



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BIRD (Antigua and Barbuda): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. My delegation finds particular pleasure in your election since it testifies to the abundance of talent to be found in our region, Latin America and the Caribbean. Your vast experience of multilateral diplomacy within the United Nations will be much needed during a session which already promises to be of vital importance to the future of mankind as a whole. Beyond the policy statements which we have already heard from such a large number of heads of State is the crucial work which must take place behind the scenes to reconcile divergent views and turn dissension into discussion. Your well-known negotiating abilities will help to carry this session to a sensible resolution of the issues which lie before us.
2. I also wish to take this opportunity to welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Saint Christopher and Nevis. This is a small island State, a neighbour of my own country, which has demonstrated that although it is small it is prepared to play a role in international affairs.
3. Apart from Saint Christopher and Nevis, my country, Antigua and Barbuda, was the most recent State to become a Member of the United Nations. We are a small island State, a member of that group of States that is militarily weak and economically vulnerable. In the wide scheme of great-Power politics, we are ignored because we do not point a missile at some other country's capital; we are marginalized because we threaten none with weapons of mass destruction; we are disregarded because we have neither the economic strength nor the inclination to intimidate other nations in the world community.
4. In other words, in a world that has become progressively more susceptible to the threat of power, small countries such as mine are discovering with increasing frequency that the principles of justice, equality, universal peace and development for which this body was created are nothing short of illusions—illusions which now only scantily conceal the reality of naked power currently dictating the destiny of humanity as a whole.
5. Thus, in the drama of negotiation which is being enacted at Geneva on disarmament and arms limitation, the starring roles—indeed the only roles—are being played by the two countries whose arsenals have the capacity for total human obliteration. The rest of us—even though we represent the majority of mankind—have no voice, no say, not a single utterance in those discussions which may well decide whether we live or die.
6. My people find it difficult to place their fate in the hands of any whom they cannot bring to account. I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. It is not as if these Governments are incapable of negotiation; it is not as if they are unable to reach agreement. During this debate and in a meeting of the General Committee preceding it we heard several countries which are normally antagonists tell us how they are able to co-operate in their mutual interest. Two very large Powers told us in a meeting of the General Committee that in Antarctica they co-operate one with the other; they exchange information and conclude conventions on exploitation of marine resources. We were delighted to learn of this co-operation. We recognize that we had not heard about their co-operation before because for 22 years all the meetings of the Consultative Parties to the Antarctic Treaty¹ have been secret, held behind closed doors. Not only the rest of the world but their own people were denied any knowledge of the decisions reached or plans made by that small group of States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He added:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We demonstrated both at the recent Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi, and in the Buenos Aires Platform adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77³ our willingness to advance new strategies for enhancing international co-operation. Serious attention was given to the problems which beset the international economy, more particularly the burgeoning debt problems, the burning question of money and finance and the protectionist measures against the exports of developing countries. Regrettably, these reasonable positions did not stimulate appropriate responses on the part of the industrialized countries.

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

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

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

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

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

204. The tragedy of some divided countries remains. In Cyprus foreign occupation continues despite initiatives by the Secretary-General undertaken on the basis of the decisions of the Organization. We should persevere with our efforts to restore the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Likewise, the people of Korea remain divided notwithstanding the communiqué of 4 July 1972⁴ and the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

216. The intrusion of ideological concerns into international economic co-operation is made more unpalatable by increasing resort to discriminatory measures. The incidence of vetoing funds from multilateral institutions must be discouraged and deplored.

217. I have sought to construct my statement on what I perceive to be a universal search for truth, understanding and peace. I have eschewed detailed references to some situations of conflict, actual and potential. However, certain unfortunate distortions of substance and of interpretation concerning my country and the historical course of relations between Guyana and Venezuela made by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela in his statement at the 5th meeting oblige me to respond and to set the record straight.

218. The struggle to preserve Guyana's territorial integrity never ceases to engage the energies and the attention of its Government and people because of the untenable claim to over two thirds of the country which Venezuela has been actively pursuing. We desire most ardently to free ourselves of this burden which we bore even before our independence and to remove this canker from relations between ourselves and our western neighbour. We wish to rid ourselves and our region of the potential for conflict which is inherent in this Venezuelan claim and the manner in which it has often been pursued.

219. Contrary to what the Foreign Minister of Venezuela sought to imply in his address to the Assembly, Guyana, which has made no claims to Venezuelan territory, continues the search for a solution which would bring to an end the controversy that has arisen as a result of Venezuela's unilateral and inexplicable decision to declare null and void an internationally binding agreement. This agreement is the Arbitral Award of 1899, on the basis of which our boundary with Venezuela was settled.

