

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2422nd

MEETING: 24 MARCH 1983

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2420) | 1 |
| Adoption of the agenda | 1 |
| Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651) ... | 1 |

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2422nd MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 24 March 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2422)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651).

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2420th and 2421st meetings], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Barbados, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Grenada, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, Panama and Spain to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortiz Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table; and Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama) and Mr. de Piniés (Spain) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, India, Mauritius, Philippines, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Viet Nam, in which they

request to be invited to participate in the discussion of this item. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abada (Algeria), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Purushottam (India), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Arcilla (Philippines), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Coronel de Rodríguez (Venezuela) and Mr. Hoang Bich Son (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, until very recently we were colleagues in this very important body of the United Nations, so it comes as no surprise to me that you are guiding these deliberations with such skill and ability. I wish you every success in your important post.

5. I should like to comment briefly on the serious crisis now affecting the Central American region. This crisis, which is closely related to the processes of change in which the region is immersed, in our opinion, stems from profound social and economic imbalances and chronic structural problems which can be resolved only by meeting the just social and political aspirations of their peoples, free from any type of foreign interference.

6. My country's Government views with great concern the escalation of conflicts in the Central American region and, particularly, those in Nicaragua, which have recently been aggravated by the infiltration of armed elements into that country. The concern felt by the international community at the worsening of the crisis which seriously endangers the peace and security of the entire region is accompanied, in the case of my country, by a profound distress at the untold suffering of some peoples with which we have long-standing and deep historical, cultural and blood ties.

7. The armed actions taking place at the present time inside Nicaraguan territory are clearly aimed at desta-

bilizing the Government of that country. The Government of Spain considers that neither aggression nor armed intervention can be accepted and that in no case can they constitute a solution to the grave problems afflicting the Central American region.

8. My country's Government considers, furthermore, that the military actions that have been denounced before the Council constitute a dangerous factor of instability, not only for internal peace in Nicaragua but also for the overall situation in the region and that, far from helping to alleviate existing tension, they are heightening it.

9. The Government of Spain once again emphasizes the need to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, to respect the inviolability of their borders and to reject the use or threat of use of force in international relations.

10. The events now taking place in Nicaragua once again underscore the urgent need to seek solutions for the entire area through a peace-producing process which would eliminate both general and bilateral tension that might affect the various countries of the region. In this connection my country, Spain, views with hope the possibility of a genuinely Latin American solution based on dialogue and making it possible to end any kind of external interference.

11. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Sir, I have on several earlier occasions already congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. March has been a truly eventful and hectic month. You have met the demands and challenges of the occasion with remarkable energy, determination and seriousness of purpose. As your presidency nears its close, it would perhaps be appropriate for us now to thank and congratulate you on your successful term of office. Our congratulations go also to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky, whose stewardship of the Council was truly exemplary.

12. The deteriorating situation in Central America and the Caribbean has for some time now attracted the attention of the international community. As we know, many world statesmen have expressed concern about the escalation of tension and conflict in Central America, both in the United Nations General Assembly and in many meetings of non-aligned countries. Indeed, even as recently as January 1983, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held an Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau at Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, both to highlight and to draw world attention to the rapidly and dangerously deteriorating situation in Central America and the Caribbean regions in particular and in Latin America in general.

13. It is only proper that the Council, the body charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security, should be very concerned about the situation in Central America. We are therefore grateful for your prompt response, Sir, to the request addressed to you by

Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco, Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, for an urgent convening of the Council. The Deputy Minister described the situation resulting from acts of aggression against Nicaragua and the Sandinist People's Revolution as grave. He also stated that the purpose of the convening of the Council was to analyse that situation, which was endangering international peace and security.

14. It will be recalled that the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua from 10 to 14 January expressed, in paragraph 36 of its final communiqué [see S/15628], grave concern about the threats and acts of aggression against Nicaragua, the financing of undercover operations and the use of the territory of Nicaragua's neighbours for the training of criminal and counter-revolutionary gangs. Those gangs have one and only one purpose—the destabilization and undermining of revolutionary Nicaragua. Indeed, even as the Ministerial Meeting was in progress, those armed gangs were being infiltrated from Honduras to commit acts of sabotage against Nicaragua's economic infrastructure. Civilians working on their land and harvesting their crops were and are still being kidnapped or murdered daily. Even as the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was meeting at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, students and other civilians were being cold-bloodedly slaughtered by those gangs that are externally financed, equipped and directed.

15. Having won a bitter and protracted revolutionary struggle against the brutal and archaic Somoza dictatorship, the heroic and hard-working Sandinist Nicaraguans very badly need time and all available material and manpower resources to rebuild their ruined land, cities and homes and to reconstruct their economy.

16. I myself had the privilege of visiting Nicaragua in January this year to meet and talk with Nicaraguans from all walks of life and see things with my own eyes. I also had the even greater privilege of going to the sensitive border area with Honduras. Therefore I now have a better perception of the dangerous situation in which the Nicaraguans find themselves. I can appreciate even better than before the magnitude of Nicaragua's reconstruction and rehabilitation problems. My appreciation of that country's economic and other potential has also been enormously enhanced.

17. My own country and people understand and appreciate Nicaragua's predicament all the more because of our own situation, which is in many respects similar to that of Nicaragua and needs urgent attention too. Like the Nicaraguans, the heroic people of Zimbabwe won their revolution through a bitter and costly armed struggle against an exploitative white minority racist dictatorship. As with the Nicaraguans, our people are faced with two very daunting and challenging tasks. First, we must defend our hard-won revolution, independence and freedom against a neighbour who has not yet accepted our

right to be ourselves, a neighbour who uses every conceivable method, including the recruiting, training and equipping of Zimbabwean counter-revolutionaries and criminals to murder their own people and destabilize the country's economy. Secondly, we must forge ahead with the reconstruction and development of our economy for the benefit of our people and so that we can play our rightful role in the development of our region.

18. This meeting of the Council has been convened to deal with an emergency. Even as this meeting is in progress, Nicaragua's revolution, independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty are gravely threatened by more than 3,000 armed gangsters infiltrated, supplied and directed by Honduras, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. What is the Council going to do to assist Nicaragua? Nicaragua does not need intervention and interference in its internal affairs; it does not need armed gangsters and murderers; Nicaragua needs financial, material and technical assistance and support from the international community. If that is too much for some, as seems to be the case, Nicaragua is, however, entitled to and has every right to expect of them at least understanding, respect for its borders and respect for its status as a sovereign State and a non-aligned nation. The least the Council can do, therefore, is to tell all concerned, in no uncertain terms, that intervention and interference in Nicaragua's affairs are grave violations of the Charter, violations which the Council condemns very strongly.

19. For Zimbabwe's part, I wish to repeat here Mr. Mugabe's assurance that the people of Nicaragua can count on our own full support and solidarity with them in this, their new struggle to defend the gains of the glorious Sandinist revolution. We understand and share their political, social and economic aspirations.

20. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Barbados. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. MOSELEY (Barbados): Sir, I consider it my first duty—and a pleasant one it is—to offer my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to voice my sincere hope that your term of office will be marked by real progress in the task of achieving the central objects for which this body was founded. I must also thank you for the privilege granted my country by allowing its voice to be heard on a matter which, by any standards, must be one with serious implications for Barbados in the exercise of its rights and duties as an active Member State of the Organization.

22. My country is ever mindful of the central function of the United Nations, which is the constant struggle, amid the competing interests of nations, to strive for the achievement of world peace and justice. Thus it is that my country takes the view that Nicaragua, in bringing before the Security Council its expressed fears for the future peace of the region, speaks to the very heart of the purpose and reason for the existence of this great Organization.

23. We have all heard the case put by Nicaragua, and we have heard the other side. There is no draft resolution before the Council, and my understanding of the matter is that Nicaragua seeks to bring to the notice of the highest authority of the world community its fears for the future. In spite of the allegations and evidence tendered that the shooting has already started, it seems clear that if only the right formula were discovered there would be a first-rate opportunity to nip in the bud a situation which, if allowed to escalate, promises almost unlimited tragedy for the immediate region and possibly beyond.

