

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**2337<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 26 MARCH 1982  
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#### NOTE

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

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

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

## 2337th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 26 March 1982, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mrs. Jeane J. KIRKPATRICK  
(United States of America).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2337)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 19 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14913)

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

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 19 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14913)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at the 2335th meeting, I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table and the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Cuba, Honduras and Mexico to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Roca (Argentina), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Curías (Honduras) and Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Viet Nam in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accord-

ance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung (Viet Nam) took the place reserved for her at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/14927, which contains the text of a letter dated 25 March from the Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, I thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to speak today in my capacity as representative of Cuba.

6. We live in uncertain times. Irresistible winds are blowing. This Council is meeting to consider, almost simultaneously, the persistent violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people by the Zionist régime of Israel on the illegally occupied West Bank of the Jordan and the grave threats of intervention—direct, indirect or covert—hanging over Central America and the Caribbean.

7. Yesterday morning [2335th meeting], Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, in a calm, responsible and well-founded manner, exposed the plot that is being hatched against the fatherland of Augusto César Sandino. That plot is reflected in the economic pressure and diplomatic harassment of recent months and by the more recent armed provocations and aggression he described to the Council, which, furthermore, are publicly known. He also reiterated the well-known commitment to peace of the Sandinist revolution and its readiness to contribute to the achievement of negotiated political solutions to the serious crisis in Central America and the Caribbean.

8. An attempt has been made—in a vain outburst of hackneyed wonder-working—to have us believe that the origin of this crisis lies in an alleged surge of

subversion remote-controlled by the Governments of Cuba and Nicaragua against "peaceful" and "democratic" régimes of the isthmus struggling intrepidly to liberate their peoples from the poverty, ignorance, oppression and underdevelopment that have characterized this region since time immemorial. That attempt ignores—indeed, blithely ignores—the ominous role played in ensuring the persistence and worsening of those detestable conditions by that great Power which, in the words of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, "seems destined by Providence to plague the Americas with misery, in the name of freedom".

9. Where in fact lie the causes of the political and social upheaval now jolting Central America? They lie in the existence—among other things—of a 36 per cent illiteracy rate; in the nearly 2 million children who die before their first birthday; in the 7 million people searching in vain for employment; in the 12 million who lack adequate housing; in the 8 million—nothing less than 40 per cent of the Central American population—who, according to recent studies by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, live in conditions of extreme poverty; in the external debt of almost \$15 billion which painfully burdens their frail economies; and in the removal from those countries by the transnational corporations of profits of more than 100 per cent on every dollar invested.

10. For those who like to back up their statements with academic quotations, it would be useful to ponder the following statement by William M. Leogrande, the Director of the Political Science Department in the School of Government and Public Administration of the American University in Washington:

"The idea that these insurgencies"—and, of course, he is referring to insurgencies in Central America—"could be truly indigenous and that there might be no solutions to the crisis of the region without the involvement of the insurgents is drowned in the cacaphony of anti-Cuban rhetoric. Washington disregards the true origin of Central American insurgency: decades of economic inequality and political oppression."

11. A curious unidentified flying object—a UFO—came yesterday into the calm atmosphere of the Council in the strange concept of the "paranoia" of revolutionaries of all stripes. Thirty-one United States interventions in Central America from 1855 to the present time—not counting the tirades we heard in this room, which constituted one more unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua—all of a sudden became psychotic "projection"; on the other hand, no serious consideration was given to the points made in this forum by someone whose simplicity needs no subterfuge: Commander Daniel Ortega.

12. We have not come here to give a historical account of the interventions and acts of aggression which

have been suffered in the Americas for almost a century. Rather, we have come here in order to avoid, through the action of the members of the Council, any new acts of aggression against the independence and sovereignty of our peoples, such as that which—as even admitted by the spokesmen of the United States Government who refuse to rule out the possibility of engaging in covert or other actions against Cuba and Nicaragua and to reject the use of force against our countries—is already under way in Central America.

13. What we wish at this time is to know, in a clear and unequivocal manner, whether the present United States Administration is willing to recognize the vital need for far-reaching changes in the economic and social structures of Latin America; if it is willing to recognize the right of our peoples to choose and freely rule over their destinies; if it is willing, in brief, to develop its relationship on an equal footing, on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal benefit.

14. Of course this is not an idle question. I can only vividly recall that from the very outset of the Cuban Revolution—not to go back to the end of the last century, when we were robbed of our independence by means of the Paris Treaty and the subsequent military occupation by the United States—the then President of the United States, General Dwight Eisenhower, firmly opposed our carrying out such changes in our country. He arbitrarily suspended our sugar quota in the United States market and initiated invasion plans that ended in the ignominious defeat at the Bay of Pigs; I can only recall that since then, six United States Administrations have maintained a criminal economic blockade against Cuba and a policy of harassment, aggression and intolerance that indeed reveals incredible reactionary paranoia.

15. Despite the enmity of the various United States Administrations towards Cuba—and, might I say, the present Government is no exception—my Government has always maintained the same position of principle with regard to its readiness to negotiate and normalize its relations with the Government of the United States. Of course we can do that only on an equal footing, one where national dignity and the self-determination of the people of Cuba are not undermined—in other words, without compromising a single principle.

16. Much has been said recently about the will of the United States to negotiate its differences with Cuba and Nicaragua.

17. In the dramatic light of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, where the blood of patriots is currently being shed daily by the genocidal régimes of El Salvador and Guatemala—the Guatemala which has again been violated by the supporters of reaction and imperialism, after much-talked-about elections where the people were not seen; in a situation where threats have been made and aggression carried out

against Nicaragua, where there has been harassment against Grenada and provocation against Cuba, the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo—confirming once again, in the words of President Fidel Castro, “his outstanding statesmanship in the Mexican line of continuity traced by the illustrious Benito Juárez, who proclaimed that peace is the respect for the rights of others”—launched in Managua an initiative which is supported by my Government, by Salvadoran revolutionaries and by the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua.

