

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



17th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 2 October 1984,
at 3.35 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. MUGABE (Zimbabwe): First, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your richly deserved election to the highest office of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Yours is probably one of the longest associations with the United Nations, making you one of the most experienced and knowledgeable diplomats with regard to its operations. This, together with your tested and proven personal abilities, gives us advance confidence in your stewardship of this Assembly. I wish also to note with particular satisfaction that your great country and people are linked to my own by a commonality of geography, history and culture, all of which shape our common destiny. As I wish you well in your tenure in this onerous office, let me also pledge the full co-operation of the Zimbabwe delegation in all your efforts to make this session the most successful.

3. Secondly, I should like also to congratulate your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, for the efficient manner in which he performed his duties and responsibilities.

4. My third, and a special, tribute goes to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts for the enhancement of the effectiveness and strength of the Organization and for his quest for international understanding, harmony, peace and prosperity. His efforts in Africa in general and in the volatile southern African region in particular have earned him the admiration of all of us in Africa. His thought-provoking and honest analysis of the prevailing unstable world situation, as outlined in the 1982, 1983 and 1984 reports on the work of the Organization, not only reflects a deep concern about the state of our international relations, but also calls for serious reflection by all who are concerned that the United Nations fulfil the original ideals and purposes its founding fathers intended for it 40 years ago.

5. Finally, on felicitations, we of the Zimbabwe delegation very warmly greet and welcome to our midst the 159th and newest Member of this great

international family of nations, the sovereign State of Brunei Darussalam.

6. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to participate today in the Assembly's deliberations. My last address to the General Assembly was on 26 August 1980, at the eleventh special session [4th meeting], on the historic and momentous occasion on which my then only four-month-old sovereign nation was admitted to the United Nations. My pleasant, if also rather difficult, task then was to thank, on behalf of my Government and people, the international community and all progressive international forces, countries and groups for their respective assistance to the gallant Zimbabwean masses in our glorious liberation struggle to end a century of one of the most vicious and brutal types of colonialism, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. I also enunciated the main principles and ideals inspiring and guiding my fledgling nation's domestic, foreign and economic policies, which, as I emphasized at that time, are also very consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. At the risk of boring the Assembly, I should like with its indulgence to say a word about developments in Zimbabwe since my last address to this body. Soon after the attainment of our independence, our most immediate and paramount task was the integration of the three previously hostile armed forces. Pains-takingly, that was done, and today we are proud to speak of a single integrated Zimbabwe National Army.

8. At the national level, we embarked on the policy of reconciliation. We did not embrace this policy of national reconciliation just for its own sake. In fact, as a Government we believed that, for the people to tackle the enormous task of national development, past differences had to be forgotten and past crimes forgiven. We believed that peace, mutual respect and trust, as well as unity of purpose, would be the only way to surmount the daunting social and economic problems that faced us after a long and bloody conflict.

9. In line with the policy of reconciliation, a Government of national unity was created in which members of minority parties were invited to participate actively. Owing in no small measure to that policy and, of course, to the sheer determination of our people, we have gone a long way in our tasks of reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement. Hence, it is fair to say today that true democracy, social justice, national confidence and peace—hitherto a mere dream—are now realities in Zimbabwe.

10. We are determined not only that our people must exercise political power but also that their political independence and freedom should be accompanied by the enjoyment of concrete and material benefits emanating from the new order. In other

words, the satisfaction of the material needs and welfare of our people is to us as important as their right to political control. It means, therefore, that the building and development of the new Zimbabwe has to be done in conditions of sustained economic growth with equity.

11. Major and far-reaching political decisions designed to enable the country both to attain its domestic policy objectives and to play its rightful role in the regional and international arenas continue to be adopted. The latest of these were taken by the Second Congress of my Party, the Zimbabwe African National Union, held at Harare last August. The Congress gave policy guidelines on all major national issues.