220. When the Prime Minister of my country addressed the Assembly during the thirty-sixth session [12th meeting]

and when I did so at the last session [26th meeting], the facts of this issue were adequately presented. Those facts remain a matter of historical and public record, and they cannot be altered by wishful thinking. Realities are not created by whims and fancies.

221. Last year I made certain proposals before the Assembly, proposals fully in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1966,⁶ for the involvement of the International Court of Justice, the Security Council or the Assembly in the search for a peaceful settlement of the controversy. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela rejected my proposals summarily. I am glad to say, however, that another stage of the Geneva Agreement has been reached. In accordance with article IV of that Agreement, the Secretary-General has been requested to choose a means of peaceful settlement from among the various procedures set out under Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

222. To facilitate the more effective discharge of his duties and responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement, the Secretary-General has sought certain assurances from Venezuela and from Guyana. These were the subject of a communiqué which the Secretary-General issued following a visit of his emissary to the two countries in August last. The communiqué recorded, *inter alia*, the assurance that both parties would adopt all measures that might be necessary in order to foster and maintain the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement. Significant also was the assurance that both parties would refrain from any action whatsoever which might make more difficult or impede the peaceful settlement of the controversy.

223. While the Secretary-General pursues his initiatives, Guyana believes that these assurances, if fully honoured, can themselves also contribute to the creation of a régime of peaceful relations between Guyana and Venezuela.

224. In the past, Guyana has always been unswerving in its commitment to achieving the goal of a peaceful settlement of the controversy and has honoured every agreement relating to our border with Venezuela. I wish to assure the Assembly that Guyana intends to continue so doing. Regrettably, we have had cause, time and again, to draw the attention of the Assembly and the Security Council to violations by Venezuela of the letter and spirit of agreements solemnly subscribed to by both our countries. We sincerely hope that Venezuela will respect the undertaking it gave to the Secretary-General last August.

225. It is my hope that in this year, when the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar is being celebrated, we will all be guided by Bolívar's essential political credo on international relations and act in the belief that international problems must find their solution in a "league of free peoples which will resist aggression with armed might and settle controversies between its members through a court of equity".

226. As I said at the outset, the desire for peace has not altered over the years. In retrospect, the peace which the Organization was created to safeguard and maintain was narrow in scope. Today, the constituent elements, which together can secure peace, are generally recognized as being more manifold. They embrace much more than the avoidance of armed conflict. But we cannot widen the basis for lasting peace unless we free ourselves of the constraints. We must not merely pay lip service to peaceful coexistence; we must demonstrate our belief in it. Nor should we allow ourselves—no one of us—to be entrapped within a perimeter in which ideas and thoughts remain untouched by the developments which have taken place since the creation of the Organization. What is needed, if today's requirements are to be fulfilled, is a

new design for peace, one which is pervasive and which encompasses the interests of all mankind.

227. This Organization is well placed to facilitate the realization of that peace. It remains for us Member States to utilize it accordingly.

228. Mr. BELLO (Nigeria): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to join the preceding speakers in extending to you, on behalf of the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, my warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. You have assumed the presidency of this august Assembly at a particularly difficult time when the international situation is under considerable strain, with the eruption of conflicts and tensions in virtually all regions of the world and the apparent collapse of détente between the two super-Powers. Your outstanding diplomatic skills, patience and wisdom will be severely tested in the months ahead. But we are confident that under your able leadership and wise guidance, the General Assembly will make substantial progress towards the attainment of an enduring global peace and security.

229. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, our deep appreciation and gratitude for the able and effective manner in which he guided the General Assembly in its deliberations in the past year. We were deeply impressed by his exertions in promoting the cause of peace throughout the world. He proved extremely adroit in his handling of very delicate and sensitive issues. The failures of this Assembly, however, particularly in reaching agreement on several critical issues, such as the launching of the global economic negotiations, cannot be blamed on him. Collectively, we bear responsibility for those failures.

230. I should also like, on behalf of my Government and the people of Nigeria, to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership in the United Nations and to express our conviction that it will make a positive contribution to the search for global peace and security.

231. Since the last session of this body there has been a steady and disturbing deterioration of the international situation. It has reached such crisis proportions that there is now universal concern that the world is now tottering on the brink of war.