18. Cuba concurs in the noble desire of the Mexican President

“to guarantee for our region of Central America and the Caribbean a situation of peace based on the right of peoples to full sovereignty, complete self-determination and the achievement of the political and social changes which they may themselves choose democratically”.

19. But while this is Cuba’s attitude, some representatives of the United States Government continue to maintain an ambivalent and unacceptable policy. On the one hand, they proclaim their wish to negotiate with Cuba and Nicaragua in accordance with the Mexican proposals; on the other, they refuse to rule out the use of force as one of the options which, illegitimately and without any respect for international law, is used exclusively to “punish” Cuba, destabilize Nicaragua and impede a real solution to the Salvadoran tragedy.

20. In its insane decision to freeze the historical process—taking us all the way back to the Neanderthal period of the diplomacy of gunboats and the so-called cold war—the Government of the United States, which refuses to listen to its own public opinion, to that of a growing number of Congressmen, Senators and other leaders of American society, as well as to that of not a few of its allies in the world in general, attributes the rebellion of the Salvadoran people to a sinister Cuban-Nicaraguan plot in the pay of who knows what interests of the Soviet Union—which, might I say in passing, has no transnational corporations in this part of the world or elsewhere—a plot in which even Viet Nam and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) seem to be involved in one way or another, with the purpose of establishing in that territory of our Americas—small in size but great because of the heart of its patriots—a terrible threat to the national security of the United States.

21. We Cuban revolutionaries feel the deepest admiration and respect for the Salvadoran patriots of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the legitimate heirs to the independence leaders and to the massacred peasants of 1932, those who fell at the hands of the stooge of oligarchy and servant of the Yankee monopolies, Maximilian Hernández.

Our solidarity with their noble ideals flows naturally, just as we naturally repudiate those who have brought El Salvador to a situation of poverty, illiteracy, oppression, assassination, torture and banishment.

22. We could not conceal that solidarity, born out of the crucible of a common Latin American fatherland; to do so would be to betray our roots in Bolívar, Juárez and Martí. José Martí himself reflected this when he said “What contains what is.” We would a thousand times over rather cease to be than cease to be what we were and are.

23. It is, however, completely false to say that Cuba is sending weapons to the Salvadoran revolutionaries—which does not mean that we do not have the right, the right that Bolívar had when he brought freedom to the peoples—to help in the liberation of a brother people. After all, the Government of the United States arrogates to itself the right to arm the counterrevolutionary gangs of the traitor Savimbi in Angola and to finance the destabilization of various revolutionary countries, in addition to being the acknowledged accomplice of Israeli misdeeds and an “intimate friend” and ally of the South African racists in open violation of international law and of the resolutions of the United Nations. Cuba, I repeat, is not sending weapons to El Salvador.

24. In this connection, the statements contained in the so-called United States report on the role of Cuba and Nicaragua in the rebellion of El Salvador published on 21 March 1982 in *The New York Times* are pure fabrications; they constitute a deliberate distortion of reality.

25. I clearly proclaim before the members of the Council that the statements referred to there are nothing other than a series of lies, falsifications and deliberate distortions.

26. They deliberately distort the statements made by President Fidel Castro to Mr. Wishniewsky, leader of the German Social Democratic Party, as they distort the statements made by Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodríguez to the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*. The accusation that we have used the *Monimbo* and other vessels in “arms trafficking” to Nicaragua reveals a brazen attempt—in keeping with their threat of a naval blockade, recently adduced by one of the better-known minor figures in its neo-colonial altarpiece—to impede or to hinder normal commercial traffic between Cuba and Nicaragua.

27. This misnamed “report”, which, as the United States press itself recognizes, adds nothing new to the fables already put forth on the Cuban-Nicaraguan “connection” with the Salvadoran revolution, is, as everything previously published to that same end, empty of any proof. Its authors do not offer any evidence, resorting to the crude pretext of “protecting their sources”, since they of course know that they could not confirm or corroborate what does not exist.

28. Those who are sending weapons on a daily basis to El Salvador—weapons, of course, to massacre the people and not to free them—are the rulers themselves of the United States, themselves, those who have raised a hypocritical outcry about the so-called arms buildup of Cuba and Nicaragua while they squander on their naval exercises, threateningly carried out in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Caribbean, many more millions than the ridiculous sum offered to the countries of the region, allegedly for their "development", within the framework of the so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative.

29. As President Fidel Castro stated at the 68th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held at Havana from 13 to 24 September 1981,

"With weapons one can kill the hungry and the exploited in El Salvador, but one cannot kill the hunger, illiteracy, ill health and injustice which prevail in that country, nor can one kill the just and centuries-old right of peoples to rebel against tyranny."

30. The Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua has addressed this Council for "serious and extremely urgent reasons", to use the words in the statement of Commander Daniel Ortega [*ibid.*, para. 28], and—we must say this—on the basis of a right firmly established in the Charter of the United Nations.

31. Therefore there can be no whimsical interpretation of Article 52 of the Charter as limiting in any way the sovereign right of Member States. No regional organization, no pact or similar treaty stands above, or can be invoked to the detriment of, the supreme authority which the Charter confers on the Security Council in connection with the maintenance of international peace and security—and even less when the regional organization in question lacks universality, excluding some and denying entry to others while admitting a Power that has nothing to do with the Latin American region.

32. In our view, the question of Central America and the Caribbean—in the context of and at the level referred to by the Head of State of Nicaragua—is fully germane and legitimate in the proceedings of the Council, a body which must reiterate, with the full force of its authority, the cardinal principles governing the Organization and which are applicable to this situation, among them the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the right of every people to self-determination and independence and to the determination of its own destiny, and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

33. The Council must urge the United States Government explicitly to rule out the use of direct, indirect or covert force against Central American and Caribbean countries and, in the settlement of its differ-

ences with these countries, to restrict itself exclusively to negotiation.

