



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

### AGENDA ITEM 8

#### Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (*continued*)\*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will consider the second report of the General Committee [A/38/250/Add.1]. In sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of that report, the General Committee recommends to the Assembly the inclusion in the agenda of an additional sub-item of item 17, entitled "(i) Appointment of a member of the International Civil Service Commission", and its allocation to the Fifth Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 38/402).*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to paragraph 2 (a) of the report. The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". May I take it that the Assembly approves the recommendation to include this additional item on the agenda?

*It was so decided.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connection with the allocation of this item, members will take note of the fact that, as indicated in paragraph 2 (b) of the report, the General Committee decided to defer the question of allocation to one of its subsequent meetings.

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (*continued*)

4. Mr. CHÁVEZ-MENA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Both for my delegation as a whole and for me personally, Sir, it is a great honour to congratulate you most warmly and cordially on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, for you have a great knowledge of world affairs, and from my friendship with you, I know that you are also a sincere and mighty fighter in the cause of peace.

5. The Secretary-General also deserves the appreciation of the people and the Government of El Salvador and of all the peoples and Governments of the world for the work he has done to promote international peace and harmony, which are seriously threatened at the present time.

6. It is a pleasure for me cordially to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis as a new Member of the United Nations. We wish it every success in its efforts to achieve prosperity and development.

7. The present tragic situation in El Salvador and in Central America in general is complicated by various external factors which, in involved situations, have a decisive influence that damages the national dignity of our countries, widens the conflict and adds new protagonists and that, within an international ideological struggle foreign to the interests of our sovereign will, limits our ability to make our own decisions.

8. No objective critical observer can be unaware that the crisis of El Salvador and Central America has been exacerbated by violence, destruction, terror, the threat of war in the region and an attempt from outside to apply political and ideological concepts which are diametrically opposed to the form of social organization adopted by our peoples.

9. The presence of this ideological bipolarity can be seen in the deterioration and breaking down of the normal harmonious relations among the countries of the area, violating in practice and repeatedly the sacred principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the various brother countries.

10. Totalitarian ideological aggressiveness is accompanied in the region by logistic and propaganda support for those armed groups which share that same philosophy. They are being strengthened by external allies, all dependent on a central headquarters which fosters and promotes a strategy of world-wide expansion.

11. There is an attempt to implement this strategy of political and ideological expansion in Central America, thus dramatically hampering the achievement of our own national aspirations to build a truly humane, just, pluralist and participatory society, which is what my country is trying to do in working towards democratization.

12. The values of Western democracy are deeply rooted in the Salvadorian people, and it is on this basis that we hope to build a new homeland, free of the oppression and social stigmas of the past, based on the quest for human development and freedom and on social consensus through participative machinery and institutions. It is to this that the Salvadorian people aspires. This is what was expressed—at some risk, but freely—on that historic 28 March 1982 when, in national elections to choose a Constituent Assembly, the people voted for peace, justice and ideological pluralism; in a word, it voted for democracy and a better and honourable destiny for our coming generations.

13. El Salvador demands that the Governments outside the area respect the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the Central American peoples, since if they persist in the opposite course all attempts to find a just, lasting and peaceful solution to the problems in the region will be fruitless.

14. We consider that our peoples will achieve true peace and freedom, not through the imposition of arms and ideology, but through greater cultural awareness, better standards of living and freedom of thought, so that on the basis of a diversity of opinions and trends we can achieve the social consensus and political stability needed for sustained development, thus making possible the

\*Resumed from the 11th meeting.

progressive realization of our national aspirations and the unrestricted exercise of all individual and social human rights.

15. El Salvador recognizes that, on the basis of the free exercise of democracy which must be adopted internally by every one of the Central American countries, it will be possible to achieve and strengthen peace and democracy in the region. Once we have passed this difficult stage in our shared history it will be possible to reactivate mechanisms for integration and co-operation and together build a better and more united destiny.

16. On behalf of my people and my Government, I wish to reiterate on this occasion the fervent hope and firm conviction that peace will be achieved as soon as possible in order effectively to realize the aspirations of all the Central American peoples for the establishment of democracy, social justice, the full respect for human rights and international brotherhood. In this connection, I wish to make a sincere appeal for good will, comprehension and reasonable understanding, so that we may overcome our differences in an acceptable way and arrive at the much desired peace to which our peoples aspire and which is so necessary in these troubled days when the clouds of military confrontation darken our horizons.

17. In the specific case of my country and Central America, the arduous and difficult task of achieving peace is a historic responsibility before God, before our peoples and before the international community.

18. I am completely convinced that only through democratic machinery will it be possible to achieve harmonious coexistence in keeping with the ideals of our peoples.

19. That is why in spite of the obstacles and dangers that await us, our efforts cannot falter; on the contrary, we are prepared to redouble our endeavours and to maintain all our good will until our mandate from the Salvadorian people to achieve peace has been fulfilled.

20. In the context of the Salvadorian crisis a series of international and internal factors have worked together, compounded by the consequences of natural phenomena.

21. The world economic crisis has had an impact on the Salvadorian economy, as reflected in a deterioration of our purchasing power, balance-of-payments problems, an increase in external indebtedness and other factors. When this is viewed in conjunction with the domestic economic crisis aggravated by recent natural phenomena, and the systematic destructive and irrational acts of senseless individuals who consider the destruction of national infrastructure and sources of employment to be a tactical matter, it becomes possible to appreciate the sacrifices being made by the Salvadorian people and its desire to struggle for peace and democratic formulas. But it will never yield before the spectre of blackmail and destruction.

22. Clearly, efforts to strengthen economic relations must go hand in hand with a reduction in international conflicts, to make possible a more just development and a more harmonious coexistence in international society, especially in those countries which are subject to the manipulation of foreign interests.

23. We have been very pleased to see the increased presence of Latin American countries within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which is a further reaffirmation of respect for the sovereignty and independence of each State.

24. I said as much in the letter of 1 July to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, in her capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I am confident that during the period that Movement is under her leadership there will be a return to the initial

path that characterized the founding principles of equidistance and authentic non-alignment, making it possible for third world countries once again to have an appropriate forum to present their shared views and face the international crisis. We hope that this attitude will contribute constructively in channelling the initiatives of the Movement within the ideological framework that constituted the original reason for its establishment.

25. El Salvador wishes to reaffirm its strong commitment to the sister Argentine Republic in its aspirations to achieve the exercise of its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, and we fervently appeal to the parties to the conflict to resolve their difficulties through negotiations within the framework of this universal Organization.

26. In connection with the conflict in the Middle East, my country wishes to say that its duration and unforeseeable consequences are extremely disquieting aspects of the problem of maintaining international peace and security. Only a just and lasting solution will make it possible to overcome the crisis in that region, and to that end all members of the international community must recognize the formal existence of the State of Israel and its right to exist within its internationally recognized borders, free from all external threat or pressure, and, similarly, to accept and recognize the right of the Palestinian people to the establishment of its own national State. We consider both aspirations as legitimate and as urgently needed for reaching a satisfactory solution.

27. With respect to the situation in Lebanon, my country reiterates its profound conviction that in order to achieve a peaceful solution it is essential, first of all, that the present truce be respected by all the parties concerned so that it may eventually lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces and thus make it possible for Lebanon to exercise full sovereignty and its right to self-determination. The dismemberment of the national State can never be accepted.

28. The search for peaceful and democratic solutions to conflicts is the correct way to achieve national and international reconciliation.

29. Hence my country is upset at the development of events which, far from contributing to the settlement of differences among States, deepens them. The war between Iran and Iraq is a clear reflection of this. None the less, that war should not lead the international community to frustration and impotence.

