events and experiences will strengthen the peaceful instruments of its action, without which our illusive security would have been even more problematical; indeed it might have succumbed to the effects of some perfidious crisis.

245. As a world Organization, it is becoming increasingly representative of the whole world and the number of Member States is constantly growing. Now we welcome the admission of a newly independent State, which in this way has quite rightly won a seat among equals in the Organization and the Assembly. I am referring to Saint Christopher and Nevis, to which we extend our best and warmest wishes, for two reasons: because a star has now been added to the constellation of the United Nations and because at the same time the family of American nations has been extended and strengthened.

246. However, storm clouds are gathering and becoming ever more ominous. I am speaking about the arms race, which with modern technological advances can only give rise to very serious and well-justified fears. There is the possibility—which is reason for some hope although it has not been explicitly corroborated—that the two super-Powers desire to limit their nuclear weapons. That, of course, would bring relief to the rest of the world. For this is the reality and this is the place to say it, in the midst of the General Assembly: the reign of atomic science and its mind-chilling projections in the sphere of war and destruction are exclusive to the two super-Powers. A very small number of industrialized nations do have a share in this, but beyond that limited circle, all the other nations and the seething mass of humanity inhabiting them do not have enough resources to ensure their own survival if there were the nuclear catastrophe that we so wish to avoid.

247. The arms race of some developing countries is equally senseless. Their programmes in this field do not seem to be inspired by purely defensive considerations. Conventional armaments—but armaments that are highly sophisticated—are piling up in the arsenals of countries whose primary needs are obviously in other areas. Although we do not wish to belittle the security and sovereignty of nations, which deserve great respect and the closest attention, we cannot possibly disregard the fact that in speculating with these values and trying to reach for priorities that are out of step with reality, countries are sacrificing to the acquisition of weapons which they cannot use efficiently, or even keep in good condition, the elementary needs of their peoples: the overcoming of hunger and the elimination of poverty, which is the first step for the mobilization of the collective conscience in pursuit of economic and social development.

248. Whatever the level of armament, once it becomes the subject of an uncontrolled or frenzied or overprovocative arms race, it can only serve—as my delegation maintained on another occasion—to awaken suspicion, fear and sterile rivalry among nations. As was quite rightly said at that time, the mere accumulation of arms and competition between States for the acquisition of arms are already the beginning of war-mongering, which could lead us to painful experiences.

249. The Republic of Paraguay, whose history contains bloody proof of the effects of two international wars, has a people that, while it does not fear war, loves peace and is incapable of bearing sterile grudges. Its constitutional Government, headed by a far-sighted soldier-statesman, General Alfredo Stroessner, interpreting these essential elements of the Paraguayan national spirit, has laid stress, in his leadership, on development, on the physical integration of the territory, on agrarian reform, on increasing cattle production and on democratic participation by the people in determining the direction of the country's policy. He has done this in an awareness that this is the best bulwark for peace, the first element in the development of nations—development being also understood as the strengthening of its international identity and the augmentation of its capabilities of winning international respect and consideration.

250. With a legitimate constitution, the fruit of the free deliberation of all the political parties in the 1967 national constituent assembly; with a republican, democratic and representative Government, which periodically goes to the people so that they can exercise their sovereign right regarding the make-up and the establishment of a Government with a plurality of options and votes; and with all the momentum gained from a stage of fruitful coexistence, the Republic of Paraguay has in recent years achieved unprecedented development, through an effort in which there has been a significant aggregation of the initiatives and actions of the Government, the direct participation of the people in the most varied forms of co-operation, and civic action by the armed forces in the work of establishing the infrastructure, such as bridges, roads, communications networks, in campaigns for health and literacy and the settling of peasant families in regions recently included in development plans or in previously empty lands. In the integration of the Gran Chaco of Paraguay, in the implementation of its development programmes, in support for new settlements for the formation of stable populations and cattle-raising homesteads, the civic action of the armed forces is of vital importance. We would highlight the specific participation of the navy along the banks of the River Paraguay, of the army in the various activities of our vast interior, and of the air force in anticipation of roads and telephone and even telegraph facilities to deal with the liaison and communications requirements of the new development centres.

251. As permanent evidence of its position in the international community Paraguay included in its constitution of 1967 article 9, which provides that:

“The Republic recognizes the principles of international law; it condemns wars of aggression or of conquest and any form of colonialism or imperialism; it accepts the pacific settlement of international disputes by juridical means; and it proclaims its respect for human rights and the sovereignty of peoples. It hopes to live in peace with all nations and to maintain friendly cultural and trade relations with them on the basis of juridical equality, of non-intervention in internal affairs, and of the self-determination of peoples.”