34. Cuba will unalterably maintain its decision to support the peace proposals of the President of Mexico and to contribute to the solution of problems in Central America and the Caribbean through peaceful and negotiated means, with the same firmness with which we have rejected and will reject definitively any attempt to intimidate us, blackmail us and impose conditions or ultimatums on us. As stated by President Fidel Castro in his message to President López Portillo: "Faced with any act of aggression, we will know how to defend our dignity, our sovereignty and our principles at any price, to the last man and woman of our revolutionary people and to the last drop of our blood."

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

36. Mr. MUNOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Madam President, first of all, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council, whose proceedings have thus come to benefit from the intelligence and dedication that are your hallmark. I am especially pleased by the impartiality you have shown in expediting the handling of this delicate matter. You have, unquestionably, honoured the democratic tradition of your country.

37. Mexico is again taking a place at the Council table, in keeping with its duty as a member of the community of nations and as an integral part of a region deeply in the throes of social turmoil and very much in need of peaceful means of resolving its conflicts and of assuring its independence.

38. The Council has met to hear the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, and to examine facts and circumstances which could constitute a grave threat to the independence and sovereignty of the nations of Central America and to international peace and security.

39. Yesterday we heard accounts of the affronts and threats directed against Nicaragua since the victory of the Sandinist Revolution, affronts and threats which have built up to the point of bringing its people to a state of national emergency. We have also heard the considered analysis by a major political leader who does not seek confrontation but dialogue, provided the right of his country freely to decide its own destiny is respected. To Commander Ortega—through the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, who is present—and to the young Nicaraguan revolution, I offer once again, and no matter what may happen, the whole-hearted solidarity of the people and the Government of Mexico.

40. My country is vitally concerned with what is happening in Central America and in the Caribbean, not only because these are neighbouring countries but also because these are fraternal peoples which have endured, as we ourselves have endured, the adversities imposed by geography throughout a history stained by blows to their sovereignty and by violations of their integrity.

41. Few regions of the world have seen so many recurrent examples of all forms of foreign intervention and interference. Perhaps in no other area has the encirclement of domination been so persistent and the internal systems of oppression that perpetuate backwardness and dependency so persevering.

42. This is not the time to open up the painful record of aggression committed against the peoples of Latin America; rather, it is the time to reaffirm in precise terms the basic principles of international coexistence: the right to self-determination of all peoples, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We must see to it that these principles are respected everywhere, in particular in areas contiguous to the super-Powers, as these areas are the most vulnerable.

43. This is also a time for us to use our imagination and our political will in the search for negotiated alternatives to a crisis which, if it worsens, would have irreparable consequences for all the States involved. It would compromise the efforts of many developing nations towards independence and jeopardize the precarious political balance of the world. As President López Portillo has requested: let us all give ourselves one last chance, and let us make good use of it.

44. The question of Central America has become a question of conscience for all mankind. The unaccustomed interest that the region's problems have aroused on all continents is an unambiguous signal of their seriousness and overriding importance. The great majority of public opinion, in the North as in the South, in the East as in the West, recognizes the authenticity of the Latin American revolutionary movements and hopes that those peoples will not be backed into a corner and that their rights will not be trampled upon by policies of force that lead nowhere.

45. Today the distinctive feature of our region is the struggle to change centuries-old conditions of poverty and exploitation. Just as the battles for political independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America were not and have not been by-products of conflicts of interest between the major Powers, the social revolutions of our own day cannot be encompassed within the framework of East-West rivalries.

46. No evidence of outside support could cancel out one fundamental truth: revolutions are made by peoples using all the means at their command. It has always been thus. But it is not those means that deter-

mine the nature of a revolution, and they could never be used to justify foreign intervention. Mexico, like many other nations, has had its own revolutionary experience. It was opposed and slandered in each of its efforts at emancipation and therefore profoundly respects and demands respect for the efforts of all nations to liberate themselves.

47. The strict respect for the rules of international law which my country has invariably maintained testifies to the sincerity of its position in this case. We have spoken unequivocally against any violations of the sovereignty and integrity of States wherever they have occurred. We have firmly upheld the right of peoples to self-determination and its logical consequence, which is political pluralism at the region and world levels. We have struggled to make relations between North and South follow a path of international economic co-operation and to keep them from being distorted by the effects of confrontations between ideological blocs. We have actively promoted the denuclearization of Latin America within the framework of the Treaty of Tlatelolco<sup>1</sup> so that the nations of our region will not become instruments of foreign interests. In short, we have opposed the use of third-world nations as chips on the table of global strategic interests.

48. Consistent with that tradition, and coupled with the excellent relations of friendship it maintains with the States of the region, Mexico has promoted constructive solutions to the Central American crisis, solutions that would safeguard the rights of all parties. We have done so in a most open manner, while trying to avoid the verbal belligerence of either side, which in itself becomes an obstacle to understanding.

49. My Government has repeatedly declared that a new intervention by the United States in Central America would represent a gigantic historical error that would send us back to the bitter days of continental relations. We have proposed, instead, realistic negotiation alternatives that would prevent a conflict of unpredictable consequences.

50. On 21 February of this year, in Managua, the President of Mexico set out a series of steps that could favour a relaxation of tensions and stability and development in the Central American Basin and the Caribbean. This requires systematic dialogue among the interested parties and a genuine readiness on their part to grant mutual concessions without abandoning their essential principles and their legitimate interests.