30. The Government of El Salvador is deeply concerned at the nature of the conflict in Afghanistan. Everyone is aware that the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union, in addition to being an aberration, is a latent threat to security and peaceful coexistence among States.

31. This is why the people and Government of El Salvador hope that the Afghan people will be able to determine their own destiny, without any kind of interference, as soon as possible.

32. In connection with the military intervention by Viet Nam in Kampuchea, my Government considers that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops is an urgent prerequisite for the achievement of peace in South-East Asia.

33. It is regrettable that, in spite of the resolutions and appeals by the United Nations and other international bodies, the Government of South Africa shows no real sign of abandoning the policy of racial segregation. The practice and the spread of *apartheid* is a constant element in the system of domination imposed by the South African Government and is a violation of social justice, fundamental human rights and international peace and security. Therefore, El Salvador reiterates anew its condemnation of *apartheid* and urges the United Nations and

other international bodies to redouble their efforts to bring about the elimination of that practice. My country also condemns the illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia by the South African Government.

34. The new conflicts in the international society reflect, regrettably, an increase in hostility and tension in international relations. This should prompt reflection on the state of general crisis that threatens the entire international community.

35. The invasion of Chad, supported by the Government of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is a clear reflection of the totalitarian desire for world domination. Central America, which is experiencing such destabilizing and anti-democratic foreign interference, understands the difficulties and contradictions which arise. Therefore El Salvador cannot fail to express its support for respect for the right of self-determination for the people of Chad and the principle of non-intervention in their internal affairs.

36. I wish to refer, with great concern, to the bringing down of the South Korean civilian airliner by the Soviet Union, in which 269 persons lost their lives. In addition to violating the norms of international civil aviation, this was a completely unjustifiable violation of fundamental human rights and an act of unprecedented barbarity. The people and Government of El Salvador express their most forceful condemnation of this irrational act and join in mourning the innocent victims, with special sympathy for the people of South Korea. Furthermore, we find it most strange that many international organizations entrusted with the safeguarding and protection of human rights have not taken a stand in connection with this shocking matter. We therefore urge them to abandon the discriminatory practice of judging Governments on the basis of ideological considerations.

37. Antagonisms in Central America are increasing as a result of the clear practice by some régimes of intervention in the external and internal affairs of other countries, as well as the stepping up of an irrational arms race and the promotion and toleration of the illegal arms traffic.

38. My Government is aware of the danger and that is why, in keeping with its democratic domestic objectives, its foreign policy is based on doctrinal principles of a universal character and on support for the struggles of the countries of the third world to reclaim what is theirs, countries with which we share the common denominator of underdevelopment and the quest for a better future, through equitable development and just and active co-operation among all the nations of the Earth.

39. In my country, the difficult path towards peace and democracy is based on the consensus of my fellow citizens and on their strong resolve to achieve those objectives and leave behind for ever the long night of terror through which we have lived.

40. We are aware that such aspirations must be based on the political will to live in a democracy, for which the unanimous decision and determination of a people and its leaders is necessary. This is precisely what inspires the people and Government of El Salvador in their endeavour to bequeath to future generations a homeland free of ignominy, vengeance and fear.

41. If we wish to achieve peace in Central America and spare our compatriots suffering and bloodshed, we cannot continue to endure the scourge of interventionism nor should we tolerate the intermediaries or their destabilizing acts. We demand respect for the democratic processes of each of our countries, so that we may direct our efforts towards peace and social and economic development.

42. The Central American problem can be seen as a regional problem, since it affects the region as a whole. It also has a multilateral dimension since it affects each one of the countries of the region. Therefore the crises must be tackled simultaneously and comprehensively because of the interrelation of the factors involved.

43. Peace is the solution to the Central American crisis, and in order to achieve it we must work on four basic points: first, the promotion of integral and balanced development in the region directed towards restructuring and social change; secondly, the establishment, promotion and development of democratic, pluralist and participatory institutions; thirdly, the safeguarding of respect for human rights in their various manifestations; and fourthly, the re-establishment of security in Central America, rejecting aggression and foreign intervention.

44. In this context my Government is clearly aware of the need for regional dialogue to promote agreement leading to peace, without foreign intervention or pressure. Dialogue presupposes the rejection of violence, good faith among the parties and understanding of differing views and positions. In other words, with dialogue there are neither victors nor vanquished; it can end only in understanding that makes possible peace for all. We have proposed in the General Assembly dialogue within a regional framework; we have also done so in the Organization of American States; and in March of this year we reiterated this proposal in the Security Council—always in the hope that the international community would understand our aspirations.

45. We desire a peaceful and democratic solution in Central America, because that is in conformity with the principle of harmonious coexistence in international law.

46. We want regional dialogue, because we have no wish to be either an active or a passive part of the East-West conflict, or the victims of a tragedy in which foreign actors, gratuitous critics and spectators show us the path we should follow. The problems of the region should be solved by Central Americans themselves. Only in this way can the solution have a firm basis, guaranteeing for the future a harmonious balance, political stability and social calm.

47. We consider it necessary that a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis should include the following elements.

48. The first is related to the implementation of the traditional principles of international law, such as respect for the self-determination of peoples, legal equality of States, non-intervention in internal affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes and co-operation for development.

49. For peace to be brought to Central America, it is of particular importance that democracy be established in each country of the region through the implementation of a truly democratic process in the political, economic and social spheres.

50. Furthermore, there is a need to promote the establishment of machinery for internal reconciliation, especially in those countries which are divided, in order to make it possible for all sectors to participate in the politico-democratic process of their respective countries.

51. Democracy in the region is a *sine qua non* for peace. Failure by a single country to promote the democratic process and its values upsets the state of harmony and stability. Unless democracy is institutionalized, there will be no balance. Undemocratic processes inspired by Marxism are by their very nature and their concept of history inevitably expansionist.

52. In order to guarantee the security of Central American States, there is a need to curb the arms race and make an inventory of weaponry in order to seek a reduction.

53. There should be a limitation of regular forces and the prohibition of irregular forces, as well as a limitation and reduction of military advisers and other foreigners participating in similar activities. Effective control of weapons traffic within and outside the region should be imposed on persons, organizations or groups that attempt through armed action to destabilize Governments.

54. It is also important to promote machinery for economic co-operation and regional interchange in order to restructure the process of economic integration, making social change and development possible.

55. All this requires acceptance, proper development and control mechanisms, supervision and guarantees for strict and real compliance with the agreements that may be reached. Coercive measures must be provided to deal with those who violate those agreements or who fail to comply with them.

56. The Contadora Group, as a regional and Latin American action, also enjoys international support. It is progressing in its efforts to ease tension and is contributing to the building of peace.

57. We must bear in mind that in processes towards peace, confidence is gained through deeds and actions; it is thus increased and strengthened. Unfortunately it can also deteriorate and even be lost. It is not the opinion of third parties that matters, but rather the perception, the experience and orientation of the discussions of Governments of the countries directly concerned. Towards this end, we formally reiterate from this forum, and shall do so in others, our trust in multilateral dialogue in the region and in a comprehensive and simultaneous solution as the best way of obtaining peace and agreement, to which our peoples so dearly aspire.

58. It is regrettable that in the context of the General Assembly a factor has been introduced by Nicaragua, that is, the request for the inclusion of an item on the situation in Central America, which will no doubt have harmful effects on the efforts of the Contadora Group, because it will weaken that forum by internationalizing the conflict and involving other protagonists who are unaware of the regional situation or who are motivated by alien considerations. The Nicaraguan request runs counter to the Contadora Group's objectives of peace and to peace in Central America.