24. In such a situation as this, I perceive that a small country such as my own has a very real role to play. Very simply, that role is to press as hard as possible for a reversion to first principles—in other words, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

25. These provisions require the avoidance of resort to force to settle international disputes. This in fact means a constant search for negotiated settlements. In the case before us, it seems clear that much of the difficulty would disappear if the opposing sides could be brought to a conference table. But here, perhaps, lies the rub. Where Powers which, at least nominally, are not parties find their interests threatened—whether those interests are expressed in terms of defence or of aggression—there arises that fishing in troubled waters which can sometimes yield a most unpredictable catch.

26. This fishing in troubled waters, which more formally is called outside intervention, takes the form of supplies of arms and money—the very tools of war. The tragedy of it all is that those who are the main suppliers of arms and money are, more often than not, immune from the physical scars and wounds suffered by the little people in the countries where the conflicts take place. It seems to my country that the matter brought before the Council by Nicaragua is a classic example of a situation in which the use of arms will solve nothing. In an area in which ideological pluralism is admitted by many as inevitable, surely the use of force will not obliterate the rationale for the acceptance of ideological pluralism in the first place.

27. Not very long ago, it was my privilege to have an opportunity to speak out in this forum against the hateful practice of the use of mercenary forces to overthrow by force or to destabilize an established, legitimate Government. The final definition of the term "mercenary forces" unfortunately continues to elude the committee which deals with this subject. Nevertheless, the principle behind it can, I think, be easily understood. Thus, while it may be true to say that in Nicaragua there is armed insurrection by Nicaraguan nationals against the Government of Nicaragua, it is submitted that in the end a more profitable course to be taken by those who find their interests involved would be to seek the negotiating table in order to reconcile the differences between the parties immediately concerned. Nor can there be a really valid objection to such a course on the ground that it amounts to unwarranted interference in the domestic

affairs of a foreign country—certainly not when the alternative is to supply arms and money to the practitioners and advocates of violent overthrow.

28. I make no apology for sounding what is perhaps too idealistic a note. Indeed, the whole of the United Nations is founded on idealism, but there must be some degree of pragmatism bound with idealism. It is in that context that Barbados will urge the development of peace initiatives, including the effort most recently entered into at Contadora, that island off Panama. It is suggested, in the development of these initiatives, that those who now supply arms and money to fuel the fires of war can use their very considerable influence to save from suffering and terror those thousands of poor and unhappy people who will inevitably be the cannon fodder of war.

29. Barbados would therefore urge the Security Council to redouble its efforts to defuse the situation in Nicaragua. It seems not beyond the wit of man to use the yardsticks of human rights added to the balm of economic development and assistance and the moral suasion of diplomacy to bring peace and justice to a region which has suffered so much for so long.

30. I can do no better in closing my brief statement than to quote paragraph 140 of the Political Declaration issued at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see S/15675] in New Delhi in March. That paragraph reads as follows:

"The Conference also expressed the view that all States in the region should deploy maximum efforts to resolve their problems themselves, free from all external interference, and help to generate a situation of peace and tranquillity."

31. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. SANZ de SANTAMARÍA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am grateful to you, Sir, and to the members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate. I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the important post of President of the Council. Your ability, your skill and your experience all guarantee the proper guidance of these deliberations.

33. My delegation has asked to speak on this occasion to express its view on a problem which is of concern and interest to Colombia, not only in its capacity as a Latin American State but also as a peace-loving nation.

34. Colombia, as was stated by our Minister in his speech during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly,¹ views with sincere concern the prospect that Central America, a region so close to our own and so dear to us, may become the stage for international confrontation.

35. The strengthening of democracy and social change are commitments for which each of the Central American nations is struggling, zealously defending the principle of self-determination.

36. To attain their aspirations, peoples need peace, and that peace cannot be established without the most suitable machinery for attaining it: genuine and constructive dialogue. Restoring tranquillity is the prerequisite essential to advancement on the path of coexistence and development. My country has considered that in order to achieve those objectives, it would be extremely useful to eliminate the harmful influence of military apparatuses which, in one way or another, have been involved in Central American policy. In keeping with these criteria, Colombia has participated in various meetings of foreign ministers which have been convened to seek formulas for the harmonization of views and to discuss concrete action that would make possible the restoration of normal conditions. In those gatherings, upon the request of Colombia, a request was made for the withdrawal of all military and security advisors who are now in the region, especially in El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

37. Precisely a year ago, I listened, with respect and concern, to the statement made by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra in this very chamber [2335th meeting], and I followed very carefully the explanations provided at that time, in order accurately to assess the problems brought to the Council by the Government of Nicaragua. Since then, serious incidents have occurred, and these have visibly worsened the situation in the region.

38. With equal interest and concern, my delegation heard the complaints made yesterday by the representative of Nicaragua [2420th meeting] when he reported on the attacks that have been made on his country with the intent of destabilizing the Government, and the concern he expressed about the danger of war with a neighbouring country. This is of deep concern to my country, and these are events that we vigorously repudiate.

39. In the statements yesterday by the representatives of Nicaragua and Honduras we heard both Governments express observations and attitudes indicating the two parties' interest in establishing constructive dialogue with a view to peace. There were differences of view as to the scope of that dialogue, as to dates, the venue of the talks and the countries that should take part. Compared to the magnitude of the risk of possible armed conflagration, those details can all be resolved through negotiations, through diplomacy—careful, prudent diplomacy—which is precisely what must be accomplished when peace is sought despite different points of view.

40. The Colombian position on the situation in Central America was set forth by the Minister for External Relations, Mr. Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, who, together with the Ministers for External Relations of Panama, Mexico and Venezuela, signed the Contadora declaration² on 9 January of this year. The affirmations contained therein remain completely valid, and we believe they may be useful in the immediate future.

41. For the information of the members of the Council I shall read out certain relevant sections of the Contadora declaration:

"The Ministers considered various topics of regional interest and agreed on the need to intensify dialogue at the Latin American level as an effective means of confronting the political, economic and social problems which are jeopardizing the peace, democracy, stability and development of the peoples of the continent.

"They considered the complex situation prevailing in Central America and the political processes taking place in the area, their interrelationship and their consequences for stability and peace in the region. In expressing their deep concern about direct or indirect foreign interference in the conflicts in Central America and noting that it is most undesirable that those conflicts should be included in the context of East-West confrontation, they agreed on the need to eliminate external factors intensifying those conflicts.

"They made an urgent appeal to all the countries of the Central American area to engage in dialogue and negotiation so as to reduce tension and lay the foundations for a permanent atmosphere of peaceful co-existence and mutual respect among States.

"In reaffirming the obligation of States not to resort to the threat or use of force in their international relations, they called upon all States to refrain from actions which might aggravate the situation and pose the danger of a broader conflict extending throughout the region.

"They reviewed the various peace initiatives and their effects. In that connection, while respecting the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of the peoples, the Ministers analysed possible new actions and drew attention to the desirability of associating with those efforts the valuable contribution and necessary support of other countries of the Latin American community.

"They reiterated their decision to continue to promote the economic strengthening of the Central American and Caribbean countries through initiatives such as the energy co-operation programme sponsored by Mexico and Venezuela and the financial co-operation plan put forward by Colombia. They felt that those initiatives and other measures of economic co-operation would contribute to achieving the goals of political stability and social peace."

42. Long ago I had the good fortune of participating in the co-ordination and promotion of the Central American Common Market, and I am therefore in a position to say that the unity of the Central American countries at that time made it possible in a short time not only to increase tenfold intrazonal trade but also to achieve increased rates of economic and social development in all

those countries. Such an accomplishment would be almost impossible in the present circumstances.

43. How much better than painful confrontation is co-operation among countries that are so alike and have shared interests.

44. Colombia always defends peace. Our belief in the need for dialogue as an irreplaceable means of achieving understanding and peaceful coexistence moved the Minister for External Relations of my country, in his address on the occasion of Colombia's admission to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to refer to the delicate situation in Central America in the following terms:

"On the basis of these deliberations, and following a careful study of the Central American crisis, we cordially invited the countries of the region that are directly concerned to seek through dialogue and negotiations formulas that would make it possible to restore internal harmony and regional peace.