252. In keeping with that position, my delegation would like to state that Paraguay supports all efforts to smooth the rough places and facilitate contacts so that parties in an international dispute can deal with it on a bilateral basis, if possible, since that is the most direct and effective way, or so that resort may be had to multilateral action, which can never be an obstacle to direct settlement but, on the contrary, may facilitate it, because of the presence of a friendly and conciliating influence.

253. In this sense it is only fair to emphasize the diligence, persistence and firmness with which the Secretariat, especially the Secretary-General, the illustrious Peruvian Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, has promoted and stimulated all initiatives to bring the most difficult problems to the negotiating table and to recommend peaceful solutions through organs of the United Nations or with the good offices of a group of nations or through direct contacts with the object of narrowing differences. This is a task which is never easy and often seems impossible, but the Secretary-General has an indefatigable will in the interest of universal peace and concord. The delegation of my country wishes to express its gratitude for this and to urge the Secretary-General to continue placing his great talents and dedication at the service of the United Nations for the sake of a better and more just world.

254. However, no matter how much faith and optimism there may be in projecting against a calm background the overwhelming responsibility of the United Nations and the delicacy and complexity of its functions, it is necessary to highlight the insistence with which new problems present themselves, the persistence of others in spite of considerable efforts to solve them and the complications which can so easily cause conflicts, although limited in their origins and apparently easy to settle, to become very thorny and dangerous.

255. By way of illustration, to give evidence of the interest with which the Republic of Paraguay views the world's problems, my delegation would like to refer to certain questions which compelled it to take a stand in delicate, serious but always important circumstances.

256. I refer first to the question of the Malvinas, over which the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland waged, in the icy land of the archipelago bearing that name and in southern waters, a brief but bloody war. The question was broadly debated, first in the Security Council and then at the thirty-seventh session.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

257. The Republic of Paraguay took part in the debate on the item in both organs of the United Nations. Nothing could better illustrate the position of my country than the statement made by Mr. Luis González Arias at the thirty-seventh session:

"The long pacifist tradition of my country, as well as our feeling of solidarity with friendly nations, impelled my delegation to join those that requested the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled 'Question of the Malvinas Islands', as well as to co-sponsor draft resolution A/37/L.3/Rev.1." [54th meeting, para. 117.]

He continued, referring to Paraguay:

"As a founding Member of the United Nations, and respectful as we are of the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter, we feel the responsibility and the duty to participate in the debate on this item in order to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution . . ." [Ibid., para. 118.]

The basis for voting followed:

"As is well known, the United Nations began its consideration of this item in 1965, during the twentieth session of the General Assembly, for the purpose of resolving in a peaceful manner the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom, as was convincingly reflected in the terms in which General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) was drafted.

"The invocation in certain paragraphs of resolution 2065 (XX) of the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV), which is recognized to be the basic resolution on decolonization, clearly established that the principle of self-determination was not applicable in the dispute over the Malvinas Islands because those Islands are an occupied territory and thus the principle of territorial integrity is the overriding factor, although provisions must of course be made for protecting the interests of the British population inhabiting the Islands.

"The draft resolution before us today, submitted by 20 Latin American countries, contains almost the same arguments and terms that were used in resolution 2065 (XX). The draft resolution is an attempt to maintain the balance between the interests of both parties and to initiate negotiations under the good offices of the Secretary-General for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution to a difficult situation that has already existed for a century and a half. It does not seek to impose solutions contrary to the principles of the Charter, and it affords broad discretion for the negotiation of all relevant aspects of the question, as envisaged ever since the beginning of this initiative in 1965." [Ibid., paras. 119 to 121.]

Examining the nature of the problem, my delegation, with regard to its own vote, went on to explain:

"There can be no doubt that we are dealing not with a problem of self-determination, but rather with a dispute of a territorial nature between two States, and as proof of that statement, we have the adoption by a very large majority of resolutions 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49.

"The historic facts of the possession of the Malvinas are known to all, and I shall not go into a detailed analysis of them, although they are relevant in the overall context of the negotiations." [Ibid., paras. 122 and 123.]

This was pointed out by Mr. González Arias in formulating this conclusion:

"There can be no attempt now to change the basis on which the negotiations have gone on from the beginning, nor can we agree that time can compensate for the initial inadequacies of one party's title. My country has never recognized the use of force or military occupation as a means of acquiring territory. Nor can the passage of time change the illegitimate nature of such an act. To accept such acts would be to perpetuate colonial situations, and in so doing we would be denying the true meaning of resolution 1514 (XV), the scope and interpretation of which, I must repeat, have been fully clarified by United Nations practice, not only in the case of the Malvinas, but in other similar cases.

"We sincerely believe that the negotiations can yield positive solutions. We believe in the maturity of the two countries involved in this conflict. The bitter lesson of the military confrontation in the South Atlantic should serve to make it understood once and for all

that the use of force cannot and will not lead to just or final solutions.” [*Ibid.*, paras. 124 and 125.]