232. The global eruption of crises, conflicts and tensions has been further aggravated by the massive buildup of arms, especially nuclear weapons, which now represent the gravest danger to international peace and security and to the very survival of mankind itself. Ignoring mankind's pleas and appeals for sanity, the super-Powers in particular have embarked not only upon a massive accumulation of weaponry, but also a qualitative improvement of such weapons. Negotiations on arms reduction and disarmament at the various forums have continued to founder on the rock of rivalry and deep mistrust between the two super-Powers. Instead of making a steady and progressive effort towards achieving nuclear disarmament, the two Powers are hell-bent on achieving nuclear deterrence through a further expansion of their already awesome arsenals.

Mr. Abdalla (Sudan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

233. Doomsday may well be on our doorstep now. That is why it is absolutely essential for the two super-Powers to seek détente and peace through co-operation, instead of adopting confrontation as a substitute for negotiation. In a futile attempt to achieve global hegemony and world domination for themselves, they have resorted to proxy wars in all regions of the world where the clearly expressed

will of the people for peace, prosperity and stability is being subverted and steadily undermined through the threat and use of force. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, all of which are entitled to the protection of the United Nations, are being daily undermined in Chad, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Kampuchea and Afghanistan under one pretext or another and in defence of highly questionable and dubious principles and values. The most sophisticated weapons are being rapidly deployed in what is clearly an unbridled and disconcerting arrogation of power. Direct and indirect interference by the super-Powers in the internal and external affairs of small and weak States are now in the ascendancy in every region of the world.

234. Nigeria is deeply concerned about these trends, which are clearly detrimental to peaceful coexistence among all States. The situation calls urgently for concerted global action to ensure the security of weak and small States, as well as their freedom from external interference in their internal affairs. The relaxation of tensions has become the urgent priority of the international community, but this essential goal cannot be attained through such negative concepts as the balance of terror, spheres of influence, deterrence and alien domination. Small and weak States have as much right as the big Powers to develop along their own freely chosen paths without any external interference or pressure. Efforts should be intensified at the international level actively to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence and self-determination through the conclusion of the process of decolonization.

235. Let me now refer particularly to the situation in southern Africa, which also continues to be a matter of utmost concern to my Government. For nearly four decades now, the racist policies of the South African white minority régime have been roundly condemned in this Hall as well as in the Security Council. Our concern is not merely that racial discrimination exists in South Africa, but that it has been institutionalized, enshrined in law and made all-pervasive. All attempts at a peaceful change through necessary reforms have failed. Frustration among the blacks has made them resort to armed struggle to eradicate the *apartheid* system. Unless there is a fundamental change in South Africa through recognition of the inherent right of the 20 million blacks to participate fully and equally with the whites in South Africa's political and economic processes, there is a grave danger of a catastrophic racial conflict that will have serious ramifications throughout the world.

236. If South Africa continues to spurn all appeals for a change and fails to deal justly and effectively with its racial problem, that failure will impose heavy economic, military and political penalties on its allies in the Western countries. The response and attitude of most of the Western countries to the racial problem in South Africa is not only most disappointing, but also self-defeating. Publicly they routinely join in the world-wide condemnation of South Africa's racist doctrines, but privately they continue to pursue policies which only encourage the racist régime in its intransigence. They do not support the application of the necessary economic and political pressures on South Africa to compel it to embark on the necessary eradication of its obnoxious racist doctrines. When we call for sanctions, we are told by the Western allies of racist South Africa either that the imposition of sanctions will not work or that it is incompatible with their fundamental belief in the principle of global free trade. Yet these powerful countries are quick and eager to resort to economic sanctions in less compelling situations. There is no question but that the racist régime of

South Africa has enjoyed the encouragement, support and approval of these Western States in its arrogant rejection of all peaceful efforts to bring about the urgently desired changes in the country. Not only have the major Western Powers failed to take action against the *apartheid* régime in accordance with their commitments and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, but they have directly, openly and covertly assured the racist régime of its survival and prosperity through vastly increased economic co-operation. At the recent Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva, the duplicity of the Western Powers was once again unmasked when they failed to join the consensus in the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference [*resolution 38/14, annex*] against the *apartheid* régime and its Israeli collaborators.