"We were emphatic in condemning any foreign interference, and we warned against the dangers of placing the conflict in the political framework of East-West relations. With equal conviction we asked the countries that are directly or indirectly involved to refrain from any act that may worsen the situation."

He stressed:

"We believe that to the extent that a certain détente is achieved there will be an atmosphere more conducive to dialogue. Our intention, ingenuous as it may seem, is to help to create that atmosphere. That endeavour of course requires the co-operation of the protagonist countries, and other nations can and should contribute."

45. My country's Government, together with other countries of the region, is making efforts in the cause of peace. It is our intention to reconcile, not to divide. We therefore fervently urge that the spirit of co-operation be allowed to prevail, and we lend our full support to measures aimed at consolidating the peace and stability of the Central American region.

46. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Allow me to begin by expressing to you, Sir, and to the Council the gratitude of my delegation for the opportunity afforded to it to participate in the deliberations on the issue before us. My delegation associates itself with preceding speakers in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the skilful manner in

which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of February.

48. Since the Council met at the request of Nicaragua [S/14913] last year the situation in the Central American region to which that country drew the attention of the international community has further degenerated. Nicaragua has continued to be a victim of indiscriminate acts of terrorism and aggression. Its territory has been transgressed and its people terrorized, maimed and abducted. Innocent peasants, women and children, have fallen victim to the Somoza bandits. As time has passed, tensions have heightened and prospects for peaceful solution to the problems have continued to diminish. At the same time Nicaragua's offer for peace through negotiations has been reciprocated by increased acts of sabotage, aggression and show of force.

49. What is therefore before the Council is a serious matter indeed: serious, on the one hand, for the direct threat it poses to Nicaragua and, on the other, for its inevitable consequences for the peace and stability of the region.

50. The latest act of invading Nicaragua comes in the aftermath of a series of actions aimed at undermining the Nicaraguan social revolution. Campaigns of destabilization and economic sabotage, complemented by full-scale parallel international efforts by the avowed foes of Nicaragua, have failed to subdue the revolution. The training, arming and financing of groups of Somozist bandits and infiltrating them into Nicaragua seem not to have been enough. Now direct confrontation has been resorted to.

51. The sum total of this naked act of aggression can be no less than either to precipitate a direct confrontation with the Nicaraguan forces and use it as an excuse for the internationalization of the war and for intervention, or to create a general sense of insecurity and havoc within Nicaragua. The Council must therefore see this latest strategy in this context.

52. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has expressed its unflinching support for and solidarity with the Nicaraguan Government in its defence of its territorial integrity and independence and in consolidation of the revolution. Both in Managua and New Delhi this year the Movement spoke with one voice. My delegation cannot but echo that position.

53. The right of Nicaragua to an existence in peace should be respected. The Council can do no less than uphold the right of countries and peoples to choose their own political, social and economic systems. Equally, the Council must deplore in the strongest terms the actions of those countries which have arrogated to themselves the role of conduits for the destabilization of other countries. The right of Nicaragua to security under the Charter must be upheld.

54. It is clear that a viable and lasting solution to the problems of that region lies not in the policies of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other

States but in the realization that, in the long run, respect for territorial integrity and independence, non-interference and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the non-use of force or threat of force are the key elements of peace and stability.

55. In this regard there are several initiatives already put forward by countries of the region, in particular the initiative by the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela,² which are attempting to elaborate a framework within which the prevailing problems can be solved through negotiations. While no consensus exists on those initiatives, in particular among the parties to the conflict, they nevertheless contain positive elements on which broad agreement is possible and provide a more sensible alternative to continued tensions and conflict.

56. Consistent with this position, my Government has expressed support for the offer by Nicaragua, on the basis of the third part of the Mexican proposal, to sign non-aggression pacts with all its neighbours of the Central American area in order to ensure the peace and internal stability of the zone. As a corollary to this, commitment by the international community to respect the arrangement could further strengthen the prospects for peace.

57. We renew our appeal to all those concerned to refrain from further direct or indirect action which can only plunge that region into more intense flames of war. There must be a deliberate effort and total commitment on the part of all those concerned to desist from confrontation and, instead, to pursue peace.

58. The Government of Tanzania is in total solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua. We also support the people of Central America and the Caribbean who are struggling for freedom, human rights and dignity and the genuine independence of their countries.

59. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Grenada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

60. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Your vast experience and your great skills as a diplomat leave my delegation assured that the work of the Council will come down on the side of justice and peace in Central America and in the world.

61. Exactly one year ago this body heard [2335th meeting] a lucid, comprehensive and sober statement by Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua. With great eloquence and sincerity Commander Ortega Saavedra detailed the numerous acts of aggression committed against his country. He unveiled his Government's constructive proposals for peace and security and appealed to the Security Council "to issue an explicit pronouncement, in line with the Charter of the United Nations, regarding the obligation to seek by peaceful

means a solution to the problems of the Central American and the Caribbean region". He further called for a rejection of "all acts of force or threats" and a repudiation of "any direct, indirect or covert intervention in Central America".

62. Today, Nicaragua is invaded. Lamentably this meeting is a testament to the fact that the United Nations has failed in its efforts to restrain certain Members of this great Organization. Therefore we are here today not only to express our frustration and outrage; our presence here must be seen as further evidence of our irrevocable commitment to the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

63. The invasion of Nicaragua is not an accident, nor is it a spontaneous act on the part of a motley band of cut-throats. A permanent member of the Security Council has encouraged, contrived and financed the invasion of this martyred country.

64. Since coming to office the Reagan Administration has busied itself with every imaginable kind of activity designed to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the people of our region and to intimidate, destabilize and ultimately overthrow so-called unfriendly Governments, including the Government of Nicaragua. I regret to inundate the Council today with information that it certainly has at its disposal. However, I believe that the recounting of certain events which have occurred over the past 24 months would assist our deliberations.

65. On 16 January 1981 the National Security Adviser to the President, Richard Allen, wrote a letter in the name of the President of the United States to one Edmundo Rappaccoli, a member of a Nicaraguan group hostile to the Sandinist Government. The letter promised co-ordination of plans to destabilize that Government. On 1 April the United States Government truncated assistance to Nicaragua. On 5 November *The New York Times* reported that General Alexander Haig had asked the Defense Department to study military options in relation to Nicaragua. Is this a fitting role for a permanent member of the Security Council?

66. On 30 January 1982 the United States vetoed a loan in the Inter-American Bank intended for co-operatives in Nicaragua. On 23 February Patrick Leahy, a member of the United States Senate Intelligence Committee, denounced United States plans to carry out covert operations in Nicaragua. On 10 March *The Washington Post* published an article in which it reported on a United States plan of covert action against Nicaragua. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) received \$19 million to fund a 500-man paramilitary force that would "attempt to destroy vital Nicaraguan targets such as power plants and bridges". On 2 September John Buchanan, a retired marine lieutenant-colonel, testifying before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, stated:

"Speaking generally, I am here to criticize the present Administration's policy towards Central America.

It is a misguided policy, and if it is not soon reversed the people of this land and the rest of the continent will suffer for decades from its grave consequences."

67. Not satisfied with its own efforts, the Reagan Administration has sought to co-opt other Governments in the region in its fiendish campaigns against Nicaragua. Under the very distinguished patronage of the United States Government, the Honduran army has had a phenomenal increase in its military capacity over the past three years. High-ranking United States officials have been unabashedly advertising Honduras as a stalking-horse and a hit-squad in the region.

68. Since July 1979 the number of Honduran troops has increased from 14,000 to 22,000; military airstrips from 5 to 10; fighter planes from 33 to 38; transport planes from 28 to 50; helicopters from 7 to 21; naval bases from 2 to 4; total number of naval units from 9 to 15; and merchant ships from 25 to 45. Between February and August 1982 the number of United States instructors in Honduras increased from 40 to 100, and a veritable legion of United States personnel has visited that country over the past few months.