59. It has been clearly stated and recognized that the crisis in my country was caused by internal socio-economic and political conditions which encouraged injustice and social deprivation. In order to correct that situation, basic initial measures have been adopted that will strengthen the machinery for the new process of social, economic and political change so that it can become a reality, a change in which Salvadorians can find true political pluralism and which will raise our society to a democratic level with full social participation, contributing to the betterment of the individual and of society as a whole.

60. In order to achieve these objectives, structural reforms have been instituted and broadened. Their achievements are already widely known, at home and abroad. The major goals pursued through agrarian reform and nationalization of banking and foreign trade are the apex of our national determination to root out once and for all the internal factors that caused the social crisis.

61. In order to achieve internal harmony and democracy, the Government of El Salvador, together with the commissions on peace and human rights, drafted the

law of amnesty and civic rehabilitation, approved by unanimous decision of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

62. We are convinced that the problem of El Salvador is complex, with both internal and external causes, but interventionism, based on a misunderstood political and ideological internationalism, in reality prevents us from advancing more speedily in our process of democratization.

63. Domestically we are making efforts to achieve peace, and we consider that along these lines the elections to be held in the near future in our country, with the participation of all Salvadorians who cherish democracy, are a means and a beginning of a process to achieve definitive, lasting peace in order to establish a democratic system.

64. In order to strengthen these endeavours, my Government has shown its readiness to promote the participation of all political forces without exception in the programme of peace that has been designed. Along these lines, the peace commission clearly appealed for dialogue to the political sector of the armed opposition, in order to determine the conditions and guarantees of its participation in future elections. Contacts have been made and initial meetings have been held between that peace commission and the armed opposition, so that the process of dialogue has already begun. Likewise, many appeals have been issued to those who have taken up arms, asking them to lay down their weapons and to participate with all goodwill in the building of our country and the strengthening of our democratic institutions, thus making it possible to establish a strong social, pluralist, participative system, promoting the full development of our society.

65. On behalf of the Salvadorian people, my Government has proposed a true democratic alternative to our situation so that peace can be the natural outcome of a political process, based on social consensus which should be established in the coming elections and in the growing flexibility of our democratic system.

66. In this context, peace should also be the product of the strengthening of social reforms, economic recovery and the enjoyment of human rights.

67. That is why I wish to finish by making an appeal that together we all reflect, in this hour of blood and fire, on the urgent need for dialogue for peace. Too many have died already in my country and in other countries. They died because, as in a famous poem, they were asked to give their lives to obtain peace. They gave their lives without a protest, but peace was not achieved.

68. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): May I, at the outset, Sir, express to you the sincere felicitations of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and my own congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We feel certain that, experienced diplomat of high calibre that you undoubtedly are, your very able and efficient guidance of the present session will ensure its success. I wish to assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation in carrying out your responsibilities.

69. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Imre Hollai, President of the thirty-seventh session, for the excellent and exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of that session.

70. Our appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General for his untiring endeavours to enhance the effectiveness and moral prestige of the Organization.

71. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, like any other nation of the world, has a high stake in preserving the United Nations as a universal instrument for

maintaining peace and security and promoting friendship, co-operation and détente among nations.

72. Another year of turbulence, insecurity and innumerable political, social and economic problems is added to the history of our world. No doubt it was the wish of the entire membership that we would be able to report on the achievement of those goals which we ourselves set in the Charter of the United Nations as of primary significance to all of us.

73. Separate and isolated examples notwithstanding, not only did the problems of a global nature, to our disappointment, maintain their grim character, but some of those international problems acquired a sharp turn for the worse.

74. The threat of a nuclear war has never been more imminent than it seems to be in the present state of international relations. Not only has the psychological and material drive towards such a catastrophe continued unabated, but the pace of the nuclear arms race, as well as the conventional arms spree, reached unprecedented levels.

75. The horrendous doctrines of "security through force", "negotiating from strength", "limited or protracted nuclear war", have been the predominant shadows hanging over the life of our planet during the last year. The threat to the very survival of the human race is ever more evident, particularly in the light of the present United States Administration's policy of rearmament and all-out confrontation.

76. The powerful cry of the masses throughout the world for an immediate halt to the arms race and for disarmament, particularly in its nuclear aspect, has gone unheard. The numerous resolutions of the General Assembly to that end have been irresponsibly shelved by those in United States warmongering circles. In total disregard of the demands and against the interests of the overwhelming majority of nations, which found reflection in those resolutions, the United States Congress hastened to approve one bill after another allocating billions of dollars for the production of such monstrous and horrifying weapons of mass destruction as MX, Pershing II and cruise missiles, so-called binary chemical weapons, Trident submarines, B-1 strategic bombers, and so on. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a member of the family of nations which would inevitably become innocent victims of a nuclear world war, cannot but vehemently condemn the militaristic course adopted by the United States Administration and Congress.

77. It is with that consideration in mind that we follow with great concern the developments resulting from the United States plans to deploy hundreds of Pershing II and cruise missiles on the European continent, where disproportionately large destructive potential has already accumulated. If that United States aggressive design to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union in Europe and elsewhere is carried out as planned, we are certain that another spiralling arms race will become all the more probable, thus threatening more than ever before the existence of mankind.

78. Therefore, it is the first and foremost task of the international community to avert the danger of a thermonuclear holocaust.

79. The constructive and realistic proposals of the Soviet Union on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, its unilateral declaration that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons and the recent proposals put forward by Yuri Andropov have received the overwhelming support of the international community. We reaffirm our full support for those initiatives and for the proposal of

the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty that a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace be concluded between them and the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. We support the proposals recently put forward by the Soviet Union in the letters of Andrei Gromyko to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and associate ourselves with the request that they be included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

80. Questions relating to the world economy, to international economic relations and to development are directly related to those of peace and stability. The outlook for world economic development and co-operation depends on the success of peace-loving forces in achieving the principal purpose of the Charter of the United Nations, which is to save succeeding generations from the scourge and horrors of war and to preserve and strengthen peace. It is a fact that the enormous resources being squandered on the unproductive arms race could very usefully be allocated to development activities and international economic co-operation.

81. This session of the General Assembly is held against the background of extremely difficult and severe international economic conditions. The prolonged crisis in the world capitalist system has adversely affected the national economies of the developing countries and international economic relations as a whole.

*Mr. Chňoupek (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

82. The gap between the levels of economic development in the developed and the developing countries is widening, and it is becoming more difficult to carry out the tasks and reach the targets of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex]. The process of restructuring international economic relations and the implementation of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] have been drastically slowed down and even halted. I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the alarming situation and economic crisis being faced by the least developed countries, particularly those in a more disadvantageous situation because of their geographic location as land-locked countries. The painfully slow pace at which the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries<sup>1</sup> is being implemented is especially disappointing. We urge the international community to implement fully and effectively the Substantial New Programme of Action and provide financial assistance to the least developed countries in amounts and on terms which correspond to their immediate and long-term development needs.

83. The enormous burden of economic problems weighing on the vast majority of nations has become all the heavier as a result of the increased use of the international financial system as a means of pressure and intimidation to promote the selfish political and economic interests of the world's capitalist masters.

84. Hotbeds of tension and trouble spots throughout the world have been further inflamed by a higher profile of imperialist military presence, particularly that of United States imperialism, that tends to internationalize some internal, bilateral or regional problems. There is hardly any place in the world where the ominous presence of the imperialist interventionist forces has not resulted in the escalation of the threat to the security and stability of the countries in those regions.

85. In the Indian Ocean the United States naval presence has increased many times over the past few years, and the nations of the region still await the realization of their long-cherished aspiration to turn it into a zone of peace.