237. The so-called policy of constructive engagement with the *apartheid* régime is deeply offensive and repugnant to Africa and to decent men and women throughout the world. It is nothing but a cover for the sinister motives of the United States and others for continuing their policy of support for the *apartheid* régime in southern Africa, and we reject it completely since it is open encouragement to the racist régime. Contrary to the claim of the present United States Administration, it is not a balanced policy. Within the framework of this policy we have seen increased diplomatic, political, economic and military co-operation between the racist régime of South Africa and its Western allies. At the United Nations the United States has assured the racist régime of South Africa of diplomatic cover by vetoing all efforts to impose punitive measures on that régime for its repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours as well as for its refusal to withdraw from Namibia. It would not even permit a condemnation of racist South Africa for its invasion and continued occupation of Angola. How can such a policy which supports the aggressor be regarded as balanced or constructive?

238. The recent approval by the Government of the United States of the request by seven United States corporations to provide technical and maintenance services to a nuclear power installation in racist South Africa is in violation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980). This approval is being granted despite the well-known objections of Africa and the international community to any form of nuclear co-operation or collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

239. It is particularly regrettable that this approval was granted despite the persistent refusal of *apartheid* South Africa to allow inspection and verification of its nuclear installation by IAEA. We hope that in view of the objections raised not only by the whole of Africa but also by the international community, the United States authorities will cancel this contract, which is clearly detrimental to the cause of peace and freedom in Africa.

240. Recently, authoritative statements were made by Washington to the effect that peace and security in southern Africa could be restored only if the so-called security concerns of the *apartheid* régime were met. Let me make it abundantly clear that we are unable to accept the notion that the racist régime of South Africa has any legitimate security concerns which have to be met by African States. Equally, the proposition that the African States in the region should seek peaceful coexistence with the racist régime of South Africa is most objectionable, and we reject it completely. It is *apartheid* South Africa that has consistently sought to undermine the peace, security and stability of the region by its incessant and unprovoked aggression against its neighbours. Collectively and separately, African States in the region have never posed, and

could not now pose, any threat to the security of racist South Africa. None of them has ever attacked South Africa. In contrast, troops from the racist régime of South Africa now occupy much of southern Angola. It is the security concerns of the front-line States and not those of the *apartheid* régime that should be met.

241. The *apartheid* régime stands universally condemned for its persistent, unjustified and unprovoked aggression and acts of destabilization against the front-line States. Recently the racist régime closed its borders with Lesotho in order to force that country to deny political refuge to those fleeing from Pretoria's persecution. When Lesotho turned to the Western allies of the racist régime, it met with a stony silence from them. Lesotho's independence and sovereignty mean nothing to them. Yet these countries which continue to collaborate with the *apartheid* régime would have the world believe that they are the defenders of freedom throughout the world. Africa is not and cannot be deceived by the duplicity of these Powers.

242. With regard to the situation in Namibia, my Government would like to express its deep appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring about the independence of that Territory. As he discovered during his recent mission to South Africa, all outstanding constitutional issues within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had in fact been resolved during proximity talks with the contact group last year. South Africa's insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibia's independence is merely a red herring, a pretext for pursuing other sinister objectives in Angola. Neither Angola itself, nor the presence of Cuban forces there at the invitation of the Angolan Government, can conceivably be represented as a threat to the security of South Africa, which now occupies one third of Angola's territory. Without the withdrawal of South Africa's forces from Angola, the cessation of support for the UNITA⁷ bandits and reasonable assurances and guarantees about Angola's security, Angola cannot reasonably be expected to terminate its security arrangements with Cuba.

243. It is the view of my Government that nothing short of the application of economic and other sanctions will bring racist South Africa to its senses. For decades all international appeals to *apartheid* South Africa have fallen on deaf ears. There is no longer any valid excuse or explanation for South Africa's continued intransigence except that it hopes and, indeed, believes that those Western countries that profit from the *apartheid* system will continue to thwart all efforts to impose sanctions on that régime.

244. Clearly, the situation in southern Africa, particularly the persistent refusal of the racist régime to withdraw from Namibia, now calls for the invoking of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Those provisions, including recourse to sanctions as a punitive measure, were intended to deal with precisely the kind of situation we now have in southern Africa. Those permanent members of the Security Council which continue to prevent the Council from discharging its full responsibility by protecting the racist régime from sanctions bear a very heavy moral and historical responsibility for their reprehensible policy. They have left the people of South Africa and Namibia with no choice other than to seek redress through armed struggle. The Government and people of Nigeria will continue to provide them with all necessary support to enable them to wage their war of liberation against the racists. We have a moral obligation to do so, for our own independence and freedom

will remain incomplete as long as these unhappy people continue to be held in bondage.