258. The Republic of Paraguay stands by the resolution for which it voted, which consisted of three points. First, it was requested that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands. Secondly, the Secretary-General was asked, on the basis of the resolution, to undertake a renewed mission of good offices to assist the parties to find the solution called for in paragraph 1 and to take the necessary measures to that end. Thirdly, the Secretary-General was asked to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the progress made in the implementation of the resolution.

259. I turn to the reunification of the two Koreas. By the very nature of this problem, which fundamentally affects the Korean nation, a single nation in the historic sense, it may be asserted that a successful, lasting solution can be found only through direct negotiations between the authorities of South Korea and North Korea, without outside interference. The Republic of Korea has taken this position officially and has repeatedly expressed its readiness for dialogue, so the solution should be sought through negotiations exclusively between Koreans. We regard as positive the response of the international community to this position, which has the merit of a conciliatory precedent for dialogue, but we must realize that the question has not been on the General Assembly's agenda for the past seven years. Whatever may have been the obstacles—and here we see a lack of interest by one of the parties—the problem should be dealt with in a way that its importance merits, and a solution should continue to be sought.

260. From the human point of view we must bear in mind the sufferings of millions of Koreans who were separated from their families when the two Koreas were divided. It has been estimated that 10 million people are in this situation, which has not changed. The last initiative to alleviate the suffering of separated Korean families dates back a decade, to the conference of the Red Cross of South Korea and the Red Cross of North Korea. Begun in 1972, its proceedings were suspended in 1973, and since then there has been no progress towards putting an end to this distressing problem, whose major difficulty lies in the very fact of the division of Korea into two ideologically antagonistic States and the differences in their situation in the international community.

261. For the sake of peace and of human rights, which embrace the Korean nation over and above divisions, the delegation of Paraguay believes that we should encourage the Secretary-General's initiative in his noble mission of good offices to promote dialogue between the two Koreas. This task has its antecedents in his visit to North Korea on 2 and 3 May 1979 and to the Republic of Korea from 4 to 6 May.

262. Because of the persistence of the problem and the obstacles raised by other factors, a State with 40 million inhabitants and a volume of trade of \$50 billion remains outside the United Nations, despite participating as a full member in 55 international organizations, including 14 specialized agencies of the world Organization. This situation, which is logically indefensible, is part of the problem, to which a comprehensive solution is the most desirable, since it would resolve everything. But the best way to bring this about, free from outside interests, can only be direct communication between Seoul and Pyongyang, with the good offices of the Secretary-General.

263. The shooting down of a South Korean airliner is an event which profoundly moved the world. It was

just one more link this year in the chain of dramatic events which have marked the life of the Korean people for years, sorely afflicting the Republic of Korea in particular.

264. The shooting down by Soviet Air Force aircraft of the Korean Air Lines jumbo jet on a routine flight between New York and Seoul is still the subject of hot debate and categorical denials. From its absolute denial of any knowledge of or participation in the incident, the Soviet Union went to the other extreme of acknowledging the incident. At the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Soviet Foreign Minister stated that whoever violated the frontiers of the Soviet Union knew what to expect. The peremptory tone of that statement makes one think of a deliberate, horrifying act. But he went further with regard to this particular case, saying that the aircraft that committed the incursion did not obey orders to fly towards a Soviet airport, but tried to escape, and the Soviet interceptor carried out the orders from the higher command to put an end to the flight. Drawing from an indefensible situation general ethical and political principles, which require a different base to have any validity, the Soviet Foreign Minister threatened that if anyone raised his hand against the Soviet Union's spiritual, social and civic values, if there was any premeditated attempt to exacerbate international tension, such actions would receive the response they deserved. That is to put things in the passive, and no one summed up the thoughts prompted by the statements of the Soviet Foreign Minister better than the United States Secretary of State, George Shultz, who said that the Soviet Union's concept of defensive methods made one think that such acts could be repeated. He added, in a most impressive comment, that there were many ways of defending Soviet territory, but they must be compatible with human rights.

265. Given the high level of technology achieved by the Soviet Union, it is inexplicable and unbelievable that it was unable to make a complete and correct identification of the South Korean commercial airliner in order to co-ordinate it with the schedule of its normal flights and with the number of passengers it normally carries. These data are not secret, but information which is routinely available.

266. These circumstances make the various explanations provided unlikely and show the true value of the Soviet Foreign Minister's words. In the version which admits that the shooting down of the jumbo jet and the resulting death of 269 passengers of various nationalities were a “mistake”, it was maintained that the Soviet pilots took the aircraft for a reconnaissance aircraft. According to Viktor Linnik, a counsellor in the department of international information of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in a statement published by the Madrid press, “They never thought it was a civilian aircraft. If they had known, the decision would have been quite different. I am absolutely certain of that.” That is not what the Soviet Foreign Minister says, nor is it what logic dictates, considering the sophisticated means of aerial and remote sensing at the disposal of a super-Power such as the Soviet Union.