51. From all evidence, the solution of our problems requires a substantial improvement in relations between Cuba and the United States. The Cuban revolution is an irreversible historical fact. Keeping Cuba out of regional decision-making forums is a mistake, and constructing strategic hypotheses based on the isolation of that country and on the rhetoric of aggression only leads to a poisoning of the continental political climate by importing the cold war.

52. The most searing regional problem is surely that of El Salvador. With full respect for that sovereign nation, we have repeatedly expressed our concern over the levels of violence and of human-rights violations that have been reached there. The overwhelming majority of the international community has come out in favour of a negotiated political solution to the Salvadoran conflict to put an end to the absurd annihilation of human lives and to protect that nation against the dangers of apparent triumphs or intolerable foreign intervention.

53. With regard to Nicaragua, we have stated that the Government of the United States should rule out any threat or use of force against that country. We believe—and the President of Mexico has so stated—that any such design would be dangerous, unworthy and unnecessary. Invoking the close friendship between Mexico and its neighbour to the North, the President of my country has directly and respectfully called upon President Reagan to refrain from any action along those lines. Fortunately, the American Chief Executive has given assurances that he does not propose to undertake any military action in Central America.

54. The Government of Mexico has stated also that it considers it both feasible and desirable to create a system of mutual non-aggression pacts between Nicaragua and the United States, on the one hand, and between Nicaragua and its neighbours, on the other. We are confident that such agreements would make a significant contribution to peace in the region and would eliminate the anxiety arising from threats and the waste involved in unproductive military buildups.

55. Mexico's Secretary for Foreign Affairs recently held intensive talks successively with the United States Secretary of State, with the President of the Council of State and with the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and with the members of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, in order to expedite dialogue and understanding as regards the fundamental questions that up to now have divided their respective countries.

56. The result of those meetings has been highly satisfactory, and my Government is in a position to state that there are logical and objective bases on which to reach a series of agreements among the parties involved in the conflict. We harbour the hope that a process of substantive negotiations will commence shortly on the situation in Central America.

57. At the proposal of our country, the United States and Nicaragua have agreed to meet at a high political level at Mexico City in the coming month of April in order to discuss the main questions that separate them. There is no doubt that in order for these talks to produce the results that all of us desire, it will be necessary to set aside the threats and recriminations which, unfortunately, have increased in recent weeks.

58. We call upon our two friends the United States and Nicaragua to agree to an effective truce in words and facts that will permit the creation of a propitious climate for understanding. There are at present two parallel paths being pursued: the path of confrontation and the path of negotiation. Mexico pleads for the second path, and the United States and Nicaragua, in accepting our proposal, have indicated that they also prefer that path. But we cannot continue to move on two different tracks. Confrontation and negotiation are opposed to one another. Let us give the two parties a chance to come to an understanding.

59. The Council has before it a serious and complex problem that by any reckoning could represent a threat to international peace and security. Under the Charter, its function is to see to it that tensions are reduced and catastrophe avoided. Its primary responsibility in this area could not be called into question without running the risk that, in the future and in the face of similar conflicts in other parts of the world, its jurisdiction would also be questioned.

60. The Security Council has indisputable jurisdiction over the investigation of any dispute or any situation that is likely to lead to international friction. Similarly, every Member State has an absolute right to bring before the Council any matter of this nature.

61. Member States that are members of a regional organ or parties to a regional agreement are not obligated under those mechanisms to deal with such matters before submitting them to the Council. The option of whether or not to resort to a prior authority becomes a sovereign decision of the States—as sovereign as the search for a direct solution between the parties to a dispute, or the utilization of any of the peaceful procedures provided for in the Charter.

62. We are calling upon the Council to contribute, using the means it deems most suitable, to promoting a climate of dialogue that will encourage a negotiated solution to the Central American conflict. The Council could not in any event waive its essential functions. On the contrary, it must employ all its authority and its preventive powers in a prudent and timely manner that will avoid polarization while there is still time to prevent the irreparable.

63. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Madam President, my delegation welcomes your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. You bring to this high office—in addition to your well-known brilliance—your methodical, efficient manner and your domination of the art of diplomacy, which together give an assurance that under your stewardship the Council will effectively and successfully discharge its responsibilities.

64. I must also take this opportunity to express to your immediate predecessor, Sir Anthony Parsons of the United Kingdom, my delegation's appreciation of

the very capable, smooth and efficient manner in which he, in his time, conducted the business of this Council.

65. Guyana has been following with deepening concern the constant deterioration in recent months of the political situation in Central America, as well as the threats to peace and security in other parts of our region. No one can deny that these meetings are taking place against the background of a charged atmosphere in Central America—one characterized by acute tensions and mutual distrust and suspicion in relations among the States of the region. Unfortunately, this situation of tension is being exacerbated by external involvement in pursuit of interests which are inconsistent with those of the peoples of the sub-region. Not surprisingly, those relations have now deteriorated into sporadic armed attacks with consequent loss of life. Guyana is very concerned that with the fragility and uncertainty now prevailing in Central America, localized situations of conflict could escalate into full-fledged armed confrontation, with implications not only for Central America but for the entire Latin American region.

66. My delegation therefore believes it appropriate and timely that the Council should have been convened now at the request of the Government of Nicaragua—in exercise of its right under the Charter—to consider the worsening situation in Central America and the threat that this poses to the independence and sovereignty of Central American States, to Nicaragua's own peace and security and to international peace and security in general. We deemed it our mature duty to support that request. We believe that in supporting that request and in participating in this debate we are rendering a service to the cause of peace in Latin America.

67. Long enough have the shrill voices of intervention and belligerence dominated the air. It is time that the voices of moderation, of calm, reasoned dialogue and of peace be heard. There must be—and there is—another way in Central America. My delegation sees the request by the Government of Nicaragua as a plea on behalf of the millions of people in Central America for whom peace and stability do not have to be achieved at the price of blood and destruction.