245. My Government is equally concerned about the increasingly dangerous interventionist policy being pursued in Africa by some external Powers in Western Sahara, in the Horn of Africa and, more recently, in Chad. Localized disputes in these areas have been aggravated by foreign intervention, thus making it increasingly difficult for our continental organization, the OAU, to exercise fully its functions and responsibilities for resolving those disputes. We strongly condemn all external Powers that have intervened in Chad. Their intervention has added to the suffering and misery of the people of Chad. We therefore join in the call for the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad. The people of Chad must be allowed to resolve their differences without any external intervention. Africa must not be turned into an arena for proxy wars waged by the super-Powers.

246. The Middle East has continued to be a major centre of conflicts and tensions because of Israel's expansionist policy and aggression. My Government strongly deplores Israel's refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981), which, we believe, provides the basis for a resolution of the Middle East problem. Israel's attempt to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, the invasion of Lebanon and the outrage of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila are an ample demonstration of Israel's complete disregard of international opinion and of the decisions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. Nigeria is strongly opposed to those policies and will continue to support the people of Palestine in their just and legitimate demand for a homeland of their own. It is our firm conviction that a durable settlement of the problem of the Middle East can be achieved only with the active participation of all the interested parties, particularly the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO. Any unilateral effort towards a settlement can only be partial and is therefore doomed to failure. The recent eruption of fighting in Lebanon is sufficient evidence of the inadequacy of the settlement plan being pursued so vigorously by certain Powers. That plan will fail because it does not take fully into account the interests of the Palestinian people and their legitimate demand for a homeland of their own. In this regard, Nigeria fully supports the conclusions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held recently at Geneva. We deeply regret the failure of certain Western Powers to attend that Conference.

247. My Government is also deeply concerned about the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields. This collaboration is inimical to the security of the whole of Africa and represents a threat to that security which Africa cannot ignore. As long as Israel persists in this policy it cannot hope for amity in its relations with Africa.

248. Recent developments in Central America are also a matter of concern to my Government. My Government strongly deplores direct intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other Central American States by a certain Power. Regardless of our views about the direction in which those States are moving, it is morally wrong and contrary to the provisions of the Charter for any external Power to force a change in their political and economic systems through the use or threat of force. We would urge this external Power to respect the inherent right of Nicaragua and other Central American States to develop along their freely chosen path. We fully endorse and support the efforts of the Contadora Group to ease

the tension in the region and to secure a negotiated settlement which will take full account of the right of all the people of the region to national self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

249. With regard to the situations in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Korea, my Government is firmly convinced that only a reaffirmation and recognition of the right of the peoples of those countries to determine their own destinies, free from foreign interference, subversion, coercion or occupation and through the process of negotiations, will lead to a durable settlement. We therefore join in the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those countries so as to provide a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement. The presence of foreign troops can only continue to impede the process of securing a durable peace.

250. In addition to the profound anxieties raised by the prevailing global instability and tension, there is an equally widespread concern about the economic crisis which has confronted the world for some time now. Indifference to this crisis is a luxury which no country, no matter how strong economically, is able to afford in these circumstances, not only because of the scale of the crisis, but also because of its devastating impact on all groups of countries. It is indeed every country that suffers when world output and international trade contract in the manner already witnessed, particularly when the world economy drifts from bad to worse because of persisting maladjustments. To put it in a nutshell, international commodity markets are in a most sorry state, and the multilateral trading system is undergoing a serious erosion, while the international monetary and financial system is anything but orderly.

251. My Government is equally concerned about the ever-widening economic gap between the developed and developing countries. This is an important point, not just because it underscores the inherent structural imbalance in the global economy, but also because the burden of adjustment in the current crisis has fallen disproportionately on the developing countries. The grim economic picture in most of the developing countries is all too familiar: high foreign debts, continued erosion of terms of trade, an unacceptably high level of inflation—most of it exported to them—sharp increases in the cost of capital and international credit, further restrictions on lending by the commercial banks and the continued decline in the flows of official development assistance. These formidable negative trends have led to a deep recession in the economies of the developing nations, resulting in a further decline in 1982 of the per capita gross domestic product of those countries. The development process has virtually come to a halt in most developing countries, as many of us have been forced by the deteriorating external environment in particular to curtail essential imports and national development programmes.