69. In fiscal year 1980 Honduras received military assistance from the United States to the tune of \$3.1 million. In 1981 the figure rose to \$5.5 million, and in 1982 \$10.6 million, in addition to \$21 million approved for the modernization of Honduras' airports.

70. Just a few days ago, United States Congressman Michael Barnes warned that "the United States is fanning the flames of conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua by contriving to support groups trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government." The Reagan Administration must therefore accept responsibility for the deaths of innocent men, women and children in Nicaragua. The forces that they have unleashed are wreaking havoc.

71. It is a truism that the motif of United States foreign policy concerning Latin America and the Caribbean has not changed since the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, which laid the ideological and political bases for an imperial creed that has allowed successive United States Governments to view Latin America and the Caribbean merely as a collection of banana republics subject to the whims and fancies of the United States. Indeed, Secretary of State Philander C. Knox had scornfully referred to the region as "a United States game reserve from which poachers were excluded but where the proprietor may hunt as he pleases".

72. The peoples of our region have been viewed by the United States Government as the American beast of burden. The United States has robbed us of our dignity and spat upon our sovereignty. Every attempt has been made to socialize our people into believing that our only role in the hemispheric division of labour is to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Our people have been made to believe that we are fated to be poor,

miserable and wretched, and that we exist merely to replenish the coffers of United States transnationals.

73. Exactly 30 years ago, in March 1953, the legitimate Government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala nationalized 230,000 acres of land belonging to the United Fruit Company of the United States. The United States Department of State, headed by John Foster Dulles, intervened on behalf of the Company, backing its claims for \$16 million in compensation. Arbenz refused to pay these excessive sums, since it was not consistent with tax returns which the Company had submitted to the Guatemalan Treasury. The CIA sent in a trained army of Guatemalan exiles, Arbenz was overthrown, and the new President promptly gave back the land to the United Fruit Company.

74. The history of our region is a catalogue of such stories that reek of imperialist arrogance and insensitivity. Major General Smedley D. Butler has left us a perspicuous account of his stewardship in the region. He boasted:

"I spent thirty-three years and four months in active service as a member of our country's agile military force—the Marine Corps.... During that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle-man for big business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.... Thus I helped make Mexico... safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in.... I helped to purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers.... I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903."

75. From the end of the eighteenth century up to the 1970s, of the 200 United States military hostilities on foreign soil, close to 100 have taken place in the Caribbean area north of the Panama Canal. The United States has accroached to itself the right summarily to dismiss Governments. In true imperialist fashion the United States has concocted and disseminated the appropriate mythologies to justify its ludicrous claims that history has foisted upon it the responsibility, in the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, "to exercise the power of an international police". This bankrupt thesis entitles the United States to intimidate Libya and denigrate its leader; it permits the provocation of Syria and Iran; it permits threats against Mozambique and Angola and the harassment of the Cuban Government and people. This thesis allows the Reagan Administration to embrace executions while at the same time excoriating the heroic Palestinian people and our brothers and sisters in South Africa and in Namibia.

76. At this point I should like to draw to the attention of this body a matter of grave concern to the Government and people of Grenada, based on statements made by the President of the United States in a nationally televised broadcast to the nation last night.

77. Speaking, first of all, some weeks ago before the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Reagan stated that Grenada is building a superior air base which directly threatens the national security interests of the United States. Mine is a developing country. It is a poor, small country, a country that is 21 miles long and 13 miles across, a country that is open, a country whose adult population could be comfortably accommodated in Yankee Stadium. It is a small, weak country, a country which has no intention ever to invade the United States. Why, therefore, are the President of the United States, Secretary of State Shultz and Vice-President Bush attacking Grenada?

78. We have empirical information before us that certain attitudes, certain types of behaviour, precede the invasion of countries, and so propaganda, terrorism and economic sabotage laid the basis for military aggression and the ultimate overthrow of Governments in our region. It was the propaganda attacks, the economic sabotage that laid the basis for the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile; it was those same attacks that led to the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala, of Jagan in Guyana, of Sukarno in Indonesia, of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, and the list goes on.

79. And so the statement by President Reagan causes grave concern and disquiet to the people of my country and to the Government. We are told that the President's statement was in the context of an attack on Central America and the Caribbean and therefore our mention, the mention of Grenada, is a by-product. We are not so naïve as to believe that. In the first instance, that action is irresponsible, provocative and dangerous. It serves to inspire mercenaries and dogs of war, who are bent on attacking and overthrowing the Government of my country. We believe that the United States is a powerful country, a country of a great people, and that the statement by President Reagan can only separate him further from reality and undermine the greatness of the American people.

80. We are building an airport because every Government in the history of Grenada has attempted to build one. The British, when Grenada was their colony, looked into the matter of an international airport. We have received assistance from Canada in producing feasibility studies towards the building of that airport. In 1967, former dictator Eric Gairy went to Canada to discuss those plans with former Prime Minister Lester Pearson. When we overthrew the neo-fascist dictatorship of Gairy in March 1979, our Government proclaimed its desire to realize this ancient dream of the Grenadian people. Thousands of Grenadians rallied around that cause. Thousands of women in our country, under the umbrella of the National Women's Organization, sold ice cream in the streets of our capital so as to raise funds for the building of that airport. Thousands of youths in our country mobilized their friends in an effort to raise money for the building of that airport.

81. When we decided that we wanted assistance, the first Government in the world that we asked help from in

building that airport was, in 1979, that of the United States. The United States Government was the first we approached when we wanted assistance to build the airport. We made our request through former ambassador to the eastern Caribbean, Frank Ortiz. According to Steven Kinzer of *The Boston Globe*, Mr. Ortiz stated, "We cannot fund projects of this type". Instead Mr. Ortiz offered to give us \$5,000 from his discretionary account for other minor projects. Contempt.

82. Do they expect us to wait until they have an interest or desire or the time or until it is expedient to help us in building an international airport? It is impossible to fly to Grenada directly. This is well known. Flying to Grenada involves going through Barbados or Trinidad and Tobago. We have a small airport that was built by the British in 1943. It has been described by pilots as a hazard. It is impossible to fly into my country after 6 p.m. There are no night landing facilities.

83. According to a study done by a European group a year ago on Grenada and its tourism, which is the second largest earner of foreign exchange and a very important activity in the economy of our country, "Grenada is terrifically disadvantaged because it does not have an airport". We need an airport. All we need is an airport. The President has said that we do not need an airport because we do not have an air force. That is precisely why we are building a civilian airport, because we do not have an air force. Our army is virtually a token force, an army that could fit inside this Security Council chamber.

84. We need an airport. Ours is not a massive airport. As is well known by the World Bank, it is 9,800 feet long. It is supposed to be massive; it is supposed to represent a threat to the United States. Barbados is a small Caribbean country about the size of Grenada. The airport in Barbados is 11,000 feet long. Curaçao is a small Caribbean country in the Dutch Antilles; it has an airport 11,189 feet long. Antigua, smaller than Grenada, has an international airport that is 9,000 feet long. Where is the threat to the United States? Saint Lucia, with an area of 238 square miles and a population of 120,000, also has an airport over 9,000 feet long. Where is the threat to the security of the United States? Why are they fantasizing about this airport? What is the obsession, what is the preoccupation, with this small airport in a tiny country? The Security Council might perhaps do us a service and assist us in finding out exactly what preoccupies the United States about a small airport that is supposed to be a threat to the United States.

85. Congressman Dellums, in a report to the House Committee on Armed Services on 13 April 1982, said this about Grenada and its airport:

"Based on my own experience while in Grenada, the most determined supporters of the airport are the Grenadian people themselves, who have purchased 850,000 Eastern Caribbean dollars worth of airport bonds to help finance the construction and have formed local airport development committees to raise funds.

"Pledges have come from every sector of the society—unions, farmers, women, youth, the church and community groups. Members of my own staff attended a fund-raiser sponsored by the Women's Airport Committee on Sunday, 11 April. They noted that, during a briefing session afterwards, a broad-based and diverse sector of the population participated in the event. Of particular interest to the staff was the active participation of Grenada's elderly, i.e., selling tickets, serving food, greeting guests and accompanying newcomers around the airport complex.