267. As soon as he learned of this incredible and terrible event, the President of the Republic of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner, sent the following message to the Secretary-General:

“The people and Government of Paraguay join with me in rejecting and vigorously condemning the barbarous crime perpetrated against the peace-loving, free Republic of South Korea by the Soviet air force. We denounce before the highest world body, of which

Your Excellency is Secretary-General, this new, infamous act of aggression against mankind. We ask you, Sir, to make public our denunciation and condemnation of the unpunished murder of the nearly 300 innocent passengers who were travelling on board the Korean Air Lines Boeing 747."

268. At the same time, President Stroessner sent a message to the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, which read as follows:

"Communist barbarism has claimed further innocent victims, among them a member of the Congress of your nation, Mr. Larry McDonald, who was lost in the destruction of the South Korean KAL Boeing 747 passenger aircraft at the hands of the Russian air force. In the face of this heinous and unprecedented crime against humanity by the Soviet Union, and of the grief suffered by your people and your friendly country, I express, on behalf of the Paraguayan people and its Government, over which I preside, our most vigorous condemnation and rejection of this brutal act, as evidence in this tragic circumstance of our sympathy and solidarity with Your Excellency and with the noble American people."

269. A third message was sent by President Stroessner to his South Korean counterpart, Mr. Chun Doo-Hwan. That message stated:

"The savage crime committed by Soviet communism, of which mankind itself was the victim, has filled the Paraguayan people with horror. In the name of that people and of the Government of which I am President, and on my own behalf, I wish to convey to you our solidarity and sincere condolences. We vigorously reject this new act of barbarism committed by Russian terrorism, and we condemn the murderous aggression which sacrificed so many innocent lives through the destruction of the peaceful commercial Boeing 747 aircraft of Korean Air Lines."

270. There is no need to make any further explanation of the position of Paraguay with regard to this horrifying incident, which is incomprehensible from any standpoint.

271. With regard to Kampuchea, since Viet Nam invaded that country in 1978 very little progress has been achieved, either internally or militarily, towards the true liberation of that country.

272. Since 1979, when the question was first considered by the General Assembly, at its thirty-fourth session, the Republic of Paraguay has taken an unswerving position, which may be summed up in the following terms.

273. First, the current Government in Phnom Penh is illegal, because it was imposed by force by an invading army.

274. Secondly, while Paraguay never recognized the communist régime of Pol Pot, it is that régime or its successor which is entitled to a seat in the General Assembly because of the simple fact that the Assembly has never revoked its decision to recognize it as the *de facto* Government.

275. Thirdly, the Republic of Paraguay supports the recommendation of the International Conference on Kampuchea, in which it participated, that a political settlement be reached which should provide, *inter alia*, for the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, the neutrality of the country and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision for the formation of a new Government.

276. Fourthly, the Republic of Paraguay sees as a positive step the formation, in mid-1982, of a tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

277. Fifthly, the position of the Republic of Paraguay is consistent with its past record on the question, inasmuch as its delegation participated in the debate on it and was among the sponsors of resolution 37/6, which was adopted by the Assembly by an overwhelming majority.

278. The Republic of Paraguay attaches to the question of Afghanistan a great political and even historical importance, because it concerns the first clear-cut case of invasion and military occupation by the Soviet Union of a neighbouring country whose tradition, culture, religion and race have very little in common with those of the invading State. The Soviet Union has been unable to show incontrovertibly that it has not violated, at the least, the principles of the self-determination of peoples and of non-interference in their internal affairs, principles which are the very essence of international coexistence and are a facet of the equality of nations in the eyes of the law—thus challenging the fundamental premises of the United Nations.

279. The position of the Republic of Paraguay on the tragedy of the Afghan nation remains unchanged and may be summed up as follows: first, unreserved condemnation of the Soviet invasion and military occupation of Afghanistan; secondly, support for the demand for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops; thirdly, support for the world information programme on the Afghan question, in order to make public opinion more aware of this subjugation aspect of international communism, translated into action in the case of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union itself; fourthly, support for the good offices of the Secretary-General; and fifthly, support for a peaceful solution of the conflict.

280. With regard to the question of the Middle East, my delegation believes that this conflict, by virtue of its complexity and the many clearly discordant elements which combine to make it more dangerous and explosive, poses a serious threat to world peace. Over the years, this problem has taken a variety of forms, and it is one of the oldest in the history of the United Nations. At its various stages or situations, the Republic of Paraguay has unfailingly contributed its views and its vote, remaining unswervingly true to the principles of the United Nations.