12. This session of the General Assembly, like the two or three sessions before it, is taking place against the background of a really sombre international environment. The world economic situation, world peace and security, and respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, which are the main concerns of the United Nations, are all in jeopardy. Unless we all, and especially the wealthy and the militarily more powerful nations, rise to our collective responsibilities in accordance with the trust which all mankind reposes in us by virtue of being Members of the Organization, the crisis now confronting world civilization will continue relentlessly until this civilization is brought to its extinction.

13. In commenting upon the gravity of our contemporary international situation and the numerous serious problems buffeting it, I wish, with the Assembly's indulgence, to begin by drawing urgent attention to developments in southern Africa. As representatives know, there the *apartheid* Pretoria régime's dual policy of domestic terror, repression and exploitation of the mass of the black population under its ferocious rule, on the one hand, and the systematic military intimidation, brute bullying, political and economic blackmailing of neighbouring and front-line States, on the other, is endangering the sovereignty of those States. It is also seriously undermining and threatening the entire region's economic viability, peace and security.

14. The people of Namibia continue to suffer under the colonial domination and brutal oppression of the South African racist régime. Although the latter has long declared its acceptance of the now six-year-old Namibian plan designed to effect the peaceful transfer of power to the people of Namibia and, therefore, end the liberation war, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has yet to be implemented because South Africa, encouraged and assisted by some respectable Members of the General Assembly, has since 1981 been equivocating and prevaricating on this plan. But the more important aspect of the Namibian problem to us is the fact that a quid pro quo for the withdrawal of South African occupation forces in Namibia has been introduced which has nothing to do with the issue of decolonization of that Territory; and the even more surprising feature of that demand is the fact that it has been fully endorsed by some Members of the Assembly. I am referring to the demand that Cuban troops must be withdrawn from Angola before Namibia can achieve its independence, which thus envisages the parallel or simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban troops and South African occupation forces from Angola and Namibia, respectively.

15. Zimbabwe continues to reject categorically and totally that linkage and any other insidious machinations contrived by Pretoria or any other Government to delay Namibia's independence. Further, we also want to make it abundantly clear that we stand totally opposed to any initiatives designed to undermine Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which has been reaffirmed by Council resolutions 532 (1983) and 539 (1983). Namibia is a unique United Nations responsibility and cannot and should not therefore be reduced to a bilateral issue, as that would be detrimental to the interests of Namibia and to international peace and security. Zimbabwe fully subscribes to the position adopted by the Summit Meeting of Front-line States, held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, that:

"the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be the rapid implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognized independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country" [see A/AC.115/L.611].

The leaders of the front-line States also reiterated the continuing role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of the United Nations plan, as reaffirmed in Security Council resolutions 532 (1983) and 539 (1983).

16. In South Africa itself, we continue to witness the brutal exploitation and oppression of the masses by the racist *apartheid* régime. We do not wish to take up precious time in merely condemning that iniquitous system based on racial bigotry. Thousands of South African patriots are languishing in prisons because of their resistance to and repudiation of the *apartheid* system. Many more have lost their lives in the struggle for their birthright and freedom. The racists are making efforts to extricate themselves by trying to hoodwink the international community through the introduction of the so-called constitutional reforms.

17. I must, however, warn that not even that so-called political dispensation and the subsequent sham elections among the Coloured and Asian communities can deceive the oppressed South African masses about the real political objectives of the racist régime. The oppressed masses of South Africa and all their external friends and allies know full well that these so-called constitutional changes are but another chapter in the dark and sordid history of *apartheid* and that their real objective is the enhancement of and not the tampering with institutionalized racism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the so-called elections were boycotted by the majority of the peoples whose interests they purported to protect. Not surprising also were the demonstrations against the elections in black and other townships during the first weeks of September. Sad, but equally predictable, was the violent and bloodthirsty manner in which the legitimate protests were handled by the ferocious police machinery of the *apartheid* régime, which left no fewer than 50 persons dead, including schoolchildren.

18. In the face of the brutality and stubbornness of the racist *apartheid* régime, the international community has no alternative but to give more help to the South African national liberation movement and all those waging a just struggle for freedom and dignity in South Africa.