252. The critical economic situation in the African continent should indeed be underlined at this juncture because our countries are much worse off than those of any other region of the world. At a time of global improvement in food supply, acute shortages persist in Africa and have serious consequences in terms not only of increasing famine and hunger but also of the constraining influence on development of mounting food import bills. Owing to over-dependence on the export of one or two primary commodities, the continuing decline and uncertainty in commodity prices have taken their heaviest toll on African economies. The calamitous fall of export earnings has been compounded by a contraction of the external flow of resources. Obviously, one of the major

prerequisites for economic recovery in Africa is to ensure a substantial flow of external finance to the region.

253. Although the universal impact of the current economic crisis obviously calls for concerted efforts by the entire international community, regrettably the multilateral spirit is on the wane. We have in the past few years continued to witness a growing reliance by the developed countries on a bilateral rather than a multilateral approach to settling the crisis confronting the world economy, particularly the economic problems of the developing countries. But we know full well that the results have been most disappointing. It is indeed widely acknowledged that the acute resource problem currently facing such leading development organizations as, for example, UNDP is attributable principally to the stagnation in the overall flow of official development assistance and the decline in the proportion committed through multilateral channels. Aside from this we see little advantage in undue recourse to bilateralism, which has indeed heightened the tendency to determine and allocate assistance on the basis of strategic East-West considerations that are completely irrelevant to the dire needs of the developing nations. The half-hearted approach which now seems to characterize international economic negotiation is probably the worst feature of the present crisis of multilateralism.

254. A word about the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, is appropriate at this stage, since it was the most important negotiating conference held this year. We had hoped that the opportunity of the Belgrade meeting would be fully seized to deal decisively, effectively and in an integrated and global manner with the various problems of global trade and development, particularly the adverse situation facing the developing countries. Along with other members of the Group of 77, we went to Belgrade determined to be constructive and conciliatory, but we discovered to our utter dismay and disappointment that our partners in the North were in no mood for reciprocity. In the end what emerged from the Conference was a rehash of the results of previous sessions, with the addition of just a few half-measures, which did not amount to the serious package of urgent remedial and long-term measures that had been sought.

255. It is clear that we have all missed yet another golden opportunity to take appropriate measures to revitalize the world economy and, in particular, the accelerated and sustained development of developing countries. The international community has delayed taking the necessary vital steps, however, and this has worsened the plight of both the strong and the weak. We therefore wonder how long our partners in the North, particularly the developed market economies, will continue to drag their feet with regard to the restructuring of international economic relations. Greater progress could undoubtedly be made in this regard through a better appreciation by the developed countries of the reality of interdependence and the fact that the developing countries as a group have become a significant partner in the international economy.

256. The foregoing remarks are pertinent since they underscore the caution with which many have been inclined to receive reports about the economic upturn in certain developed countries. To us this is not a time for raising false expectations. Nor do we think that any trickle-down from the so-called recovery is the panacea for the grave economic problems facing the developing world. The deepening global crisis makes it ever more clear that we are dealing not with a mere cyclical phenomenon but with problems of structural maladjustments

in various areas of international economic relations that require global and integrated solution.

257. Unless the structural imbalance that lies at the heart of the current global economic crisis is redressed urgently through a major and concerted international effort, it not only will remain a source of friction in relations among nations but will also undermine the steady growth of the world economy. Four years ago it appeared that there was a recognition of the necessity for an international effort when the Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 34/138, on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development. Unfortunately, nothing positive has happened since to permit the launching of the global negotiations. Rather, consultations on the matter have simply petered out, and the situation now is one of total impasse and deadlock.

258. Responsibility for the failure to launch the global negotiations must rest with those countries which remain adamantly opposed to the idea. Now that this item is inscribed on the agenda of this session, all may not be lost yet. Together with other developing countries, we remain ready to engage in a constructive dialogue with the developed countries on this matter, in the belief that there is a mutuality of interests in seeking necessary reforms in the existing international economic order. We would therefore urge them to show the necessary political will in support of all efforts to facilitate progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

259. Stability and peaceful coexistence cannot be achieved in a world where the overwhelming majority of mankind lives in abject poverty and penury, nor can sustained global economic growth be attained without the active participation of the developing nations. Since, therefore, everyone stands to benefit from an enduring recovery of the world economy, and knowing the catastrophe to which inaction or feeble efforts can lead, the international community must take swift action in putting together a package of measures, short-term and long-term, which respond to the needs of developing nations in particular. Commodity markets must be significantly strengthened through accelerated implementation of the integrated programme for commodities, including the early coming into force of the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities,⁸ which my Government ratified recently. The rising tide of protectionism in the developed countries must be brought under control in the interest of world trade. There is also the imperative need to inject substantial and additional liquidity which responds to the needs of the world economy, particularly the accelerated growth of developing countries.