86. Acting in stark contrast to the desires of the surrounding nations, which want to see the Indian Ocean and the adjacent areas free from foreign military bases and installations, the United States has drastically increased its military buildup on the Mauritian island of Diego García. It was in conformity with its expansionist policy that the United States and its allies torpedoed the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which the non-aligned members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean had proposed should be held last May at Colombo.

87. The call of the President of Madagascar, Mr. Ratsiraka, for a summit conference of hinterland and littoral States of the Indian Ocean, which initiative is fully supported by my Government, also encounters obstacles put up by those in imperialist quarters.

88. We expect this session of the General Assembly to call for the expeditious conclusion of the preparatory work and for the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean not later than 1984.

89. The cold and negative response of some countries to such an important initiative as the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific<sup>2</sup> has put off the achievement of overall peace and stability in those regions.

90. Despite the obvious failure of imperialistic and hegemonistic designs against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, those countries have yet to submit to realities that are not to their liking. It is high time for the international community to restore to the people of Kampuchea their legitimate right to be represented in the Assembly. Numerous proposals by the three countries of Indo-China, and especially the recent proposal advanced by the summit conference of those countries aimed at normalization of the situation in the region of South-East Asia [see A/38/98], have opened up promising prospects for the cessation of regional hostilities.

91. In the Middle East, the course of events has been anything but encouraging. Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem and Syria's Golan Heights, remain under the heels of Israeli occupation forces. The denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which constitutes the core of the problem, together with the Zionist ambitions for a "Greater Israel", have turned the whole region into a permanent threat to the security of the entire world. It is our belief that Israel's arrogant defiance of international norms and principles would long since have submitted to the moral pressure of world public opinion had United States imperialism denied Israel the political, financial and military means that it so generously extends to the Zionist war machine.

92. Since last year the situation in Lebanon has continued to be fraught with the danger of provoking another all-out war in the Middle East. The replacement of Israeli forces in Beirut by the contingents of NATO countries and their brazen intervention in the internal hostilities have added seriously to the concern that the conflict in Lebanon may quickly become internationalized. We condemn the barbaric shellings of the Lebanese towns and villages by United States naval forces.

93. The events of the past few years have delivered a rebuff to all attempts to isolate the integral components

of the Middle East crisis by prescribing separate deals and collusive agreements for their solution.

94. The cessation of the Israeli aggression against Arab countries, the immediate and complete evacuation of Israeli forces from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], of their right to self-determination are thus the prerequisites for achieving the long-overdue comprehensive settlement.

95. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, has given us the most recent evaluation by the international community of this unfortunate problem that has been weighing on its conscience for almost three and a half decades. There it was reaffirmed once again that there could be no lasting, comprehensive and just solution of the problem of the Middle East unless the people of Palestine effectively exercised their inalienable rights, including the right to establish their own national State in Palestine. In conformity with paragraph 6 of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,<sup>3</sup> we call on the Security Council to create appropriate institutional arrangements for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

96. Here we should like to reiterate our firm support for the valiant Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese patriots in their heroic struggle against imperialist and Zionist aggression and occupation.

97. The southern part of Africa remains a constant target of the Pretoria régime's policy of racist repression within South Africa, occupation and suppression in Namibia and aggression and acts of intimidation against independent African countries of the region.

98. The period under review has not failed to produce much new evidence of the *apartheid* régime's intransigence with regard to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia; nor has it been without new examples of Pretoria's destabilizing and aggressive designs against Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and other neighbouring countries. The brutal murder by the *apartheid* régime of several South African freedom fighters, in complete disregard of the repeated demands for clemency, proved once again that the régime in South Africa has no intention whatsoever, despite what is said in certain capitals, of introducing any meaningful change in its criminal and abhorrent system.

99. The heavy reliance of the Pretoria régime on the support it receives from capitalist countries, particularly from United States imperialism, has enabled it to block any solution to the overriding problems for which that régime is responsible. We pledge our total support to the front-line States, to the heroic people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and to the oppressed people of South Africa and their vanguard, the African National Congress.

100. We stand by our Libyan brothers in the face of repeated open violation of their sovereignty and independence by the United States, and we call for an immediate end to such threats.

101. The situation in Central America has become a source of increasing concern, not only for the people of the region, but for the entire international community as well. That the main cause of tension and hostility in the area lies in the interventionist and aggressive policy of the United States is beyond question.

102. Plots and machinations aimed at Nicaragua through the organizing, training and arming of the Somozist counterrevolutionaries and their dispatch into that country from neighbouring countries to commit acts of subversion and sabotage and to undermine the revolution have continued to increase. The piratic air attack on the city of Managua demonstrated the brazen nature of the escalating aggression against Nicaragua.

103. During the course of the past year the imperialist blockade of the revolutionary peoples of Cuba, Grenada and Suriname has tightened, while resort to the use of economic assistance as a means to bring pressure to bear against a number of other Latin American countries has become an increasingly important part of the United States design to challenge the free will of the people of the continent.

104. We demand the early return to Cuba of its territory illegally occupied by the United States naval base at Guantánamo.

105. We reiterate our support for the initiative of the States members of the Contadora Group in finding an amicable and peaceful solution to the present situation in Central America. Our solidarity is always with national liberation movements, including those of El Salvador, Chile and Guatemala.

106. We would like to express our disappointment at the failure of the many different endeavours by the international community to bring about the cessation of hostilities between the two neighbouring Islamic countries of Iran and Iraq. Continuation of that senseless bloodshed, which has already led to enormous material and human losses, can only serve the interests of imperialism by providing it with a pretext for military intervention in the region. It is our earnest hope that an end can be put to this fratricidal war as soon as possible.

107. Our position on the question of Cyprus remains unchanged. We express our full support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We demand the withdrawal of occupation forces from that country.

108. We reaffirm our support for the peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

109. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a staunch fighter in the cause of decolonization, is in favour of the speedy exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to self-determination and independence, of restitution of the Malvinas Islands to the Argentine Republic, of recognition of the right of the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to self-determination and of the return of the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

110. We had hoped that the period since the last session of the General Assembly might witness a decrease in the tension in the region of South-West Asia that could pave the way for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and confidence conducive to negotiations among Afghanistan and two of its neighbours. The unfortunate reality of the continuing undeclared imperialist war of reaction being waged against my people, principally from the territory of Pakistan, constitutes the stumbling block to the conclusion of an agreement on the basis of which the future relationships of our countries will be founded.

111. This unholy war, which is in fact a regional extension of the global imperialist plot to destabilize and subdue independent and sovereign nations and to force them into the imperialist orbit, is masterminded by aggressive circles in the United States and carried out with

the hegemonistic and other reactionary countries and forces of the region as accomplices. The destructive inhuman, medieval and uncivilized nature of that undeclared war indicates the true outlines of the self-proclaimed posture of humanism, morality and freedom adopted by United States imperialism and Chinese hegemonism and their reactionary allies.

112. The losses suffered by our people since the beginning of the undeclared war against our revolution are of enormous proportions. As a result of the subversive activities of the counter-revolutionary gangs, exported mainly from Pakistan, half of all schools in the country, 50 per cent of our hospitals, 14 per cent of public-transport motor vehicles, 75 per cent of all communication lines, a number of hydroelectric and thermal power installations of the country, and other public facilities have been destroyed. The total cost to our economy comes to some 24 billion afghanis, which amounts to half the total development investment made in the 20 years prior to the 27 April 1978 revolution.

113. Let me declare before this gathering that the heroic Afghan people will not be deterred from the principled path they have chosen. They are prepared to make further sacrifices to safeguard their revolution and their socio-political system.