68. Central America is undoubtedly experiencing a process of internal change, and any external attempt to dictate or influence the nature, direction or extent of that change or to frustrate it constitutes an abridgement of the inalienable right of self-determination of the peoples of Central America. That process of change is evolving against the backdrop of particular political, economic and social factors which have been a real part of the history of the peoples of that region. The people of Central America are responding to impulses which no one can pretend to interpret for them, for it is they and they alone who have experienced these forces. The struggles of the peoples of Central America are struggles for an improvement in the quality of their lives and for fuller participation in the polit-

ical process. The people of Central America have already shed enough blood in defence of their own causes and of their own interests; they have no wish now to shed more blood on behalf of the strategic advantage of any outside Power. Guyana believes that their struggles are not struggles to prove or disprove the superiority of one or another ideological world view. Theirs are not struggles to spread revolution in the region. We therefore see it as unhelpful and as a dangerous mistake to distort and misrepresent the domestic impulses for change in Central America and to seek to make them out to be what they clearly are not.

69. The problems of Central America are not susceptible to military solutions, especially where such solutions are encouraged from without. The providing of military material, the encouragement of violent confrontation, the rhetoric of intervention and threats of destabilization do nothing but lead to greater tension and instability in the subregion and the widening of the arena of conflict. There can be no solutions imposed on Central America from outside. The only viable solutions to the problems of the region are those which emerge from within the region itself and which correspond to the interests and needs of the people as determined by them. Those solutions must respect the peoples' right of self-determination and the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region.

70. In the relations between States, the principles of international law must be inviolate and must be scrupulously respected. That is our only guarantee of peaceful and stable inter-State relations. The international community long ago outlawed intervention as an instrument of State behaviour. More recently, in 1970, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>2</sup> That Declaration, taking the Charter as its point of departure, solemnly proclaims, *inter alia*, the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The Declaration also sets forth the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

71. As recently as December 1981, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. That Declaration sets out in pellucid language the duties comprehended in the principle of non-intervention and non-interference. Those duties include:

“The duty of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in

any form whatsoever to violate the existing internationally recognized boundaries of another State, to disrupt the political, social or economic order of other States, to overthrow or change the political system of another State or its Government, to cause tension between or among States or to deprive peoples of their national identity and cultural heritage;

“ . . .

“The duty of a State to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at another State or group of States, or any act of military, political or economic interference in the internal affairs of another State, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force;

“ . . .

“The duty of a State to refrain from any action or attempt in whatever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of another State or of any of its institutions.”<sup>3</sup>

72. This Declaration enjoys the total support of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, because its principles are principles which have historically been the cornerstones of our Movement. We felt it was necessary to set them out in lucid declaratory form as another protection for small States which are invariably the victims of aggression and intervention.

73. Those lofty instruments are not intended for the adornment of the archives of the United Nations or of chancelleries in State capitals; they are conceived of as embodying guiding principles for the behaviours of States in their relations with one another, in accordance with the system of international relations based on the rule of law as contemplated in the Charter. Their only value lies in strict observance of them. The lesson of recent experience in Central America is that departure from these principles endangers peace and stability and leads to needless human suffering.

74. My delegation would like to express its support for the Government and people of Nicaragua in their efforts to consolidate and defend their revolution, to strengthen their political and economic independence and to organize their internal affairs in such a manner as they themselves, in exercise of their sovereign right, shall decide upon.

75. The other focal point of Guyana's concern with regard to Central America is El Salvador. The Government of Guyana profoundly regrets that change must come in El Salvador at such a high price in human life and suffering and material damage. It is in the context of this increasing concern that I here reiterate the support of the Government of Guyana for the positions expressed in the joint Franco-Mexican Declaration on El Salvador of 28 August 1981 [S/14659,

*annex*]. It is clear that there is widespread political awareness among the people of El Salvador as expressed, for example, in the alliance of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front. The Declaration just referred to recognizes that alliance as a political force which must have a role in the search for a settlement in El Salvador. Guyana believes that a just lasting settlement of the problems now facing El Salvador must be worked out by the peoples of that country themselves, without any form of pressure or interference from outside.

76. The need for discourse and negotiation in Central America was never more urgent, nor the moment more propitious. In this context, my delegation welcomes the peace plan recently made public in Managua by Mr. José López Portillo, President of Mexico. We believe that this plan offers a sound, practical basis for negotiated solutions to the problems which the States of Central America have with one another as well as with the United States—solutions that would respect the independence of the countries concerned and also take account of their needs and of their concerns. We express the hope that this plan will provide a mechanism and a basis whereby belligerent postures will once and for all give way to constructive dialogue with a view to the introduction of a régime of peace and of stable, harmonious relations among the States of Central America.

77. My delegation has taken note of the willingness expressed by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra to improve the climate of relations with the United States on the basis of mutual respect and unconditional recognition of Nicaragua's right to self-determination and to begin immediately direct and frank conversations with the Government of the United States, even in a mutually agreeable third country, with the objective of reaching concrete results through such negotiations.

78. We have also noted the indication he gave of the willingness of the Salvadoran patriots of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front to begin immediate negotiations without preconditions, as well as that of the revolutionary Government of Cuba to begin negotiations with the United States without delay.

79. My delegation has noted with satisfaction the stated commitment made by the United States in this chamber yesterday [2335th meeting] regarding its readiness to engage in dialogue and negotiations, as well as its assurance that it has no intention of invading anyone. We also note the positive disposition of the Government of the United States to the Mexican initiative for peace in Central America.