260. Before concluding my statement, I should like to declare the total support of my Government and the people of Nigeria for the peace movement, whose members are now clamouring throughout the world for an end to the arms race. The deployment of an ever-increasing number of nuclear warheads and the militarization of outer space make the spectre of a global holocaust a real possibility. This sword of Damocles has become an intolerable burden on mankind. The recent Korean jet incident shows how easily the world could be plunged into a nuclear holocaust through a sheer military blunder.

261. We must never allow a nuclear holocaust to happen. Collectively, we all have a responsibility to ensure that it does not, for the greatest tragedies have occurred not so much because of what was finally done as because of what had earlier foolishly been left undone.

262. Mrs. de AMORIM (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): When will the peoples of the third world emerge into the dawn of peace, security and

well-being from the endless night of hunger, interference, wars and massacres?

263. The exacerbation of the principal world problems and the reappearance of tension in relations among States have led the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to follow with particular attention and great disquiet the escalation of the use of force as a preferred means of settling global conflicts and determining the future of mankind.

264. Furthermore, how can one not be sceptical of the statements of good intention made by those whose very actions gave rise to and maintain the hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world?

265. An analysis of the agenda for our deliberations reaffirms that view. Negotiated and definitive solutions through peaceful means of problems of extreme seriousness which are disturbing the international community are deferred in spite of the numerous relevant resolutions which have been adopted.

266. One wonders whether the United Nations is the dupe or victim of the rivalry of some of its Members.

267. Preserving the United Nations means preventing this forum, a chosen meeting place, from giving way to insincerity, ambiguity and cynicism in the discussion of the grave questions of the present. Preserving the United Nations also means respecting the hopes of the peoples, ensuring that its resolutions are implemented and using all our strength to overcome the symptoms of paralysis that threaten it.

268. If this is done Africa will no longer be a continent torn apart by deadly wars that turn it into a battlefield for external forces, by wars which cause famine, poverty, terror and desolation, by wars exported to shackle the firm determination of the African peoples to attain total liberation, the consolidation of their independence and their economic emancipation.

269. In the grim attempt to inflame Africa, the OAU has not been spared. On the contrary, every pretext has been used to make it ineffective.

270. The difficulties encountered in arranging the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity amply demonstrated the scope of the web of intrigues being woven around the OAU and the need for all its members to work to defend it while faithfully respecting the principles set forth in its charter. We note with deep concern the growing tendency to wish to neutralize in conflicts the beneficial role of the OAU in order to allow foreign Powers to act as they wish.

271. In central Africa, interference and the presence of foreign forces in Chad have hampered the praiseworthy efforts of the OAU and have delayed the attainment of the ideals of the people of Chad for peace and concord. We should like to reiterate here our appeal to the parties to the conflict for national reconciliation, which is the only way to end the calvary of the people of Chad, in order to allow them to get down to the work of national reconstruction with determination.

272. The People's Republic of Angola has been the victim of a three-year illegal occupation of part of its territory by the racist troops of Pretoria. The people of Angola are the target of criminal and constant bombings, the most recent results of which have to be added to the already long list of crimes denounced by that country in the "White Book of Aggression by the Racist Régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola".

273. Given these barbarous actions, how can one describe the obstinacy of some countries in trying to gain

acceptance for the unacceptable, namely, the establishment of a link between the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)? The growing impunity of South Africa allows it to finance a group of stateless bandits, blood-thirsty mercenaries whose sole mission is to serve and safeguard neo-colonialist and imperialist interests in southern Africa. It is time for the international community to take more drastic measures to get rid of *apartheid*, which, in its daily repression, deprives man of the human dimension of his existence.

274. Our delegation highly appreciates the efforts made by the Secretary-General to carry out the mandate entrusted to him under Security Council resolution 532 (1983). The independence of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, is irreversible.

275. That same irreversibility is characteristic of the valiant struggle of the Saharan people. During the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, at Addis Ababa, the participants adopted a resolution calling by name on the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO,² to engage in direct negotiations with a view to finding a definitive solution to this conflict [see A/38/312]. The failure of the meeting of the Implementation Committee illustrates Morocco's contempt for the sovereign decision of the heads of States and Government and constitutes yet another proof of its refusal to work to strengthen African unity and to promote the honour, dignity and freedom of the African peoples.