"Based on my personal observations, discussions and analyses of the new international airport under construction in Grenada, it is my conclusion that this project is specifically now, and has always been, for the purpose of the economic development of Grenada and is not intended for military use, as has been stated by the United States. Given the facts and figures as presented by our own military experts and by the Grenadians as well, it is my thought that it is absurd, patronizing and totally unwarranted for the United States Government to charge that this airport is for military purposes and a threat to our national security.

"Moreover, its use and allegations by the United States as the basis for a foreign policy of confrontation towards Grenada is counter-productive."

I could go on and on about this report from Congressman Dellums, but I crave the Council's indulgence just to read out a few more lines, where he says, in the same report:

"It is my contention that the rhetoric around the airport is apparently used to enhance the validity of the allegation regarding military development. Based on my own briefings by both the Commanders of the Atlantic Fleets and the Air Defence Command, who emphatically assured me that the airport under construction in Grenada is of no military consequence to the United States, my question to my colleagues is, then, 'Why the continued rhetoric against Grenada?' It seems obvious that there are far-reaching and more underlying circumstances that surround the issue of United States-Grenada relations than meet the eye."

86. So the work on the airport continues, and our struggle in Grenada in fact continues. I should like to let members of this body know that we have given all the assurances we can that our airport is a civilian airport. The equipment for the airport, for example, comes from British and Finnish firms. The building of the airport in fact involves people from various parts of the world; an American company called Layne Dredging Company of Florida was involved; various countries have given assistance, including Venezuela and Cuba; and the European Development Fund has also made contributions to our airport.

87. Just a few days ago, from 7 to 12 March, 101 countries met at New Delhi for the historic Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. In New Delhi we collectively assessed the international situation, paying particular attention to the so-called trouble-spots in the world, including Central America and the Caribbean. After exhaustive debates and a great deal of soul-searching, the Movement made yet another passionate appeal for peace and international co-operation and for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States. Paragraph 138 of the Political Declaration [see S/15675] requests the Co-ordinating Bureau "to closely monitor the events in the subregion" and makes an appeal for "the cessation of all hostile acts against Nicaragua". The Conference "called on the Governments of the United States and Honduras to adopt a constructive position in favour of peace and dialogue in conformity with the principles of international law and called on all States to avoid any act or policy that might increase tensions in the region".

88. But even before we left New Delhi, United States warships were engaged in another round of "exercises" in the Caribbean, in defiance of the numerous calls by Caribbean States and regional institutions that our region be recognized as a zone of peace. Sixty-nine United States vessels are involved. They include 3 aircraft carriers, 4 cruisers, 11 destroyers, 13 frigates, 4 submarines, 4 amphibious craft, 4 patrol boats, 14 support craft and 11 Coast Guard boats. The exercise also involves more than 300 aircraft, the Pentagon said. This latest exhibition of United States military muscle, code-named "Redex '83", will serve to aggravate tensions in the region and certainly widen the lacuna existing between the peoples and Governments of our region and the Government of the United States.

89. The threat of force and the use of force will not solve the centuries-old problems of the region. Instead, force will serve only to exacerbate tensions and further polarize our fragile societies.

90. The problems facing the region are as profound as they are multifaceted. They stem from the archaic socio-economic structures that create elites and oligarchies, which grow fat as the masses of toilers sink deeper into a quagmire of wretchedness. The Reagan Administration must understand that the noble attempts of the peoples of our region to escape oppression and exploitation and the vicious cycle of poverty and misery do not constitute a threat to the United States. The real danger in the region is the persistence of oppression, the denial of land to the tillers, the distortion of the realities of the region and the superimposition of extraneous issues in the strictly indigenous upheavals in the region. As the former President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, said, "The danger for the United States is the risk of history's condemnation as a result of suppressing by force the right of other nations."

91. The people of Latin America and the Caribbean abhor war; war has emaciated them. We are not so naïve

as to seek a confrontation with the United States. All we demand is merely the right—our primordial right—to be able to construct new societies in order that peace might be brought to millions who have endured four centuries of torment and that bread and justice might be given unto those who have been denied them.

92. Today we call for understanding, tolerance and dialogue and an end to insensitivity and arrogance. We call for an attitude that will open our eyes to the real problems affecting Latin America and the Caribbean. We call, not upon great armies—for we have none—but on the conscience of civilized men and women. As we reaffirm our unbreakable solidarity with the Government and the people of Nicaragua and with all those who are fighting for national liberation and genuine independence, we rededicate ourselves to the noble search for peace; we reiterate our undying commitment to the holding of meaningful dialogue at any level, in any place, at any time, with a view to promoting peace, understanding and co-operation throughout our region.

93. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, allow me, at the outset, to express warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Your diplomatic experience and skill in organizing and presiding over our consultations and formal meetings have convinced me that you will surely guide the Council to successfully accomplish its tasks for this month. I should also like to express appreciation and gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the skilful exercise of his duties and for the work he did during his presidency of the Council last month.

94. For a considerable period of time now, the situation in Central America has been rather tense and turbulent and, therefore, a focus of international attention. Recently, the tension around Nicaragua has made a new turn for the worse, which cannot but cause deep concern to the Chinese Government and people.

95. Under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the people of Nicaragua won the victory of overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship in 1979 after a heroic and stubborn struggle. Since then, the Government and people of Nicaragua have made great efforts to safeguard their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to develop the economy and improve livelihood. The just struggle of the Nicaraguan people has won the sympathy and admiration of the people of the world and of China. The Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua from 10 to 14 January 1983 and the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 both reaffirmed their support for the just cause of the Nicaraguan Government and people.

96. An important cause of the present tension around Nicaragua and, consequently, of the deteriorating situa-

tion in the whole of Central America lies in the intervention by a super-Power. Such intervention is firmly opposed by the peoples of various countries of that region, including Nicaragua, which strongly demand that the super-Powers should desist from embroiling Central America in their rivalry. We consider that this demand is entirely justified and should therefore be supported.

97. The Chinese delegation is of the view that in order to diminish and remove tension in Central America it is essential that the super-Power should cease its intervention there. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua and other States of Central America should be respected. Central American problems should be solved by the peoples of the region themselves.

98. As regards the differences and disputes between Nicaragua and other States of the region, we hope that they would be solved in a peaceful and fair manner by Nicaragua and the countries concerned through negotiations, free from outside interference and in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly such established norms of international relations as mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and solution of disputes by peaceful means.

99. Leaders of some Latin American countries have made considerable efforts in trying to solve the problems of Central America. These efforts have enjoyed extensive support from the international community. We sincerely hope that they will continue to contribute positively to a rational solution of the problems of their region.

100. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

101. Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First, I should like to thank the President and the members of the Security Council for having given me this opportunity of speaking before this body to set forth the point of view of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in connection with the important item which the Council at present has before it at the urgent request of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua.

102. I listened closely to the very clear and sincere statement [2420th meeting] made by Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco, the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, and to the other statements made by previous speakers. The facts and the realities which were emphasized in them, contrary to deliberate allegations, have in themselves brought out the full seriousness of the present situation which is directly threatening the independence and the sovereignty of Nicaragua on the one hand, and which on the other is a potential danger to peace and security in the entire Central American and Caribbean region.

103. In the light of the responsibilities vested in it by the international community, the Council can therefore not remain unmoved until such time as an even more dangerous situation arises in this part of the world to the detriment of a country that is at present a member of the Council.

104. All peoples in the world that cherish peace, freedom and independence, including the Vietnamese, are extremely anxious at the clear deterioration of the situation in this region in recent years because of the policy of the United States vis-à-vis Latin America, particularly since the people of Nicaragua, after having toppled the Somoza dictatorship, became masters of their own destiny and buckled down seriously to national reconstruction under the guidance of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua.

105. The deterioration of this situation has persisted with ever increasing severity and at a faster rate since the coming to power of the present United States Administration, which, under the guise of a policy advocating United States-Latin American relations as the touchstone of American relations with the third world in alleged opposition to communism, is endeavouring by all means—especially military—to maintain or to reinstate compliant dictatorships in order to prolong the United States hold on that part of the world, which it considers to be its own backyard.