19. It is now common knowledge that the racist Pretoria régime is engaged in a vigorous campaign of destabilizing the front-line States. It has recruited, trained, financed and equipped mercenaries and armed insurgents to carry out acts of banditry against the sovereign States of Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Economic blackmail and sabotage are all tactics used by the racist South African régime. The racist régime has not even refrained from taking advantage of the unfortunate position of its land-locked neighbours.

20. The States Members of the United Nations are well aware that the South African forces are still occupying parts of the Republic of Angola. The abortive *coup d'état* against the Government of the Seychelles two years ago showed once again the dangerous nature of the racist régime. In December 1982, the racist troops of the Pretoria régime committed yet another heinous act of aggression in neighbouring Lesotho, where they massacred more than 40 innocent people, including women and children, in cold blood.

21. We vehemently condemn these acts of aggression, which seek to foment political and economic instability in our region and increase the dependence of the front-line States on South Africa. We call upon South Africa to stop this policy of aggression.

22. Only through broader economic co-operation with the rest of the world can the countries of the southern African subregion evade one of their major problems, emanating from a complex linkage of their economies to that of racist South Africa.

23. As a region, we have taken concerted action to free ourselves from South African economic domination, and to that end, as is known, we formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in 1980 and the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area in 1981. These two organizations should not be viewed in a narrow sense as merely economic organizations but rather in the broadest perspective as components of wider strategies and instrumentalities designed to facilitate a number of the grand aspirations and objectives of our respective States and Governments. We seek to promote closer economic interdependence between the economies of our countries with a view to creating a viable and meaningful economic community. Although appreciable progress has been made in both organizations, economic sabotage and incursions against our infrastructure, installations and other equipment by South African-sponsored insurgents have caused a lot of set-backs for our economic development. It is in this light that we are calling upon members of the international community to aid and co-operate with the front-line and other States of the subregion in fostering their economic independence and sovereignty.

24. I come now to other world issues. It is our feeling that the United Nations must be gravely concerned about and must reject and condemn racism, colonialism, military aggression, intervention and destabilization wherever and by whomever they are perpetrated, be it in Western Sahara, where the Saharan people are denied their self-determination; in the Middle East, where the root cause of all the tension and conflict is zionism and Israeli expansionist policies and practices and where the Palestinians' right to a homeland and to self-determination is denied them; in Cyprus, where external aggression

and interference have promoted and encouraged the unilateral secession now threatening that country's territorial unity, political integrity and sovereignty; in Central America and the Caribbean, in particular in Nicaragua and Grenada, where external intervention and interference in the affairs of States is sowing seeds of tension and conflict which hamper and impede democratic processes of transformation and interstate harmony; in East Timor, where foreign occupation prevents the people from exercising political independence and sovereignty; in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the presence of foreign troops and the lack of strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States are threatening the political sovereignty and the non-aligned position of those countries.

25. My Government's concern over the situation in these countries has been reiterated in every international forum, including the General Assembly, and is therefore well known; so also is our moral and diplomatic support for and solidarity with the liberation movements and progressive forces striving to bring about change in their respective countries.

26. I now turn to a theme that is of particular relevance and importance to the General Assembly at its current session, that is, the state of world peace and security. This session is taking place on the very eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and unhappily also against the background of an international situation characterized by everything the Organization was founded to prevent. This session therefore provides us with an opportunity for serious introspection regarding those noble objectives and ideals which inspired and guided the founders of the Organization 39 years ago. As we begin this introspective exercise, we will do well to recall that the founding nations committed themselves, in the words of the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

27. To the extent that, since the founding of the United Nations, mankind has not witnessed a global tragedy, an agony and turmoil of the magnitude of the two world wars, we can perhaps congratulate ourselves. We can also hope that the tragic lessons of the two world wars have had a salutary and permanent impact on our generation and on future generations. We are afraid, however, that such hopes may not be worth much when viewed against the realities of the increasingly threatening international situation, characterized as it is by disrespect for and gross violations of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some Members, especially those which are militarily more powerful, do not hesitate to resort to the threat or actual use of force or armed intervention in the internal affairs of other States in the pursuit of their own, often narrow, national interests or aspirations.