281. In its present state, the Middle East conflict requires close attention and the utmost wisdom on the part of the Secretary-General in order to prevent the crisis from reaching the point of no return and to keep open the option of negotiations. It is of the greatest importance that the super-Powers too should proceed on these lines, for the sake of world peace and common security.

282. In any case, with the problem evolving rapidly and in circumstances of highly justified expectations because of the turn taken by the conflict, the Republic of Paraguay wishes to restate on this occasion its support for any solution or solutions proposed that are in keeping with the principles of the United Nations, so that the peoples and nations concerned in this explosive affair can see their aspirations met, in keeping with the justice of their demands, so that international law can find new points of support for its valid and practical implementation in a world which so urgently needs to be kept safe from any bellicose inclination which could throw it into the abyss of destruction.

283. There are many other situations. Some are as important as that in the Middle East, but for the sake of brevity my delegation will confine itself to reaffirming the unchanging position of the Republic of Paraguay in the defence of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We shall accordingly remain unswervingly loyal to the resolutions of the Organization and the efforts of

the Secretary-General in the constant search for peaceful solutions which unite and strengthen, without leaving ill effects.

284. I have already anticipated certain references to disarmament, but my delegation wishes to highlight certain further aspects, to make some comments and to confirm its position on the problem of arms and its ideal remedy, which is disarmament.

285. First, it should be borne in mind that the Republic of Paraguay was a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 37/71, concerning Additional Protocol I of the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁶ to both of which my country is a party. That resolution contained an appeal to the nuclear Powers which have not yet done so to ratify Additional Protocol I. This year, consistent with its unchanging position, Paraguay was among the countries which called for the inclusion of a new item on the agenda for this session on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

286. The arms race, on which my delegation has already taken a stand, has reached outrageous proportions in the last decades. It has been stated that last year military expenditures exceeded the sum of \$800 billion; we can imagine what a dizzying peak could have been reached were it not that the world is passing through a grave economic crisis which is internationally imposing drastic financial restrictions, a situation which affects even the basic priorities of most nations.

287. This is a phenomenon which shows no signs of shrinking or receding but on which we must constantly dwell, appealing to and urging the super-Powers and the industrial Powers to give the easing of tension and disarmament a permanent place in their concerns and initiatives, so that achievements on this decisive level of world security can be reflected and have a moral influence at other levels, secondary, perhaps, yet still important to world peace and the tranquillity of nations. In particular, an end should be put to the paradox of countries which are devoured by elementary subsistence needs but are still squandering their resources in a frenzied arms race to produce the most sophisticated conventional weapons, a race which can only bankrupt them.

288. The position of the Republic of Paraguay has been and remains one of supporting all efforts aimed at a rational reduction of arms expenditures, keeping them at levels compatible with defence and world security. Disarmament must be the result of joint efforts, proportionate and properly balanced among all parties which seek this objective, and consequently any proposals for unilateral disarmament, or disproportional disarmament, are out of order and would raise doubts about the good faith of those advocating them.

289. On the problem of refugees, my delegation first wishes to say that for humanitarian reasons and in order to avoid further aggravation of this problem which has involved so much human suffering, it is concerned that the resolution adopted in 1981 [resolution 36/148] has not yet been implemented. It was decided to set up a group of experts to make recommendations on this serious problem of refugees, but it has been stated that the regional groups have not been able to agree on the distribution of posts. That is deplorable, because it means that side issues are impeding the attainment of a higher aim which is in the highest interests of the Organization.

290. My delegation urges the relevant parties to overcome the difficulties, which seem illusory or based on self-interest, so that the work of the group of experts can begin, work which can be of great help in solving the problem which, for whatever reason, has tended to get

worse and may very well become an instrument of political speculation and international pressure, particularly when it affects territories neighbouring the countries from which the refugees flee, so that the resentments aroused are added to the humanitarian and economic problems generated by these situations.

291. As to the world economic crisis, I would point out that we are advancing into the Third United Nations Development Decade without having achieved the aims which inspired, two decades ago now, the declaration of these Decades with specific goals and principles.

292. In 1960, the need for an international development strategy was discussed. The General Assembly proclaimed the 1960s as the first United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1710 (XVI)], during which period the greatest international financing efforts were to be centered especially on the underdeveloped countries. But that proposal did not include any effective plan to co-ordinate the different national policies and to bring about generally positive results. Ten years later, for the decade of the 1970s, the General Assembly, at the time that it proclaimed the Second United Nations Development Decade, also approved the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] to serve as a guide for the plans and policies of Governments.