80. The current situation in Central America has provoked such wide international preoccupation that it was proper that this Council, in the discharge of its

major responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, should address itself to it. My delegation is confident that the Council's deliberations on the complaint brought by Nicaragua will serve as a stimulus to the process of dialogue which has already begun, or which appears to have begun, within the framework of the Mexican peace plan. My delegation supports and wishes to give every encouragement to that process. But to begin a dialogue is not to find solutions. My delegation would urge that while the process of dialogue is under way, restraint be exercised in both rhetoric and actions so that the attainment of the objectives of the dialogue is not prejudiced. In the meantime, my delegation considers it appropriate that this Council should reaffirm the relevant principles concerning peaceful and friendly relations among States. It is only on the basis of those fundamental principles of international relations that a just and lasting solution to the problems of Central America can be found.

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

82. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would like sincerely to thank you and the members of the Council for having granted it the opportunity to take part in this debate, although my country is not a member of the Council.

83. Together with the whole of mankind, Viet Nam is deeply concerned at the extreme tension now prevailing in Central America, where some young States, including Nicaragua, are confronted with the imminent danger of military aggression; this gravely imperils the peace and security of the entire Central American and Caribbean region.

84. I share the belief of previous speakers that the situation is a result of the policies of the United States, which has deliberately ignored the far-reaching changes in the social, economic and political situation that had been imposed on the peoples of the region over the centuries by feudalism and underdevelopment. The people of Nicaragua, like those of El Salvador, Grenada and Cuba, and their brothers in Asia and Africa, cannot tolerate the burden of poverty, oppression and humiliation that has weighed on them for too long, and they must struggle to change the internal and external structures of their societies, whether they be colonial or neo-colonial in form.

85. After the triumph of its revolution, the people of Nicaragua is dedicating itself to the work of reconstructing its country in the way it has itself chosen. We greatly regret that this revolution and its attendant changes—changes that have always existed, as long as the history of mankind, and which are as impossible to prevent as a pregnant woman's giving birth—are

not understood by some. For some time the world has been witnessing an avalanche of hostile actions in all fields against Nicaragua and the countries of the Caribbean, especially Cuba and Grenada, perpetrated by the United States on the pretext that Nicaragua has helped the forces of the Farabundo Martí Front in their struggle against the dictatorial Salvadoran régime.

86. I do not want to enumerate again the long list of large-scale espionage operations by air and destroyers off El Salvador and Nicaragua and the gross campaigns of lies launched by the United States, by means of the most sophisticated techniques, against those small countries. All the media from East to West have spoken much of this. I should just like to stress that this policy of blackmail, war and intimidation cannot frighten the heroic people of Nicaragua or the Salvadoran fighters. Furthermore, it has given rise to a swell of energetic protest, not only among Governments and peoples throughout the world, but also among the American people itself. Gargantuan demonstrations have been held in many United States cities, under the banner "No more Viet Nams". Sabre-rattling and arrogant declarations are out of step with our times, when the vast majority of peoples are taking their destinies into their own hands.

87. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in the statement by the spokesman of its Ministry for Foreign Affairs, has said that it considers that the war-like interventionist policy, the policy of intimidation and aggression, of the United States Government is entirely contrary to the interests of the American people and is contrary to the growing tide of protest from nearly all the peoples and Governments of Latin America and the Caribbean.

88. This interventionist policy in Central America and the Caribbean, in particular against El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada, which directly violates the independence, sovereignty, security and peace of those States, constitutes a clear example of the use of force in international relations in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. And the unavowed goal of these policies is to liquidate the Nicaraguan revolution and the liberation movements of the peoples of that region.

89. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam vigorously condemn that plot and the adventurism of the Reagan Administration, so fraught with consequences. We resolutely support the cause of the defence and reconstruction of the country, people and Government of Nicaragua, as well as those of Grenada and Cuba.

90. We are convinced that the just struggle of the people of El Salvador for democracy, freedom and self-determination will triumph.

91. We are firmly convinced that, whatever philosophic, religious or political differences may exist,

the world's peoples are in favour of the settlement of disputes by negotiation. Our Government is thus very much gratified at the initiative taken by the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo, in putting forward his three-point peace plan announced on 21 February in Managua. Our Government supports all the measures aimed at preserving the inalienable national rights of the people of Nicaragua, its national independence, its freedom and its right to self-determination.

92. In my delegation's view, the only alternative to the present tense situation in the Central American region and the Caribbean is the assumption by the Reagan Administration of its duty to put an end to its policy of intervention and aggression and to respect the right to self-determination of the peoples of that region. It is to be hoped that there will be a positive response to the five-point proposal of the Government of Nicaragua, as set forth by Commander Daniel Ortega.

93. My delegation calls upon the Council to do everything in its power, within the framework of its mandate, to help to bring about a settlement of this situation by fruitful negotiations between the two parties, for the benefit of peace and the security of that region and of the whole world.

94. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the UNITED STATES; it will be made in exercise of the right of reply.

95. I should like to begin by thanking the various Member States of the United Nations who have spoken today in support of the principles of national self-determination, national independence, strict respect for territorial integrity, and non-intervention in the affairs of other States. Those are principles which are very dear to my country and which the United States in its foreign affairs does its very best to honour in a serious and consistent fashion.

96. I should like also to express the sincere agreement of the United States with the principles of international law that were cited by the representative of Guyana and various other speakers today, particularly with reference to the use of force and threats of force in the affairs of nations. The United States is very profoundly committed to the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and committed also to following and abiding by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the use and non-use of force.

97. I should like also to express the solidarity of the United States with all those peoples which hope for change, for democracy and development in Central America.

98. I cannot forbear noting that today there have been some rather odd disjunctions between some aspects of

political reality and political vocabulary. I find it worth noting, and interesting, as an observer of political affairs as well as the representative of my country, to hear the representative of the Government of Viet Nam speaking with such conviction about the principle of respect for national independence. I trust that the Member States of the United Nations would all agree that most of us believe that respect for the principle of national independence should apply in Kampuchea, as well as in the rest of our countries.