114. Thanks to the determination of our toiling people, to the carefully planned economic policy of the revolutionary Government and to the all-around assistance received from fraternal countries, especially the Soviet Union, our national economy has been steadily stabilized and has already embarked on the path of consistent growth. In light of the present pace of implementation of the five-year socio-economic development plan, we look forward to exceeding the targets set by that plan.

115. The devotion of our revolutionary armed forces, the active participation of the masses in the defence of the revolution, the surrender *en masse* of the counter-revolutionary gangs to the security forces and their subsequent organization into committees for the defence of the revolution have, all in all, contributed to the continued process of normalization throughout the country and to the strengthening of the local organs of State power.

116. I should like to put on record my Government's sincere appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his representative to normalize the situation around Afghanistan. Despite the complexity of the issues involved, and in view of the present format of negotiations, tangible progress has been made in the course of the negotiating process being carried out at Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the representative of the Secretary-General.

117. As is obvious, armed interference aimed at the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan is the root cause of the problem around Afghanistan. It is therefore the cessation of that interference which should constitute the main purpose of the negotiations. With the solution of this aspect of the problem, and after reliable international guarantees on the non-resumption of interference have been secured, conditions would prevail which would facilitate the return of the Afghans temporarily living beyond our frontiers. This is clearly envisaged in our proposals of 15 May 1980<sup>4</sup> and 24 August 1981.<sup>5</sup>

118. We are certain that with a sense of realism, political will and sincerity it should be possible to achieve through direct negotiations a final agreement which, if faithfully

implemented, would serve the cause of stability and peace in the region.

119. Afghanistan pursues an independent, peaceful and active non-aligned policy. We are determined to follow that course in the future, in conformity with the aspirations of our people regarding their potential. This position is also based on our overall analysis of the increasingly crucial role being played by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in international relations. We are committed to the decisions of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 under the very able guidance of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We shall spare no effort, individually and in co-operation with others, in order to give effect to the decisions of that Conference, in conformity with the principles and objectives of the Movement.

120. I should like to conclude with some words of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, who said that peaceful relations with all countries and peoples of the world, including our neighbours, on the basis of internationally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence, friendship and co-operation remain the prime objectives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

121. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, in the name of the State of Bahrain, to offer congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Undoubtedly his experience as a diplomat and statesman in his friendly country of Panama will contribute to the success of the work of this session. I should like also to thank Mr. Imre Hollai for the efforts which he made in conducting the work of the thirty-seventh session. It is my pleasure also to thank the Secretary-General for his continuous efforts to strengthen the role of the Organization and ensure the achievement of its aims and objectives, particularly the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

122. It is also my pleasure to congratulate the Government and people of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the occasion of its admission to membership in the Organization.

123. We meet each year in this international assembly to exchange views and thoughts on the best ways of dealing with the many economic, political and social issues of concern to the international community. The complex problems facing the world at present do not promise any improvement in international relations in the near future. Each year international crises are intensifying while the international community is unable to control or resolve them. Conflict among States, particularly the two super-Powers, intensifies day by day without any real attention being paid to the principles of co-operation and justice in international relations.

124. Undoubtedly such a situation increases our concern and apprehension, since the international community has not been able, 38 years after the establishment of the United Nations, to give effect to the Charter principle regarding the non-use of force in relations between States. Many States still pursue a policy of force in international relations, particularly when acute political crises arise. The stronger party in a dispute may proceed to use military force against the other party, regardless of the

principles of the United Nations and of international agreements.

125. The authors of the Charter of the United Nations took into account the sufferings of the peoples of the world resulting from the policy of the use of force in two destructive world wars, which had shattered the hopes of those peoples for security and peace. The principles of the Charter were therefore laid down to meet the aspirations of the peoples of the world and to guide States in their relations with one another, as a prelude to the establishment of a new order in international relations based on the principle of collective security within an international framework agreed upon by all Member States.

126. Today, if we carefully examine the Charter, which we have all agreed to maintain and whose principles we have agreed to uphold, and if we consider the serious confusion and disorder existing in international relations, we realize that there are wide divergences. Events have confirmed that it is impossible to apply the principle of collective security in the present situation, when some great Powers support States which pursue a policy of perpetual and flagrant aggression. This obvious fact is amply proved by the continuous aggression of Israel against the Arab States without any international deterrence.

127. The questions of the weakening of the role of the United Nations in the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and the non-adherence to the principles of the Charter in international relations are the two main problems to which we should pay much attention if we wish to maintain the solidarity of the Organization and strengthen its impact on international relations. We have no doubt that those two problems represent the main challenge facing the United Nations in this decade, in which there are so many persistent problems that need to be tackled with patience and reason.

128. We should thus pursue a policy that takes account of the changes in inter-State relations, particularly in the last two decades, which have seen great changes in various fields. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was established to lay down principles and concepts of independence, liberty and freedom from foreign influence. Thus the principle of interdependence in relations between States has been given a political context with the aim of establishing a new world order based on co-operation, equality and peace.

129. The declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March [*see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2*], reaffirmed that collective view of the non-aligned countries, irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems. The principle of interdependence in international relations has therefore become a historic necessity in this age and not merely a theoretical requirement, as some tend to think. Thus it is wrong to think that disarmament and the limitation of nuclear arms are of interest only to the two super-Powers and some great Powers. The fear of nuclear weapons and of rearmament has become an obsession that torments the whole of mankind. Similarly, the economic problems discussed by the leaders of the rich industrialized countries at their Summit at Williamsburg from 28 to 30 May 1983 are of as much interest to the developing countries as they are to the industrialized countries.

130. This gloomy picture of international relations should not discourage us. It should provide an incentive for more serious international action. The call of the



Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to the leaders of the world to participate in this thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has come at a time when we are in the utmost need of collective action. We hope that the leaders of the world who are participating in the Assembly's discussions will contribute to promoting the role of the United Nations as an international organization attempting to establish a world order that will ensure stability, security, peace and justice for all nations.

131. We believe that regional co-operation based on interdependence which interacts with the international environment provides an effective means for promoting political stability and maintaining world peace and security. The establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council is therefore a constructive step toward strengthening the political, economic and social ties among its members through collective regional co-operation at all levels, depending on their own capabilities. The establishment of the Council was as a natural response to the political, economic and social development of the region, in particular as the States of the Council are keen to stay aloof from zones of conflict, foreign influence and international polarization.

132. The Council actively pursues efforts to co-ordinate co-operation among its members. The third summit meeting of the Gulf Co-operation Council, held at Manama from 9 to 11 November 1982, approved a unified economic agreement which was put into effect early this year. It aims at establishing economic integration among the member States and lays down a unified economic policy towards other States and regional economic groups, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, regarding regional co-operation among States.

133. The crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the question of the people of Palestine, the solution of which involves recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to establish a State on their national soil under the leadership of the PLO. The realization of this fact by Israel has led it, since establishment, to launch frequent attacks on neighbouring Arab countries and against Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories. Each time its aim has been to create a new *de facto* political situation and to impose its policy on its neighbours by armed force. The Security Council has been unable throughout to apply Chapter VII of the Charter because of the use time and again by the United States of the veto against any draft resolution that attempts to impose deterrent sanctions against Israel for its flagrant violations of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

134. The Arab leaders who met at Fez for the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference adopted, on 9 September 1982, an Arab plan<sup>6</sup> to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, namely, the question of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. That eight-point plan is a serious attempt to find a just and durable solution for the Middle East region. It is clear that the Fez plan derives its elements from United Nations principles and resolutions, which call upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and to dismantle all settlements which it has unlawfully established on such territories. The plan also reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the exercise of their imprescriptible and inalienable rights and the establishment of an independent State on their national soil, under the leadership of the PLO. These essential elements were reaffirmed by the Seventh

Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

135. Israel has rejected the Fez peace plan for the Middle East and other international initiatives and by such rejection has proved again that it does not want peace. Israel has been able to conceal its expansionist policies and deceive world public opinion for a while by pretending to be a small State which seeks stability and peace with its hostile neighbours. It has thereby been able to distort the facts and commit acts of aggression, since its establishment, on unfounded pretexts. The world has now come to know Israel in its true shape as an aggressive settler and racist State, which has committed, against the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila camps and elsewhere, crimes and massacres which have shocked the world by their horror.

136. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine was held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 36/120 C and ES-7/7. One hundred thirty-seven States attended the Conference, of which 20 were there as observers. The PLO was accepted for the first time as a full participant in the Conference.

137. The Conference issued the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights.<sup>3</sup> In its Declaration, the Conference called on the General Assembly to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations to find a comprehensive and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, an essential element of which would be the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. All parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict should participate in the conference on an equal footing, including the PLO, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine considered that the Arab peace plan unanimously adopted at Fez was one of the proposals that should serve as guidelines for concerted international action. The Conference laid down in its Declaration six principles and guidelines for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The Conference also decided on a programme of action to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights in Palestine in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of international law. We call upon the General Assembly to adopt and implement the resolutions of the Conference, and we urge all States of the world to implement these resolutions and put an end to the conflict in the Middle East, which becomes more serious the longer it lasts.

138. Last year Israeli forces invaded Lebanon and wreaked havoc and total destruction on its towns and villages. They killed thousands of civilians and committed horrible massacres of innocent and unarmed Lebanese and Palestinians, contrary to all morality.

139. The development of events in our sister State of Lebanon as a result of the Israeli invasion and occupation of its territory has caused the local situation in Lebanon to erupt and tension in the region to increase. We appeal to all States to act and put an end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory and to help keep Lebanon a unified, sovereign Arab State. We welcome also the agreement reached recently to initiate national reconciliation talks among all Lebanese parties. We commend likewise the positive role played by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in this respect.

140. The war between the two neighbouring countries of Iraq and Iran still continues despite the initiatives and attempts at mediation made by many international bodies

to put an end to that destructive war, which has exhausted the human, economic and military resources of both countries. The report of the Secretary-General of 20 June 1983,<sup>7</sup> prepared by the mission which visited both Iraq and Iran to assess the damage to civilian areas caused by military action, shows some of the damage suffered by both countries.

141. It is well known that since its outbreak that war has had adverse effects in one form or another on the whole region. The countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council have made sincere and serious efforts to put an end to that war. The Foreign Ministers of the State of Kuwait and the State of the United Arab Emirates visited Teheran and Baghdad to find a solution that would establish a just peace between the two neighbouring Muslim States.

142. We appeal once again to the two warring parties to settle their differences by peaceful means and restore normal relations between them, on the basis of mutual respect, good neighbourliness and non-intervention in their domestic affairs.

143. We should like to welcome in this connection the positive response of Iraq to all international mediation efforts aimed at putting an end to this war by peaceful means. We hope that it will not be long before the two neighbouring countries settle their differences peacefully so that peace may prevail throughout the region.

144. There are other important international questions that occupy the attention of the world and threaten the security and stability of peoples.

145. The Soviet forces still occupy Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan people, whose resistance against the occupation is daily growing stronger. We should like to reaffirm that any solution to this question should be consistent with the resolutions of the United Nations, which call for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people may again exercise their right of self-determination, regain their freedom and establish the political system of their choice.

146. The situation in South Africa is deteriorating because there is increasing ferocity and persecution of the black majority on the part of the racist régime of Pretoria. The State of Bahrain reaffirms its support for the legitimate struggle of the black majority against the *apartheid* régime, which is contrary to all moral values.

147. The South African régime still adheres to its inflexible policy on the Namibian question. We very much regret that the Government of South Africa did not cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations during his recent visit to Pretoria last August, in accordance with Security Council resolution 532 (1983), to undertake consultations with the parties concerned with a view to securing the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia.

148. As regards the question of Cyprus, we reaffirm the importance of finding a peaceful solution to this question, and we hail the efforts made by the Secretary-General in this respect.

149. We also welcome the efforts undertaken to solve peacefully the dispute between North Korea and South Korea through negotiations without pre-conditions and respect for the will of the Korean people to establish peace and security within a unified State.

150. Some cautious optimism appears in the 1983 annual report of IMF regarding the world economic situation after the period of economic recession affecting most countries of the world. However, the report

expresses clear concern over customs barriers and restrictions imposed on the products of developing countries. Those countries have learned from past experience, either during the period of colonialism or afterwards, that economic problems cannot be solved except by restructuring the world economic order itself. Such a change is urgently needed, to permit the establishment of an economic order based on justice, interdependence and collective partnership.

151. Most international economic conferences since the beginning of the 1970s have ended in failure because of the continued adherence of the rich industrialized countries to their inflexible policies and because no serious attention has been paid to the principle of international interdependence, which has started gaining favour in the world because of changes in world economic and political relations. Thus the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, was not able to achieve positive results because of the policies of some rich industrialized countries.

152. As a result of the changes in international relations over the last three decades, the industrialized countries should not continue to view the developing countries as easy markets for their manufactured goods and products. They should consider them as partners in a world economic order requiring co-operation and interdependence among all States. We therefore appeal to the industrialized countries not to put obstacles in the way of establishing the new international economic order.

153. Most questions addressed by the United Nations and its specialized agencies are of a global nature, since in one form or another they touch on human life as a whole—whether in the political, economic or social fields. The global nature of current problems should bring nations closer together for their common good, rather than separate them as is now the case.

154. My country's delegation hopes that suitable resolutions will be adopted at this session to deal with current world problems and satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of the world. It gives me pleasure to repeat that the Government and people of Bahrain are fully ready to act with other nations and States Members of the international Organization in achieving justice, co-operation and peace in the world so that future generations may live in peace and happiness, in conformity with the lofty principles and goals of the Charter of the United Nations.

155. Mr. VEGA IMBERT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first of all to express my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Illueca on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, an election which has a special meaning for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Our regional group is proud and honoured at his election, since his well-known skill and experience will ensure that the work of this session will be guided to a successful conclusion.

156. This is a fitting occasion to highlight the work accomplished by the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, who so ably led the proceedings of the thirty-seventh session.

157. Since my country is a member of the great family of the Caribbean, we are pleased to welcome most cordially the new free, sovereign and independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis to the Organization. We share with our brothers of that new nation their legitimate satisfaction at having exercised the most sacred rights of peoples: self-determination.

158. Our country was gratified to be present at the celebration of the national independence of this fraternal country and to bring a message of friendship and co-operation from the Dominican Government and the people, reaffirming once again the Caribbean focus of the present policy of the Dominican Republic.

159. We come to this thirty-eighth session deeply concerned at the continued deterioration of various aspects of the international scene. The crises afflicting peace-loving nations require of the Organization a joint effort to seek the means and machinery to face the problems and find appropriate solutions.

160. This great effort should be characterized by active international co-operation with the united participation of all the Members of the United Nations.

161. At this difficult time in the history of mankind international co-operation, which is an essential element for harmonious coexistence among nations, must be the force behind our actions if we are to overcome the present situation.