293. At the request of Venezuela, there was included in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development" and decision 35/443 was approved, in which the President of the Assembly was requested to continue unofficial consultations with a view to arriving at an agreement for the launching of these negotiations within the framework of the Third United Nations Development Decade. Up to the last session of the General Assembly no progress had been achieved on this, but regardless of what is reported this year, it is appropriate to emphasize the legitimate interest of the developing nations in particular in a more effective handling of this problem, since they are less capable of defending themselves against a prolonged world crisis. Efforts must be made to avoid any dislocation that would jeopardize what has already been achieved, if not in reducing the gap between them and the rich countries, at least in maintaining in operation the development plans which are vital for them and which should not be subjected to any further interruptions or postponements.

294. My delegation has a particular interest in the subject of new and renewable sources of energy, because of experiences which place the Republic of Paraguay in a privileged position in the world in terms of the development of new and renewable sources of energy.

295. First I should like to make some comments on the history of this item in the Organization. In 1978, under resolution 33/148, the General Assembly decided to convene an international conference on new and renewable sources of energy, which was held at Nairobi three years later, in 1981. Paraguay participated in that conference.

296. Subsequently, at the thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly endorsed the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁸ and, among other things, decided to establish an interim committee to which was entrusted the initiation of that Programme. However, unfortunately, one year later, at the thirty-seventh session, in 1982, the General Assembly noted that nothing had been done, and therefore it established the Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and

Renewable Sources of Energy, recommending the immediate initiation of the Programme to which I have referred. The Committee remains open to participation by all Member States.

297. My delegation would like to emphasize the support of Paraguay for all the actions of the Organization for the establishment of machinery to ensure the securing of resources and technologies to promote the carrying out of specific projects within the Nairobi Programme. It is to be hoped that at this session the Committee will be able to offer something new with regard to the progress of its work.

298. The Republic of Paraguay for years now has been carrying out with the utmost seriousness a programme of energy production to free itself from thermal factories, which are insatiable devourers of valuable forestry resources, whether wood or charcoal, or which, in a country that has no oil, require very expensive imports, greater each year, if they require oil to function. The experience of the country has been encouraging in these respects, and the Government decided in the mid-1950s to establish a hydroelectric energy project, using the different levels of an internal river, the Acaray. With financial assistance from the Inter-American Development Bank and with the generous support of Brazil in carrying out the project, the work was completed within the planned time limit and had the intended effects. Clean hydroelectric energy totally replaced that which had been produced by thermal means, and the gainer in all this was the ecology of the country. Sources of pollution were eliminated, and forestry was restored in the areas of Asunción, which had been the most deforested. The original factory of Acaray was duplicated, and another dam was built at a higher level to increase the water reserve.

299. Apart from the national hydroelectric energy programme, within which other projects are still being developed, the Republic of Paraguay, together with the Federative Republic of Brazil and the Argentine Republic, by means of treaties it has with each of them, participates on an equal basis in the gigantic project at Itaipú, which is almost finished, and a similar one at Yacyretá. The first, which is the largest of its kind in the world, is soon to begin energy production with the installation, which is now almost ready, of its first turbines, which will number 18 in all and will produce more than 12 million kilowatts. As regards the Yacyretá project, undertaken jointly with Argentina, after many difficulties and postponements and with a great deal of support work and infrastructure which has already been completed, the work now seems well on the way. It enjoys the political support of the parties, and it is necessary for the development of a broad region of the Southern Cone of America and will stimulate new forms of integration. Therefore it is to be hoped that it will have the support of the wealthy countries and international financial agencies, since such is well merited in view of the fact that its energy production will be approximately half that of Itaipú and the fact that when the work is completed and production begins it will constitute an invulnerable insurance against inflation and the passage of time.

300. My delegation cannot omit a special reference, however brief, to the subject of trade and development, which it believes to be of great importance. In this connection, for obvious reasons, since it is a land-locked country, Paraguay awaits with interest and will follow with great attention the evaluation of the report of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,¹⁰ held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the examination of the draft resolution

entitled "Specific action related to the particular needs and problems of land-locked developing countries".

301. On this subject, my delegation wishes to emphasize the good relations it maintains with its large maritime neighbours, which have made possible the satisfactory development of agreements which will give Paraguay access to the sea. The purpose is to continue improving understandings and bring about better means of integration through communications and river, rail and road transport, through which my country will have easier access to the ports of three countries: Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

302. As for the report on the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the Republic of Paraguay confirms its position and expresses its confidence that the difficulties in arriving at concrete and satisfactory results will finally be overcome.

303. Access to scientific and technological knowledge and mastery thereof are indispensable for countries' development. The Organization is understanding this more clearly, although the results are not yet fully satisfactory. Consequently it continues to be a subject of high priority, and therefore we would stress the need to broaden and intensify international co-operation in the area of science and technology for development and to give particular attention to the development of these technologies as they apply to the conditions of the developing countries.