99. Yesterday I found it interesting to listen to the representative of Angola paying homage to the principle of respect for national independence, since Angola is a nation whose national independence is in some sense subject to the will of 30,000, 25,000, 20,000—however many thousand—foreign troops who occupy that land, with the consent of that Government which is invoking the principle of national independence.

100. I find it, I suppose, particularly interesting to listen to the representative of the Government of Cuba commenting on peaceful affairs in this hemisphere and respect for the principles of national independence and non-intervention. Cuba is a very strange nation which today, as members of this Council know, maintains some 40,000 soldiers in Africa alone, where those troops dominate two countries, doing for the Soviet Union there what the Gurkha mercenaries did for nineteenth century England.

101. In Central America, Cuba is attempting to export aggression, subvert established Governments and intervene in a most persistent and massive fashion in the internal affairs of more than one nation in that region. In Nicaragua alone, it maintains no fewer than 1,800 to 2,000 security and military personnel.

102. In other words, as Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders noted yesterday in his testimony before the United States Congress, "Cuba is a would-be foreign policy giant superimposed on an economic pygmy, whose people have had to sacrifice all hope for a rising standard of living in order to gain advantages in foreign affairs." Those advantages are largely purchased for it by some \$3 billion annual economic aid from the Soviet Union—and a great deal more military aid of course.

103. My country, however, welcomes any move of the Government of Cuba towards greater concern for the economic development and well-being of its people.

104. Finally, commenting on the use of language and the realities of politics, it occurred to me that members of the Council might be interested in a recent article concerning Sandino and Sandinismo in Nicaragua, since we are discussing here the letter of the Co-ordinator of the Nicaraguan Junta. A prestigious writer, Pablo Joaquín Chamorro y Cardenal, was

assassinated in the final days of the Somoza régime, as members of the Council perhaps know, and his death certainly was a precipitating factor in the successful revolt against the Somoza régime, leading eventually to the installation of the current Junta in Nicaragua. Pablo Joaquin Chamorro was a very highly respected writer, whose name is from time to time invoked by the leaders of the revolution, but not as often as that of Sandino, and he was, of course, the editor and publisher of *La Prensa*, the last remaining independent newspaper in Nicaragua—which may or may not have been permitted to publish today. Chamorro wrote:

“Sandino should be exalted precisely as a contrast to the Communists, who obey signals from Russia and China. Sandino fought against the United States Marines, but he did not bring Russian cossacks to Nicaragua, as Fidel Castro did in Cuba. There is a great difference between the Communist Fidel Castro, who in his false battle for the independence of his country has filled it with Russian rockets, soldiers, planes and even canned goods, and a Sandino, who defended the sovereignty of his ground with home-made bombs but without accepting the patronage of another Power. For this reason, Sandino was great—because he was not handed over to Communist treason like Castro, but fought within an Indo-Hispanic limit.

“Naturally the Communists who attacked and slandered Sandino when he was in the mountains now try to use him, because they have no moral scruple to restrain them. Sandino was a pure product of our land, very different from the products exported by Russia or China, and as such we must exalt and preserve his memory. The value of his exploits has a Nicaraguan value, not Soviet, and his nationalism is indigenous, not Russian.

“Sandino is a monument to the dignity of our country and we must not permit the Communists, with whom he never communed, to besmirch his memory in order to use his prestige and to succeed some day, on the pretext that they are fighting imperialism, in delivering our land to Russia, as Castro did with Cuba”.

105. Finally, I should like simply to mention that there has been a good deal of talk of change in Central America today and there has been a good deal of invocation of the hope of change for the people of Central America. The Government of the United States hopes very much for change in Central America: we hope it will be as peaceable as possible and bought at as low a price to the people of Central America as possible. We believe that an example of peaceable change may be observed this very week-end in El Salvador, where free elections with a free press, with competition among the parties, will take place. The risks of a free election are, as every office-holder knows, very great. When a Government risks a free

election, it risks being defeated. It takes a very brave Government that is more committed to freedom and to democracy than to retaining power to run such a risk. My Government congratulates the Government of El Salvador on being willing to risk its power for the sake of freedom.

106. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT.

107. The representative of Cuba has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. ROA KOURI (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is not, of course, to engage in polemics that I have requested to speak once again, in the exercise of the right of reply. In my previous statement I said that we have come to the Council precisely to seek, through the action of the members of the Council, to prevent a new act of intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, to prevent the use of force against the countries of our region. Actually, I should like to clarify several concepts expressed by the President of the Council in her capacity as the representative of the United States Government.

109. In the first place, it seems to me that the representative of the United States has today used a new—or at least it seems new to me—form of the well-known Orwellian “double-speak” when she says that the principles that guide the foreign policy of the United States are precisely the non-use of force, respect for the territorial integrity of nations, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. The non-use of force—I repeat. Perhaps I suffer from historical myopia or blindness, but I seem to remember that it was not the Republic of Cuba that invaded Viet Nam or Laos or Kampuchea; that of course it was not the Republic of Mexico that took away from the United States 40 per cent of its national territory; that obviously it was no small Latin American country which intervened, from the middle of the last century up to very recently, in 1965, in the Dominican Republic—where, curious as it may seem, the Interamerican Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance<sup>4</sup> was invoked, but only after 42 United States Marines had disembarked in Santo Domingo and then some 500 soldiers were brought in from some Latin American countries to somewhat legalize that state of affairs. Nevertheless, I am very pleased to see the representative of the United States Government stating before the Council that those principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations are the ones which guide the foreign policy of her Government. We hope that that is the case, at least in the future.

110. The representative of the United States said that Cuba was a strange nation. That surprises me, coming, as it does, from someone living 90 miles from that strange nation and because for many, many years, very close ties existed between our two peoples.