106. In regard to the young Republic of Nicaragua, judging by the American press, it is clear that the United States is at present continuing its attempts to stifle that country by means of economic blockade and is preparing a plan for armed intervention in order to reimpose on the people of that country a dictatorship obedient to American imperialist interests.

107. This body has heard the representative of the United States [*ibid.*] say that there is no difference between "Samozism" and "Sandinism", because they are all military dictators who deny human rights and political freedoms. This is a failure to respect reality and a failure to heed the voice of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world. We only have to read the final communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Managua, and the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, to become aware that the international community has made a clear distinction between good and evil, that the Somozas of every stripe are being ostracized and that the cause of national independence and sovereignty for Nicaragua is being firmly supported on an increasingly large scale by progressive mankind.

108. As far as human rights are concerned, I concur with the statement made by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya [2421st meeting]. In order for human rights to be enjoyed, those rights must be guaranteed through the right of peoples to independence and to

be masters of their own future. As long as a people is subject to domination and exploitation, the individuals comprising that people can never enjoy authentic human rights. For centuries, the heroic and sustained struggle of the peoples of Latin America, including that of Nicaragua, against dictatorships imposed by the United States and for national independence and sovereignty has also been a struggle to regain and to exercise human rights among themselves.

109. The recent Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries condemned the growing threats against Nicaragua and the serious and increasingly numerous acts of aggression against that young republic. The Conference particularly denounced violations of the space and territorial waters of Nicaragua and the utilization of foreign territory to set up bases of aggression and to maintain counter-revolutionary forces against Nicaragua. The Conference also reiterated its whole-hearted support for the just cause of the people of Nicaragua and other peoples struggling for their independence and freedom in Latin America.

110. The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have frequently had occasion to condemn the warlike policy of the United States with regard to Nicaragua and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean, a policy which is at the root of the current dangerous situation in that part of the world.

111. We firmly support the cause of national defence and reconstruction being pursued by the people and Government of Nicaragua, as well as the struggle being waged by other peoples in Latin America and throughout the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

112. The delegation of Viet Nam fully supports the position of and the proposals set forth by the representative of the Republic of Nicaragua in this body and requests that the Security Council take an appropriate stance commensurate with its responsibility in view of the serious situation confronting the Republic of Nicaragua, a dangerous situation which has been caused by a permanent member of the Council.

113. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

114. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, allow me to express warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this current month. I also wish to express the gratitude of my representative for the great role played by the representative of the Soviet Union in conducting the proceedings of the Council during his term of office last month.

115. The hotbeds of tension in many parts of the world have arisen as the result of imperialist designs that aim at

dominating national régimes and the national liberation movements, as well as imposing hegemony of the imperialist Powers on our peoples' destinies. Today, the Council is grappling with a flagrant act of aggression perpetrated by the agents of the United States against Nicaragua and its Sandinist People's Revolution. The perpetrators were made up of mercenaries and remnants of Somoza's dictatorship, who were incited, trained and financed by the American Government in Latin America in general, and Central America in particular, to interfere in the political, economic and military fields, especially against the people of Nicaragua, as well as against the rest of the peoples of Latin America that are exercising their right to effect democratic and social changes and are waging a just struggle for liberation and the consolidation of their national independence, as well as for their independent political, economic and social choices.

116. The victory of the Sandinist People's Revolution in Nicaragua, which toppled the fascist junta headed by the dictator Somoza—a victory which was a contribution to the history of the struggle of all the peoples in Latin America after the victory of the Cuban revolution and the consolidation of the Government of Grenada—has intensified the virulent and inimical campaigns waged by the American Government with all its powers against the national liberation movements of the peoples of Latin America and their progressive régimes.

117. Within the framework of the American design to threaten the security and stability of the States and peoples of the area, Nicaragua is subjected to aggressive campaigns in the military, political and economic spheres, as embodied in the recruitment of mercenaries among the agents of the Somoza régime rejected by the people of Nicaragua, in an attempt to abort the Nicaraguan revolution and to terrorize the progressive régime in Nicaragua, which opted for an independent course of development after all the American attempts to blackmail the revolution of the Nicaraguan people through economic boycott and through inimical media campaigns had failed.

118. We listened with deep concern yesterday to the statement of the representative of Nicaragua [2420th meeting]. He disclosed many facts concerning the aggressive American policy towards Nicaragua. He provided us with conclusive evidence confirming the involvement of the American Government in aggression against Nicaragua.

119. The afflictions of Latin America and the aggression to which Nicaragua has been subjected are seen within the framework of the ferocious and escalating imperialist onslaught led by the United States with the intention of perpetuating and expanding its influence in different areas of the world, using as a pretext its economic and strategic interests. This is embodied in its pursuit of aggressive policies, its increased presence and military bases, the establishment of rapid deployment forces, the strengthening of its war machine, its provoking of secure and stable States and their progressive

régimes, opposing the national liberation movements, creating hotbeds of tension and sowing the seeds of disension and dismemberment.

120. In view of the comprehensiveness of the aggressive, expansionist propensity of the imperialist Power, which is the main source of the dangers of tension and instability and destabilization the world over, we of Democratic Yemen face the dangers caused by the increased American military presence and the increase in the American bases in our area, which endanger the security and stability of the States and peoples of the area. We have also witnessed American military manoeuvres on our borders involving several types of sophisticated and very complex American weapons.

121. The Arab peoples too are suffering from imperialist Zionist designs against them and the unlimited support the American Administration provides to zionism so that it may persist in its policy of expansion and aggression. These designs were evident in the occupation of Lebanon by Israel and Israel's barbaric war engineered to eliminate the national gains achieved by the Palestinian people under the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole, legitimate representative, and to impose on the Arab region a policy of capitulation and dependence.

122. On the African continent also we see many States, especially Angola and Mozambique, facing constant aggression against their territories and their sovereignty by the racist South African régime, propped up by American imperialism.

123. Democratic Yemen condemns the policy of aggression, interference and pressure pursued by the United States Government and its conspiratorial designs on Nicaragua through which it attempts to destabilize it and to threaten its security and independence. We confirm our solidarity with the people and Government and Nicaragua as they strive to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. My country also condemns the régime in Honduras, which has allowed its territory to be used for aggression against Nicaragua. That régime has received a number of Israeli officials whose hands are stained with the blood of the Palestinian people as a result of their crimes and the massacres they have perpetrated in Beirut.

124. In conclusion, we are fully confident that the people of Nicaragua will be able to defend the gains made by its Sandinist People's Revolution and to frustrate all the imperialist plots and acts of aggression to which it is being subjected. We would also emphasize that the United States, which has had no compunction in committing the most hideous of crimes against peoples, will not be able to reverse the irrevocable march of history. Inevitably the struggle of the peoples of Latin America in El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries against fascist dictatorships propped up by the Government of the United States will be crowned with success.

125. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

126. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the important responsibilities of the presidency of the Security Council. Your presence here will certainly help ensure that the Council's deliberations are successful.

127. Among the basic principles of Ecuador's international policies are non-intervention, non-interference by any State in the internal or international affairs of another State, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State—principles established in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why the delegation of Ecuador has come to address this forum of the world Organization in accordance with the declaration made by a fraternal country, Nicaragua, through its Deputy Minister for External Relations [*ibid.*], affirming the need for full respect for those principles, which are the pillars of international law and of the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

128. Among the forms of aggression, all of which are unacceptable, is the destabilization of Governments through actions backed or encouraged by other countries. These situations or methods must be rejected by the international community and must yield to forms of dialogue and negotiation in a search for viable solutions through peaceful methods.

129. At the very outset of the tensions that have affected several countries of the Central American region, and specifically Nicaragua, whose political independence our country has supported since the very beginning of the present Government, Ecuador supported the first initiative by Mexico and Venezuela to try to find grounds for understanding between the vying parties and to seek solutions not involving force in the region.