304. In order to put the programme into effect, the General Assembly decided in 1979 to establish an Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development, but this Committee, as was to be expected from the nature of the problems for which it was to propose solutions, particularly those connected with financing, was involved in long and difficult negotiations. We still need to produce a plan with the consensus necessary to ensure that it is practical and viable, and in this regard my delegation trusts that the timely directives of the Secretary-General to stimulate the necessary studies will promote the success of this initiative, which will be to the credit of our Organization.

305. UNDP is of great interest to the developing countries, and therefore priority should be given to solving the financial crisis which is hampering its development. The Committee of the Whole of the Governing Council has explained the position as follows. First, there is a crisis of expectations, since it had been hoped to reach an annual growth rate of 14 per cent, as laid down in 1979 by the General Assembly in resolution 34/106. Secondly, there is an accounting crisis, in view of the unexpected depreciation of the currencies in relation to the dollar. Thirdly, there is a crisis of remunerations, because of the high cost of providing experts for the developing countries.

306. It is to be hoped that the report of the Governing Council on the problems facing UNDP will contain sufficient elements to provide for a viable solution to the problem at this session of the General Assembly.

307. In connection with special economic assistance and help in cases of disaster, my delegation wishes to place on record the gratitude of the Government of the Republic of Paraguay, which on 27 May 1983 asked UNDP to appeal for the solidarity of the international community to help those who suffered from the severe floods caused by the exceptional rise of the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers.

308. Through consultation with the resident representative of UNDP and UNDP in Asunción and the authorities of the Paraguayan Government, a list of necessities

was drawn up and was duly covered by contributions from the Government and international assistance, not to mention the solidarity and co-operation received from the entire Paraguayan people in the emergency, because of which a disaster psychology did not spread at any time. The UNDRRO representative sent especially to Paraguay had occasion to verify on the spot the operational capacity achieved for the necessary help to be given.

309. With regard to the convention against mercenaries, whose preparation has been long and difficult, the item was included in the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time in 1979. Since then it has been considered every year, given the importance attached to it by various nations and groups of nations with often conflicting criteria.

310. In relation to the various draft conventions submitted for the consideration of the *Ad Hoc* Committee created in 1980,¹¹ the position of the Paraguayan delegation, on express instructions from the national Government, has always been one of wholehearted support for the adoption of a legal text on the subject. In particular, with regard to the primary item of the definition of "mercenary", it highlighted the need for a more current concept of this word, bringing it more into line with the general realities of our time. Thus a mercenary will not be just a foreigner who participates for pay in a fight that has nothing to do with him, but also one who for ideological reasons enlists as a volunteer in the internal struggles of other countries. Such attitudes are contrary to the peoples' right to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in their internal affairs. In support of this position of my delegation, I quote paragraph 1 of article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 (XXI), annex*], which reads as follows:

"All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

311. With regard to the law of the sea, the Republic of Paraguay, which is situated more than 1,000 kilometres from the nearest port, has followed with constant interest the evolution of the law of the sea. As long ago as 1971, at the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, my country set down its position in the following terms:

"The Republic of Paraguay is a landlocked State, and geographical and historical circumstances have deprived it of the extraordinary benefits of enjoying a coastline. Nevertheless, Paraguay has the right to enjoy the freedom of the high seas, unrestricted navigation thereon, fishing resources and the subjacent resources and the air space over it. And, to the extent that States with a coastline arbitrarily increase their sovereignty by increasing their territorial sea, they are thereby arbitrarily limiting the rights of the Republic of Paraguay and all other land-locked States."

312. Therefore, my delegation considers that the year 1982 was of surpassing importance in the history of the development of the law of the sea. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which began in 1973—a decade ago—concluded its work. On 10 December 1982 in Montego Bay, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the fruit of such arduous and long-drawn-out work, was opened for signature. Paraguay signed the Final Act, confirming its commitment to participate actively in the establishment of a more just juridical order for the seas.

313. We have left the subject of terrorism to the end of our statement. Terrorism is one of the thorniest problems of our time and is frequently to be found at the root of other more serious conflicts because they have international implications. This is confirmed by the fact that in the face of the extraordinary resurgence of acts of terrorism in the 1970s, the General Assembly decided to include on the agenda of its twenty-seventh session an item on measures which could be adopted to prevent terrorist activities. Since that time—that is, 1972, the year which saw the setting up of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism—the item has come back to the Assembly every two years except for 1973 and 1977; but in fact there has been no clear-cut progress.

314. In the Sixth Committee, in which this item is traditionally considered, there continues to be a strong divergence of opinion over the definition of terrorism and the emphasis which should be placed on suppressing this phenomenon and eliminating its underlying causes. With respect to the latter, the vagueness and the political propaganda are the factors making agreement more difficult. As we know, there are countries and groups of countries which believe that what the Assembly should recommend is that Governments take measures to eliminate the causes of terrorism, thereby implicitly justifying it as an element of political struggle for as long as these causes persist, causes which may be real but also may be pretended for propaganda purposes.