162. At this stage of international life, the major decisions of concern to mankind should not be the purview of a small and exclusive group of nations. Our country looks for more dynamic international co-operation reflected in all areas—mainly in the political, economic, scientific and cultural spheres—so that the major decisions reached on issues of great importance to all may be backed by a feeling of unity and solidarity, which is essential for their effective implementation.

163. The undeniable interdependence of nations, an essential characteristic of contemporary international relations, makes it necessary that international co-operation be based essentially on solidarity—a solidarity which can contribute decisively to the genuine development of peoples.

164. At the present time, when the international community is troubled by conflicts, tension and anguish, we must draw attention to Article 2, paragraph 3 of the Charter, which daily assume more significance in international relations: "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

165. The preservation of peace is the fundamental duty of the United Nations. To prevent and eliminate threats to international peace and security by means of peaceful settlement of disputes is a commitment which binds all Members, especially the permanent members of the Security Council.

166. We fully agree with the Secretary-General when, in his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/38/I], he points out that "It is the weakening of this commitment that has, perhaps more than any other factor, led to the partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security."

167. In view of the present conflicts, tensions and distress, it is urgent and necessary that we reaffirm our readiness to heed the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, for that principle is the very foundation of harmonious coexistence among peoples.

168. In an analysis of the problems afflicting the world, we cannot omit the grave danger posed by the headlong arms race pursued by the super-Powers. We must therefore express our concern at the virtual paralysis of disarmament negotiations. Faced with the apocalyptic image of a nuclear holocaust, the international community must demand that the big Powers make greater efforts which could lead to effective agreements and to their speedy implementation.

169. The Dominican Republic considers that we must now reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equality of rights of men and women and of nations large and small. We must fight to create conditions in which it will be possible to maintain justice and respect for obligations stemming from treaties and other sources of international law.

170. It was with well-founded pride that the Dominican head of State, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, declared, when he set forth the foreign policy of the country on the occasion of the first anniversary of his Government, "We have maintained a line of conduct which respects all the principles and norms of international law".

171. A prerequisite for giving effect to legitimate aspirations for a lasting and stable peace in the world community is the search for just and viable solutions to the many international conflicts facing us.

172. Among those conflicts, that in the Middle East deserves special attention. We reiterate our conviction that the problems of that troubled region of the world have shown that the question of Palestine is one of the decisive factors in the crisis. Hence we believe that there can be no effective and lasting solution in the absence of arrangements enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination, as has been recognized by this world Organization.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.*

173. At the thirty-seventh session my country, together with the great majority of the States Members of the Organization, supported the right of the Palestinian people to establish a State on Palestinian territory. Likewise, we reiterate our view that any peaceful solution in this troubled region must take into account Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which endorses, *inter alia*, the right of the State of Israel to exist.

174. We are also concerned about the situation in Lebanon. We hope that the recently announced cease-fire will be effective and will promote constructive dialogue, putting an end to that grave conflict and ensuring the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that torn nation.

175. The Dominican Republic, which has always maintained a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and is convinced that this is the essential basis of peace, is concerned at the foreign intervention in Chad, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

176. Furthermore, we support the long-desired unification of the Korean people in a sovereign State by means of an agreement consistent with the objectives of the Charter.

177. Nor can we remain silent about our frustration when we see that the just cause of the independence of the Namibian people has moved no further towards success, in spite of the appeals of the international community.

178. From the very day the present Government of the Dominican Republic took office it has constantly expressed its profound concern over the crisis affecting the Central American region. We cannot forget that since we met at the thirty-seventh session the Central American conflict has noticeably worsened through a rise in violence, border incidents and other factors which have steadily increased the threat of a widespread military conflagration that could endanger the peace of the continent.

179. The Dominican Republic has always associated itself with the responsible advocates of political understanding, of a peaceful solution resulting from constructive

dialogue, and of the elimination of age-old obstacles which, rooted in underdevelopment, social injustice and a lack of democratic institutions, are the root causes of this serious conflict involving brother peoples whose legitimate demands are in every way understandable.

180. Foreign interference, the unbridled arms race and ideological approaches that would place the problem in the framework of a broad and exclusive confrontation between the super-Powers, are powerful contributing factors in a decisive worsening of the situation.

181. None the less, all is not bleak for the future of the region. Faced with the concern and legitimate interest of many peoples, organizations and political forces and with the demands of an international community which is deeply concerned and determined to avoid an all-out war or the slow and ruinous process of a chronic crisis like that in the Middle East, the surrounding countries have taken the significant step of forming the Contadora Group, which has earned unanimous international support, with my country among the first to praise its efforts.

182. The Contadora Group has carried out praiseworthy work. It has built a *cordon sanitaire* that can prevent a widespread war, the dangerous "military solution", whose political and social costs would be lethal to the development of the peoples of the area and to their legitimate desires for democracy and freedom. Such a questionable "solution" would be essentially a temporary one and would in the short term be a starting-point for new stages of tension and violence and would without doubt carry with it still greater risks. In the worst case, it would be the execrable "peace of extermination" of which the illustrious Roman historian warned in his celebrated *Annals*.

183. Furthermore, the Contadora Group has created a framework for dialogue through which concrete proposals have been made on the basis of which a just, viable and lasting peace in Central America could be built.

184. The elements of those proposals should lead, in the regional framework, in accordance with the Cancún Declaration, to "control of the arms race; the elimination of foreign advisers; the creation of demilitarized zones; the prohibition of the use of . . . some States for the development of political or military destabilization actions in other States; the eradication of transit of and traffic in arms; and the prohibition of other forms of aggression or interference in the internal affairs of any country in the area". [See A/38/303.]

185. The Cancún line of thinking, the essence of which is regional political understanding based on respect for the principles of non-interference and the self-determination of peoples, necessarily implies a strengthening of democratic institutions, the guarantee of the observance of human rights and a programme of socio-economic development leading to social justice.

186. Recently, in a significant forward step, the Central American nations ratified a Document of Objectives which were formulated, on the basis of the Cancún Declaration, in Panama at the beginning of September.<sup>8</sup>

187. Of course, it will now be a matter of implementing those agreements, and we are neither deceiving ourselves nor being pessimistic if we say in a sense of realism that that implementation will be difficult, that it will be an arduous task, given the extreme complexity of the factors fuelling the Central American tragedy.

188. Aware of that reality, the Presidents of the Contadora countries stated the following:

"We appeal to all members of the international community, especially those which have expressed sympathy with the efforts of the Contadora Group,

and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, to contribute, with their experience and diplomatic capability, to the search for peaceful solutions to the problems of Central America." [Ibid.]

189. That appeal may be a realistic one. As has been stated, what is at issue is a complex problem with roots that are regional but magnified in many ways by interests alien to the region. The implementation of the Panama agreements—what might be described as an attempt at a Central American peace project—will require concrete, broad and significant support for the Contadora Group by the international community.

190. The Dominican Republic has always considered that Contadora should be complemented by efforts of many types to remove obstacles and facilitate the implementation of agreements and solutions.

191. Recently, the President, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in a statement made during the celebration of his first year in office, said:

"The Dominican Republic's clear position in favour of Central American peace not only has been expressed in statements and declarations but has also been reflected in wide-ranging conversations and resolute action with heads of State and ministers of other nations, which have led to several official visits to our country."

192. An unshakable readiness for dialogue, good offices, mediation and contribution to all efforts likely to generate favourable conditions for peace in Central America is and always will be a constant of the foreign policy of the Dominican Republic, based not only on the duty of solidarity of all nations in the light of the principles of the international legal order but also on the fact that it is a Caribbean nation with a legitimate interest in preserving peace in a region in which, if it were caught up in a total military escalation, the security and institutional stability of many nations such as our own would be endangered.