130. It is indispensable for all parties directly affected by this situation, whoever they may be, to reach a negotiated settlement that responds exclusively to the interests of the peoples of the region. Only when intervention by foreign Powers has ceased and peoples may freely choose the path of understanding will that be possible.

131. Now that that initiative has been extended through the participation of other fraternal countries inspired by the same intention to seek peaceful solutions—that is, Colombia and Panama—the delegation of Ecuador cannot fail to express the hope that those steps will be successful, that the use of force and any foreign interference in the affairs of Nicaragua and all of Central America will be prohibited and that the peoples will be allowed to decide on their own destiny free of violence and pressure of any kind. This is incumbent upon peace-loving countries that have pledged to fulfil the obligations that flow from the Charter.

132. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

133. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am pleased to associate myself with the congratulations extended to you, Sir, by preceding speakers on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I wish you every success in the discharge of the important functions entrusted to you.

134. As members of the Council are aware, Costa Rica, ever since its birth as an independent Republic, has been committed to peace in both its external and internal relations. Our peace-loving spirit reached its height in 1948, when, in our Constitution, we abolished the army. That act, as we have repeated in various international forums, was in itself an act of confidence in regional and international peace-keeping machinery.

135. Let there be no misinterpretation of the Costa Rican people's devotion to peace. Our history also shows how in crucial circumstances, when our security was threatened from outside, our people defended their sovereignty. We do believe that our security rests basically upon the strength of our democratic institutions and on our commitment to the principles governing international law.

136. It was in accordance with those principles that at a meeting convened this morning by the President of Costa Rica, Mr. Luis Alberto Monge, and attended by the Minister for External Relations and distinguished former Ministers of our country dating back to 1948, the President reaffirmed that one of the cardinal tenets of the country's foreign policy is support for the principle of non-intervention and the right of peoples to self-determination. Just as we ourselves respect those principles, we hope that they will also inspire the conduct of other States towards Costa Rica.

137. On that basis, I reiterate before the Council that my Government maintains and will continue to maintain a position of strict compliance with its international commitments and a vigilant stance towards any action or armed attack against neighbouring countries. Furthermore, as regards our northern border, the Government of the Republic has made and will continue, at the cost of great economic sacrifice, to make every effort to exercise effective vigilance and to avoid any possibility of a violation of neutrality or any breach of respect for international commitments, or any other threat to our territorial integrity.

138. My country's Government has endeavoured to step up its dialogue with the Nicaraguan authorities in a search for solutions to bilateral matters on which some differences still exist, and we deem it necessary to supplement these and other bilateral discussions with regional dialogue, since it cannot be denied that a problem does exist that transcends the borders of the countries of the

region. The increase in the flow of refugees, the arms race, armed conflicts that are afflicting three countries in the region and the serious disruption of Central American trade are all evidence that the problem of Central America, in so far as it affects the five countries of that region, should be considered by those countries together.

139. My country has endeavoured to promote dialogue and discussion at the regional level. It is essential and fundamental that the countries that are the protagonists in the Central American drama should be the ones to explore solutions. Recently, on 24 February, there was a call for a meeting of Central American foreign ministers with the participation of other Latin American countries that have historically demonstrated great solidarity with out countries, in a search for détente, which is the only course that should be followed.

140. In the various peace proposals for the region that have emerged there are areas of agreement on important points that provide a solid basis for progress. There is agreement, for example, on the following: first, there is a reaffirmation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, as well as the right of peoples to self-determination; secondly, there is the need to limit the existence of weapons and security forces to those deemed essential for the maintenance of public order and national defence; and, thirdly, it is indicated that the Governments of the region should promote an atmosphere of national reconciliation and dialogue guaranteeing the adequate participation of all citizens.

141. Costa Rica wishes to promote the cause of social justice and democracy. We deem it essential, out of respect for the principle of non-intervention, that there be progress in regional dialogue in the search for organizational forms that will be increasingly democratic and participatory. To the extent that democratic institutions are created and strengthened, we believe that the use of force in our region will be less and less warranted. We also deem it essential that there be progress in the respect for human rights, especially the right of the individual to life and security.

142. Lastly, our Government considers that there are bases upon which to initiate a fraternal regional dialogue and that this is the proper time for such dialogue. Aware of our obligation to contribute to peace in the region, we have taken the various initiatives that are already familiar to the international community.

143. My country does not wish to take sides in this forum in the exchange of accusations that have been entered into by fraternal countries. Rather than recriminations, what is needed is the search for solutions. On that basis, my country pledges once again to support any act inspired by that intent and to work towards and promote initiatives designed to overcome definitively the problems of insecurity and violence that exist to varying degrees for the peoples of Central America so that all our endeavours may focus on promoting the levels of development of the different countries of the region.

144. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mauritius. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

145. Mr. MAUDAVE (Mauritius) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset of my statement may I tell you, Sir, how gratified I am to be participating in the work of the Council under the presidency of the representative of a country with which we have maintained very close and privileged ties.

146. The turn of events in one part of Latin America, which is located thousands of kilometres from our shores, cannot leave us unmoved for three main reasons. First, there is the emotional reason, because those principally concerned are friends; secondly, there is the awareness of a world that has become so interdependent that any conflict, wherever it may break out, can entail the risk of becoming wider; lastly, there is the challenge that problems of this nature present for the intellect and the imagination.

147. We have in Mauritius been following with great interest and sympathy the development of the Sandinist movement which, in its revolutionary zeal, has finally freed Nicaragua from dictatorship. We commend the courage with which that struggle was waged. We are aware of the sacrifices it must have cost. I should like to inform the representatives of Nicaragua that it is our wholehearted wish that they be able to ensure and maintain the internal security of their territory and the stability of their Administration so that they can in a peaceful atmosphere get down to the tasks of reconstruction and development.

148. Insecurity and fear will hardly make it easy to effect such a transition to a democratic régime for which some have expressed hope in their statements—a transition that I have no doubt you aspire to yourselves, since in a letter to the Organization of American States (OAS) that has been quoted in the Council [*see 2420th meeting, para. 76*] you have proclaimed this aloud. I am pleased to believe that it is not the selfish and exclusive exercise of power that prevented you from instituting elected democracy or which has prompted you to seek external support in your struggle against dissidence but, rather, direct or indirect intervention designed to destabilize you, both economically and politically. As far as I know, it has not been denied that training camps exist and that in them your opponents are learning how to handle sophisticated material with the active assistance of military advisers or mercenaries. We understand the anxiety that Nicaragua, like so many other States in that region, may feel when trying to maintain its national independence and territorial integrity. Every country has an inalienable right to peace and security. All the major international bodies have referred to this. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi reaffirmed this as recently as the beginning of this month of March. The Security Council, I am certain, will seek ways and means of ensuring that Nicaragua can preserve its right to peace and security.

149. The Sandinist representative reported, on Wednesday evening [*2420th meeting*], on an intervention which is threatening the peace and security of his country. It would be advisable for the Council to study for a moment the underlying reasons for that feeling of insecurity. I am personally convinced that the root cause of conflicts and tensions from which we suffer throughout the world derives from the fact that certain great Powers try through force or the threat of the use of force to control the development of international relations and thus to intimidate the weaker countries so as to convert them into satellites and to promote interests that serve those major Powers.

150. History, or at least precedents, confirm, unfortunately, that this is a primitive reflex on the part of the strong and privileged. To cite the celebrated dialogue between the Athenians and the Melians in *The History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, the Athenians tell the Melians that in international relations the strong do what they can and the weak what they are forced to do and that any discussions of rights are meaningful only between equals. The Melians, nevertheless, insist and refer to law and justice. The Athenians reply that "opportunity is dictated by security, whereas justice and honour can be served only with concomitant peril". In *The History of the Peloponnesian War* it was the Athenians who attacked and destroyed the Melians.