315. However, we must recognize that this lack of agreement in arriving at an international convention on terrorism and ways of combating it adds another problem, which is all the questioning and criticisms encountered by the anti-terrorist struggle on the part of countries and sectors which allow it as a valid political element. Hence, for lack of clear and uniform criteria and for lack of a universally accepted agreement, the situation benefits terrorism, against which there are no sanctions, and is prejudicial to government authorities, so frequently accused of sinister violations.

316. My delegation would like to set on record once again the categorical rejection by the Government of the Republic of Paraguay of terrorism and of all forms of extremism and violence as contrary to democracy and peace. Paragraph 3 of article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that:

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

317. This essential stipulation for democracy is incompatible with terrorism, whose pernicious effects frequently aggravate the causes on which it is based before these causes are eliminated.

318. Finally, again with regard to terrorism, we may invoke, only to despair of its lack of effect, the norm laid down in article 30 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, since no person or group of persons can invoke it "to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein".

319. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United States of America has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

320. Mr. LOEB (United States of America): To refute all the false allegations which the Foreign Minister of Cuba made against my country and our leaders would require a statement which would approximate in tiresome length the one we endured at the 20th meeting. On a

Friday evening, I have no wish to impose on the good will of the Assembly in such a manner. But the disorganized and repetitious statement of the Cuban representative exceeded even his previous high level of vituperation. Consequently, his statement demands a reply. In the interest of brevity, I shall limit my comments to a rebuttal of the more strange, indeed bizarre, aspects of the Cuban representative's statements. The remainder of his comments will pass into the oblivion they so rightly deserve.

321. The most flagrant violation of truth is the Cuban representative's persistent assertion that my Government represents a threat to peace and has impeded negotiations designed to check the arms race. As the members of the Assembly well know, the Government of the United States has consistently sought to check or reverse the arms race. Since 1946, when we proposed in this body the now famous and highly regarded Baruch plan, which would have abolished all nuclear weapons, our Government has time and time again made extraordinary efforts to reduce and in fact eliminate the arms race. On 26 September President Reagan made new proposals in this very Hall [5th meeting], and this week the chief United States disarmament negotiator was given fresh instructions for the ongoing negotiations at Geneva. While my Government's efforts to check the arms race have been received coldly by the other side, we remain hopeful that further reflection on their part will produce a more positive response.

322. In this context, it is peculiar, to say the least, that a country like Cuba, with some 30,000 troops in far-away lands and possessing the largest military establishment in Latin America, should dare to accuse others of imperialism, militarism, fostering arms races and increasing international tensions. If Cuba is not interested in fostering arms races, why has it been adding unprecedented quantities of new matériel to an already bloated military arsenal? If Cuba is against imperialism, why does it have over 30,000 of its troops on foreign soil? If Cuba is against militarism, why does it continue to allocate its meagre economic resources to increasing its military establishment? If Cuba is against international tensions, why does it continue to interfere in the events of its hemispheric neighbours? Let Cuba stop interfering in the affairs of others. Let Cuba bring home its military forces. Let Cuba reduce its military establishment. Let Cuba reallocate its economic resources to alleviate the desperate needs of its people. Until such a time, Cuba's proclamations of anti-imperialism, anti-militarism and opposition to arms races will lack the slightest shred of credibility.

323. It is totally cynical for Cuba to impugn the sovereignty of other nations and accuse them of being mere lackeys. That allegation coming from a country that had jealously protected its national independence would deserve close scrutiny, but not coming from Cuba. Cuba

today is a colonial outpost of a far-flung empire. It entirely depends for its subsistence on the economic support provided by its imperial master. It slavishly parrots its master's lame excuses for the wanton murder of 269 innocent passengers on a civilian airliner. And, if further proof were needed, it sends its young people to die on foreign soil in pursuit of alien objectives.

324. This subservience to a distant foreign master is combined with a profound desire for total domestic domination. Let us recall that the Cuban régime came to power by violent means, and it has remained in power for close to a quarter of a century by utilizing the most brutal and repressive measures. It is therefore not surprising that the Cuban régime should now complain about Radio Martí, which will soon start providing objective and balanced information to the long-suffering Cuban people.

325. In the interest of time and respect for the limits of this body's endurance, let me conclude by noting that it is not strange that when Cuban representatives look at the world around them they can perceive only projections of their own attitudes and practices. The great Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard noted some time ago that many things are like mirrors, and when a sinner peers into them no saint can be seen looking out.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 606, No. 8791, p. 267.

³ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁴ *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041.

⁶ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

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

⁸ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁹ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6).

¹¹ *Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries.*