111. To me, for instance, the United States is not at all a strange nation. We know it very well. It prevented us from acceding to independence at the end of our war against colonial Spain. It militarily occupied our country for four years. Indeed, this is interesting, because, as usual, much is said about concern for elections, and now elections are being mentioned in connection with El Salvador. I shall refer to this again later.

112. However, for four years after the end of the war against Spain, the United States military interventionists never concerned themselves with holding elections in Cuba. And when they were held, it was in order to elect a President who accepted the Platt amendment—in other words, who accepted a *capitis deminutio* Republic of Cuba: he accepted an amendment allowing the United States Government to intervene whenever it considered its interests to be affected. That was done by the Government of the United States.

113. It is said that we maintain 40,000 soldiers—a figure which I have never heard in my own country—in occupation of two African countries. Really, I find it unique that such language should be used in the Security Council by the President of this body—even though she used it in her capacity as representative of the United States—to refer to a presence agreed to between independent and sovereign States, Members of the United Nations. I believe that this is truly offensive language. I do not think that the Government of the United States can improve its relations with African countries by insulting independent and sovereign nations.

114. It is true that my Government sent a limited military force to Angola, at the request of the Government of that country, in order precisely to prevent the racist régime of South Africa and the so-called FLNA [*National Front for the Liberation of Angola*], under the leadership of someone known as Holden Roberto, whom the whole world knows to be an agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, from impeding the independence of that country.

115. But it was the South African racist régime which invaded Angola, a régime which according to the President of the United States, is America's ally. Furthermore, everyone knows that that invasion was programmed by the Government of the United States in order to prevent the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola from attaining power and consolidating it in Angola.

116. I wish very clearly to state that the Cuban troops which are in Angola and in Ethiopia to contribute to the defence of the independence of those countries are there under sovereign agreements between our countries, in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter, and that they will remain there for as long as the Governments of Cuba and of those coun-

tries decide that it is necessary that they should do so. Of course, this represents a sacrifice for Cuba, but it is a sacrifice which all Cubans who are truly Cubans gladly make.

117. It is said that we interfere in the affairs of several countries of the hemisphere. This remains to be proven. So far there has been no real evidence that this is the case.

118. It is said that in Nicaragua we have between 1,800 and 2,000 security and military personnel. Really, I think that figures are being inflated with helium gas. Yes, we do have 3,000 Cuban technicians in Nicaragua. We can give the names of each and every one of them, where they reside in Cuba, what their professions are—doctors, teachers, builders—and, of course, we also have a small number of military advisers there at the request of the Nicaraguan Government. But this should come as no surprise to anyone: it is normal practice in today's world. It is not a crime. It is done on the basis of agreements between independent and sovereign Governments.

119. A gentleman whose name I do not recall—I could not take the name down—has been quoted as saying in the United States Congress that Cuba was a political giant superimposed on an economic pygmy [*para. 102*]. Well, I think that it is an exaggeration to say that Cuba is a political giant—and, of course, it is also an exaggeration to say that Cuba is an economic pygmy. We are a poor nation, in the process of development. But should the representative of the United States be interested in looking some time at the figures published by the Economic Commission for Latin America, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other organs of the United Nations system, she would see that we have the highest life expectancy of almost all developing nations, and certainly of Latin America; that our infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births is comparable to that of the most developed countries; that protein consumption in our country is comparable to that of the most developed countries; and that public health in our country is totally free of charge, as is also public education at all levels. In other words, while being a poor and underdeveloped country, our standard of living is much higher than that of the vast majority of the so-called third-world countries. And we have achieved this through our own efforts, in the face of an economic blockade decreed by the most important and powerful capitalist country in the world, which even prevents us from buying its medicine and food, not to speak of capital goods or equipment. We have done this through our own efforts and, yes, also with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This is fraternal assistance for which we are grateful: it is economic and commercial exchange which we practise on terms extremely favourable to our country.

120. So we are a poor and underdeveloped country. But to go from there to calling us pygmies is, I believe, done in a pejorative sense, in an attempt at displeasing us. But we shall not be displeased by it.

121. However, concern over the presence of a few thousand Cuban soldiers in two African countries and a handful of advisers in Nicaragua is truly inconceivable coming from the representative of a country which has more than 360 military bases abroad, including one on Cuban national territory, in Guantánamo, against the express will of the Government and the people of Cuba. And the United States Government not being a friend of Cuba, it is really nonsensical for our people to have to tolerate a world Power having one of the largest military bases of the area on our own territory.

122. Finally, I should like to say that of course the few thousand Cuban soldiers who are in two African countries to contribute to the safeguarding of the independence and sovereignty of these two countries are no threat to anyone.

123. I wonder, given the record of successive United States Administrations, what we could say about the hundreds of thousands of American soldiers who are found all over the world, from Asia to Africa, in all hemispheres and in the Guantánamo naval base.

124. Concerning the forthcoming elections in El Salvador, I would simply say the following. It seems to me that it is being over-optimistic to think that in a country shaken by a deep civil war, a country where human rights are not respected—and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights itself recently

discussed the question and adopted resolutions expressing the deep concern of the international community over human rights violations in that country—that there should be freedom of the press, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, that is to say that there should be the minimum necessary guarantees for the holding of elections with the participation of all the political parties, excluding, of course, the revolutionaries, who do not believe in the feasibility of those elections, but who nevertheless are saying that they are ready to seek a negotiated settlement with the military junta of El Salvador and have subscribed to the proposals of the President of Mexico to seek a peaceful solution.

125. Hence, elections in El Salvador would appear to me to be only elections on paper. Even the results, whatever they may be, would appear to me in these circumstances to be very doubtful.

126. That is all I wanted to say, not to engage in polemics but merely to dot the i's.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 634, No. 9068).

<sup>2</sup> General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

<sup>3</sup> General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex, part II, paras. (a), (c) and (e).

<sup>4</sup> United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 21, No. 324.

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