276. Last February in the historic and hospitable homeland of Gandhi and Nehru, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held. Conscious of the manoeuvres to weaken the cohesion of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, more than 100 countries reaffirmed at New Delhi their faith and their commitment to the principles of non-alignment. In this world where prospects are so bleak for the future of the peoples of the third world, the Non-Aligned Movement remains a force for peace, justice and hope.

277. In Latin America, interference in internal affairs and acts of aggression and provocation have become the reprehensible practices of reactionary forces which are unable to accept the choice of peoples, in particular those of the central part of that region, to live in freedom and dignity.

278. The fate reserved by Indonesia for the people of East Timor must command the attention of the United Nations. The hope born of the meeting between the Indonesian authorities and FRETILIN,⁹ which augured a new and encouraging stage in the struggle for the liberation of the Maubere people, seems to be fading. The Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe denounces the threats to land Indonesian troops and reaffirms its constant support for the fraternal people of East Timor.

279. Our support also goes to the people of Korea who have declared to the world their determination to reunify Korea without foreign interference.

280. What can be said about the question of Palestine which has not been said before? Those who think that through massacre and dispersion of the Palestinian people, by the breaking up of the PLO and by the disappearance of its heroic fighters they will succeed in striking from the annals of history the demonstration of one of the great injustices of our century are gravely mistaken.

The Palestinian people will be victorious, and with their own hands they will build their sacred homeland, Palestine.

281. The danger looming over the people of Lebanon, that of seeing their national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity flouted, is in contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and furthermore is a threat to peace and security in that region.

282. I must add to this alarming picture the situation of the international economy, characterized by a sharp deterioration in the present economic system. The third world, dispossessed of its wealth, can only record failures in its attempts to establish a North-South dialogue. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development ended its work on a note of disappointment and uncertainty.

283. Given the hesitation of the industrialized countries to develop healthy co-operation with underdeveloped countries, it gives us great pleasure to note that South-South co-operation is intensifying, thus opening new prospects in relations between our States. The refusal of the industrialized countries to change the machinery of international trade has dramatically increased the indebtedness of the third world and has put off the establishment of a new international economic order.

284. There can no longer be any doubt that human speech has become one of the most ineffective tools of diplomacy, and this Organization should know this better than anyone. Lengthy monologues and dialogues aimed at diversion are multiplying and inevitably lead to a fear that the aspirations and sufferings of peoples will come up against the silence of words. How can we make words speak so that they awaken in the consciences of some a determination to halt, through constructive action, the machinery for devastation of the world?

285. The insanity and egoism of some are threatening the peaceful existence of millions of human beings. Is the sick desire to dominate so mindless that it can lead them to make bombs to destroy hunger and lead to the peace of graveyards? What can speeches do against bombs and the ills of underdevelopment?

286. On the other hand, the solidarity and commitment of the international community are capable of preserving the sacred rights of peoples to build their own progress in a climate of respect, understanding and human fraternity. Is this no more than a dream?

287. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

288. Mr. KURODA (Japan): In his statement in the general debate on 4 October, the Soviet representative referred to Japan and said, *inter alia*, that my country's "accelerated militarization" was adding to tensions in the Far East [18th meeting, para. 129]. It is extremely regrettable that the Soviet representative made such a groundless remark in this United Nations forum.

289. It is a well known fact that ever since the Second World War Japan has been steadfast in its efforts to contribute to world peace and prosperity. Those efforts reflect Japan's fundamental position that it will never become a military Power but will pursue peace resolutely. The self-defence forces which Japan maintains are strictly for defensive purposes.

290. We must point out that it is rather the Soviet Union itself which has aroused anxiety and concern not only among its Asian neighbours but also in countries throughout the world. I am referring to the strengthening of the Soviet military presence in the area surrounding Japan, as exemplified both in its military buildup in Japan's northern islands and in its deployment of SS-20s in the Far East. The Soviet Union has pursued such a course despite Japan's repeated protestations.

291. In his statement the Soviet representative also implied that there are nuclear weapons in Okinawa. It is truly regrettable that the Soviet Union has made yet another totally unfounded remark, with full knowledge of the fact that Japan—the only nation which has suffered the disasters of nuclear weapons—strictly maintains its three non-nuclear principles. We strongly urge the Soviet Union to reconsider its gravely mistaken view of Japan.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

²Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³*Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

⁴*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

⁵United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

⁶Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 651, No. 8192, p. 323).

⁷União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

⁸United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

⁹Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.