193. In my statement at the thirty-seventh session [33rd meeting] I referred to an event in the south Atlantic which deeply touched Latin America and prompted a united reaction in support of Argentina's just territorial claims.

194. It is an unassailable fact that until the situation of the Malvinas Islands is resolved in a just and peaceful way it will continue to be a source of serious concern to our region. We therefore cordially urge the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to resume negotiations to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

195. The Dominican Republic reaffirms once again in this world forum its forceful condemnation of the policy of *apartheid*, which we consider to be a crime against humanity. Similarly, we condemn and reject all forms of discrimination as a violation of human dignity.

196. The Dominican Republic has expressed in the Security Council its regret and concern at the tragedy of the Korean passenger aircraft and affirmed that that unhappy occurrence that cost the lives of 269 innocent people and deeply touched the conscience of the international community must not be repeated in any circumstances.

197. We reiterate that that tragic event must not prevent the continuation of efforts to ensure détente, disarmament and peace.

198. On the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the

Dominican Republic cannot fail to record its strict observance of the norms and provisions of international conventions and instruments on human rights.

199. We repeat our conviction that respect for human rights constitutes a common good the protection of which is recognized in the norms of international law. We therefore affirm that respect for the fundamental rights of the human person is one of the most effective means of achieving peaceful coexistence for the member States of the international community.

200. During the last session we stated that the Dominican Republic unreservedly condemned violations of human rights in any part of the world, and we say it again today with equal conviction and force.

201. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in its article 27, enshrines cultural rights, that is, the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. We consider that the benefits of education, science and art must be shared by all and that every man and woman must be in a position to exercise his or her creative faculties. In this connection, we support in particular cultural exchanges and international co-operation as effective means of strengthening the spiritual links between peoples.

202. To ensure the harmonious and just development of all human activities, it is essential to improve the status and rights of women. At the national level, the Dominican Government has created in Santo Domingo a general bureau for the advancement of women. At the global level, I am particularly pleased to refer now to the recent inauguration in Santo Domingo of the headquarters of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, a permanent United Nations agency.

203. For that purpose, our Government donated the building in which the Institute has established its headquarters. With that contribution the Dominican Republic has expressed its resolute support for the cause of women and their full integration in the political, economic, social and cultural life and in the process of development in those various sectors.

204. The grave economic crisis afflicting the international community continues to be a source of great concern. Few countries have recorded any economic growth recently. The stagnation of trade is evident, the prices of raw materials remain depressed and the industrialized countries, in their effort to emerge from the quagmire of recession, are maintaining protectionist measures that obstruct free international trade.

205. The world-wide recession has, without any doubt, hit the underdeveloped world the hardest, as it lacks the industrial and financial potential and the social and technological development of the industrialized countries.

206. The third-world countries continue to face growing external indebtedness, generated mainly by the accumulation of balance-of-payment deficits, the flight of capital, the sharp decline in the gross national product, and fiscal deficits that cannot be financed. In some of them galloping inflation and mass unemployment persist. Moreover, our countries are experiencing a gradual contraction of income because of a deterioration in the terms of trade as a result of a decline in commodity prices and continued protectionist measures by the industrialized countries, to which we have already referred.

207. The Dominican Republic, as a developing country highly dependent on its exports of commodities, has of course not been able to escape the effects of the international economic crisis.

208. We must nevertheless point out that it has been an accomplishment of our Government, through rational and sound management of resources and of the nation's funds, not only to maintain and strengthen social peace and democratic institutions, but also to begin genuine economic recovery in many aspects. In this connection, in a recent issue of a major European magazine specializing in economic affairs, the Dominican Republic appears among the top 20 countries of the developing world with a healthy economy and in fourth place in the Americas. Likewise, our country has been placed twenty-seventh among all those countries in the world with regard to economies practiced to control inflation.

209. We know, however, that the major goals for full development will not be achieved without the concurrence of efforts and action by the international community to create a new and more just economic order among the peoples of the world.

210. At the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, in preparation for the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the developing countries adopted the Buenos Aires Platform,<sup>9</sup> which contains important statements with a view to reactivation of the world economy and accelerated development of the third-world countries, mainly in the areas of international trade, commodities, financing and other relevant issues.

211. In spite of the disappointing results of the sixth session, we consider that the statements in the Buenos Aires Platform constitute the most coherent basis for the promotion of the North-South dialogue and for eventual global negotiations from which the new international economic order may result, giving full effect to the economic rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

212. The frustrating experience of Belgrade prompts us, furthermore, to reaffirm the need to strengthen and increase South-South co-operation as one of our main responses to the crisis.

213. We are pleased to recognize that our region has begun to take significant steps with determination and energy, following the example of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, whose bicentenary we are enthusiastically celebrating.

214. Indeed, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have begun a process of harmonizing measures enabling the region to face the present crisis, through the development of its capacity for action and strengthening its systems of co-operation. That process is a response to the initiative of the President of Ecuador, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, strongly supported by the Dominican President, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, with the collaboration of the Latin American Economic System [SELA] and ECLA, whose work concluded with the so-called "Santa Domingo Commitment", adopted by 26 countries at the meeting of personal representatives of heads of State or Government of Latin America and the Caribbean, held from 1 to 3 August at Santo Domingo.

215. In his statement opening that meeting, the President of the Dominican Republic stated the following:

"In keeping with our conviction as men of the Americas, we are fully at one with the idea of establishing a Latin American strategy expressed in a concurrence of views for negotiating with the industrialized countries and at the same time for uniting the will of our Government concerning the need to implement integrationist policies, both in international trade and in areas of production, energy, transport, technological

development and other basic sectors of the economy of our peoples.”

216. In the Santo Domingo Commitment, urgent attention is given to the adoption of a joint plan of action concentrating primarily on the areas of promoting and strengthening regional co-operation and integration, fostering intra-regional trade and supplying food, energy and services and on international financial and monetary problems.

217. The specific elements of the joint plan of action will be considered and formalized at a high political level at a Latin American economic conference to be held at Quito in January 1984. It will be convened by the President of Ecuador, in consultation with the other Governments of Latin America and the Caribbean. Preparatory work has been entrusted to a group over which we have the honour of presiding and which also includes Peru, Argentina, Jamaica, Ecuador and Costa Rica.

218. Recently, at Caracas, the ninth regular meeting of the Latin American Council of SELA took place. Its main resolutions are aimed at strengthening the regional negotiating capacity. Of particular interest is resolution 179, relating to Latin American and Caribbean support for the convening of the above-mentioned Latin American economic conference at Quito.

219. The developing countries require the priority attention of multilateral financial institutions in order to resolve their financing and international trading problems, as these have a negative impact on the well-being of their peoples, affecting their pace of development and the appropriate level of domestic economic activity, which leads to an increase in social and political tensions.

220. While we recognize the efforts made by IMF to help countries in their adjustment processes, we understand that the terms involved in the financial stabilization programmes inherent in these processes need to be more flexible and that the financing bodies need to be strengthened through provision of the resources they need to carry

out their task. In this connection, we are deeply concerned at the decision of the Interim Committee of IMF to reduce the annual lending capacity of IMF to 102 per cent of the quota.

221. Finally, the delegation of the Dominican Republic, which I have the honour to preside over, wishes to appeal to human conscience, to all those who bear on their shoulders the heavy responsibilities of the destiny of their respective countries, so that given the serious political and economic crisis that threatens the very existence of mankind, wisdom and mutual respect may prevail instead of the violence that generates the worst of evils. This would indubitably promote a better understanding, which would open the doors to co-operation and solidarity among peoples, the supreme objectives of the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup> See A/36/586.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951, annex.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15834.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041.

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.