151. The tragedy of international politics is that at present there appears to be no generally acceptable alternative to this machiavellian kind of morality—unless it be this fragile recourse to the wisdom of the Security Council. This morality of "we are the stronger" and "they are the weaker" has been supplemented by the idea that the interests of the nation are *ipso facto* moral and that the defence of the interests of the State is automatically just. This form of arrogant morality is still popular in certain countries. When reference is made to the domino theory in a context of primitive anti-communism and when it is claimed that El Salvador is closer to a certain State than even the federal capital; when intervention was carried out in Iran in 1953, in Guatemala in 1954, in the Bay of Pigs in 1961, in Afghanistan in 1979; when in a desire for vengeance a certain Secretary of State supported intervention against Allende in Chile and recommended it once again in the civil war in Nicaragua in 1979; when certain members of the Government are tempted to undertake operations in El Salvador and demand even more credits for military assistance, the result, as Stanley Hoffmann says, is at best the tyranny of alleged good intentions justified by world responsibilities or world revolution or, at worst, pure and simple imperialism.

152. With reference to a statement made in a Senate committee about two weeks ago on votes cast by the developing and the non-aligned countries in the United Nations, I also find that that is a rather Manichaeian approach to international relations. To that friendly country which systematically, resolution after resolution, finds itself "on the wrong side of a lopsided vote" and which in a sort of paroxysm of spleen is in the process of linking multilateral

diplomacy with bilateral diplomacy so that aid can be dispensed on the basis of criteria which draw a distinction between the "goodies" who vote with them and the "baddies" who roil the waters, I would recommend a certain backward glance, a certain objectivity and a certain soul-searching, rather than making Pavlovian use of the stick and the carrot, something which is to the discredit of its high aspirations and humanist traditions.

153. Reference has been made to Nicaraguan myths and paranoia. I regard those things simply as conditioned reflexes on the part of the disinherited of the earth who aspire to independence and a bit of material comfort and whose dreams tend to disturb the smugness of the wealthy and powerful. This dream, which in technical jargon is now termed the new international economic order or the North-South dialogue, is made up of extremely simple components. It is really a simple bucolic dream of happy women, smiling children and serene old people in the middle of poppy fields which as yet have not been tarnished by the blood of guerrillas. This innocent dream, unfortunately, is frequently spoken of as something that disturbs the multinational equations. Thus use is made of the argument of John Stuart Mill: a people which struggles for its liberty always triumphs and, therefore, does not need any help from outside. That is to forget that the ideas of John Stuart Mill were highly esteemed in the nineteenth century; we are living in the twentieth century. Modern techniques of domination and terror have partially discredited that idea. A number of satellite countries would long have freed themselves from certain totalitarian Governments and their formidable repressive power. Nicaragua, which signed a commitment to be non-aligned, does not wish to become a satellite.

154. In other words, the ideas before us are complex. The delegation of Mauritius nevertheless believes that the dignity and sense of restraint with which Nicaragua laid this problem before the Council, and the public assurances which have been given to it by both Honduras and the United States, are a good sign.

155. Other neighbouring States have also offered their good offices. There is therefore a willingness to undertake dialogue and co-operation to which the Council should give further impetus. A year ago now, Sir Anthony Parsons, your predecessor, Mr. President, in the Council, under similar circumstances made the same finding [2341st meeting]. I should like to quote what he said:

"there is common ground amongst them, particularly amongst those most closely involved in the problems of the Central American region. There seems to be a clear wish for peaceful solutions. There appears to be a common desire for, to quote a number of speakers, negotiation and co-operation rather than confrontation." *

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

156. Our problem today is to ascertain how we can reach a stage where a non-machiavellian ethic prevails in international affairs in general and in relations among certain Central American countries in particular. The ethic of international relations should be based essentially on thoughtfulness and moderation. I find that this ethic can be found in the Mexican proposal of last year, to which reference has recently been made, to the effect that the way to find a solution is through direct dialogue and regional co-operation, to which the aid of friendly countries and the moral weight of the Security Council, politically and institutionally, could give its sanction.

157. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call on him.

158. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I did not want to let the occasion pass without any reflection on the extraordinary statement that we heard this morning from the representative of Libya [2421st meeting], and it was, indeed, an extraordinary statement. I do not refer to the calculated assault on rationality and civility. No, what I found most striking was the very sure sense in which the representative of Libya seemed to grasp the very essence of the strange new "rights" to which Mrs. Kirkpatrick made reference yesterday: the alleged right to oppress one's own people, the alleged right to commit aggression against one's neighbours. And as I thought of the Libyan representative's grasp of those two principles, a saying popular in my country occurred to me. As we say frequently in such situations in the United States, "Well, it takes one to know one".

159. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the views of members of the Council emerge and as we hear the statements of members of the international community about the importance of beginning what has been termed a regional dialogue to put an end to tension in Central America, I should like to express clearly and briefly my country's position.

160. We stated with seriousness that our country will not serve as a base for an invasion of a fraternal country. Despite words seeming to indicate that we could be involved in a responsibility of that nature, I should like it to be put out of feverish minds that a small country such as ours, which has a Government that exercises democracy, might not fulfil its pledges.

161. Instead of dwelling on the divergent views that we have been hearing in some statements, we should like to formalize what might constitute points of agreement. We have affirmed clearly that we are prepared to undertake a dialogue at the regional level in order to discuss the bilateral problems that we have with Nicaragua and the regional problems that we have within the framework of Central America. Furthermore we have stated precisely that we take a favourable view of all the regional initiatives, even initiatives taken by some countries outside the

region, to put an end to the tension in Central America and that we should begin in good faith to build peace.

162. We have no doubt regarding the principle established in the Charter that every people can establish the Government of its choice. We do not prejudice the Government that Nicaragua will choose. We want people to choose. If the Nicaraguan people wish to be communist, let them be communist. If they want to live in socialism, let the people so choose. If they wish to be radical, it is the business of the Nicaraguan people. We are prepared to respect what constitutes ideological pluralism. It is not up to us to judge the type of government chosen by any country in the world, much less a brother country. But we believe that this forum can sincerely help us to seek a solution. It seems to me that, with the wise guidance of the President, we might gather together not the differences that have been raised, but the points of agreement. Why not proceed to a dialogue for peace? We have not set any conditions for a dialogue for peace; we have not wished to mention the names of countries, although we have great esteem for the proposals made by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela and for the Contadora Island proposal,² which includes Colombia and Panama. Precisely the fact of our having previously shown interest in the fact that some peripheral countries, like the five countries of the region, feel affected by this problem of context, could thus give rise to unnecessary difficulties, for it could develop that some of the countries may have objections as to the venue of the meeting, as to what countries should participate, in what capacity, if they are going to be observers, whether they can take the initiative as negotiators, as mediators or as members of a good-offices group.

163. Lastly, for all those who are in this forum and who guide policy for the maintenance of world peace, it would be very easy—if they should so wish, in good faith—to find in the introduction to any text on political law and in the first Articles of the Charter of the United Nations the fundamental bases for proceeding to the peaceful search for solutions that would guarantee regional stability, non-intervention in the affairs of countries, putting a halt to violence, the prohibition of arms

trafficking and the withdrawal of foreign advisers. Undoubtedly, those constitute points of agreement or disagreement, sowing turbulence in the region.

164. Upon specific instructions from my Government, I propose to the Council that we move from words to deeds. We are prepared, if desired, after the necessary consultations take place, to search for a place for us to meet with the sponsorship of all the democratic countries of the continent, if they wish. We are prepared to do that. We could accept any forum.

165. We have international commitments, and the Charter of the United Nations itself, in Chapter VIII, clearly establishes that regional, subregional and continental organizations have the duty to help maintain and strengthen this international system. That is why we have kept the OAS informed of all our efforts and of all our differences. We do not want to forsake it, because we respect the international commitments we have undertaken. If we did not believe in the OAS, we would have to denounce it legally, each people exercising its sovereign right to participate or not in any international organization.

166. In sum, I should be grateful if it could be specifically recorded that my Government intends to enter into negotiations. I have specific instructions to tell the Council that no movement of my country's troops will be across the border, but, rather, will serve solely and exclusively as an act of prevention in the face of present circumstances. Therefore, no mobilization on our part has aggressive purposes; we are a country in terrible upheaval; we have to respond to our own people and to history.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. I, 33rd meeting.

² See A/38/68, annex.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