28. Such disregard for and violations of Charter principles and international law, together with the now more than apparent powerlessness and inability of the Security Council to act effectively in such situations, throw into doubt the efficacy of the system of collective security, as envisaged in the Charter. The small and militarily weaker nations, constituting by far the largest percentage of the membership of the United Nations, live in real fear

that this is the tragic direction in which the world is moving.

29. The fears about the increasingly deteriorating international situation and the uncertainty about the future of world civilization are exacerbated further by the proliferation of the arms race. I am not suggesting here that the small and militarily weak are the only ones concerned about international peace and security. But it is common knowledge to all of us that the arms race competes with development objectives. Not only is the development process robbed of much-needed resources, but humanity in general is deprived of the means of improving the quality of life. As the old African adage goes: "Where two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers"; so is it true that through the proliferation of armaments, the least developed countries suffer most. To halt the arms race has therefore become one of the most urgent tasks of our times. The United Nations will have failed dismally if it does not heed the eloquent calls, emanating from all corners of the earth, to halt the arms race.

30. This already tense international situation is further exacerbated by the current international economic crisis, unparalleled in modern times. We are convinced that the problem afflicting the international economy is a structural one, resulting from the asymmetry and disequilibrium of the world economic system.

31. The gravity of the crisis can be seen from the fact that no group of countries has escaped its malignant consequences. Even the developed countries have experienced low growth rates, stagnating incomes, excessive interest rates, high rates of inflation and massive unemployment. The social and political manifestations of the prevailing malaise can be seen from organized protests, strikes and growing social violence.

32. The situation has been and continues to be even more critical in the developing countries, some of which have the weakest national economies in the world. For these and, therefore, for the many millions of the world's population, the effects of the worsening world economic situation have been really catastrophic. In Africa, our fragile economies have been experiencing negative growth rates, and per capita incomes have actually dropped to about 4 per cent below the 1970 levels. This drop in per capita incomes clearly spells grave socio-political consequences when viewed against the fact that Africa's population growth rate is 3 per cent per annum. In many parts of the continent, too, successive years of drought have resulted in complete crop failures and threatened the very viability of agriculture, on which millions of the continent's population depend for sustenance and gainful employment. Africa's problem is further compounded by other natural factors, including desertification, the siltation of riverbeds and, in some cases, flooding too.

33. Even where and when we have been able to produce enough and are seeking outlets for our exports, tariff and non-tariff barriers in the industrialized countries have arrested our export growth. Similarly, our economies continue to endure balance-of-payments problems, and the position has not been ameliorated by the completely unrealistic approach taken by the IMF to the problems of the developing countries. In fact, our terms of trade have been failing, because the prices of raw materials—on the

export of which our economies depend—are experiencing a downward trend, whilst those of manufactures and capital goods have been rising.

34. We are also seriously concerned by the indebtedness of the developing nations. For example, developing Africa's estimated outstanding external debt alone reached \$150 billion at the end of 1983. That is \$25 billion more than in 1980. The rise in indebtedness coincided, of course, with a steep increase in the associated debt-servicing costs. Efforts to alleviate the debt-servicing costs through rescheduling have not been very successful because they have been on conventional lines, providing only short-term relief. In fact, greater proportions of the debt are composed of previously rescheduled debts, which in normal conditions have lost their eligibility for further rescheduling.

35. In these circumstances, our countries would have expected more development aid. Although sub-Saharan Africa's share of the otherwise stagnant or declining official development assistance has been slightly increasing, net capital flows from private sources have declined by as much as 50 per cent since 1980. Another worry we have is the progressive erosion of multilateralism in official development aid. The bilateral nature it is assuming is, much to our dissatisfaction, accompanied by its increasing politicization and commercialization. In fact, this trend is evidenced by the under-funding of international development institutions—IDA, UNDP, IFAD—institutions that are of particular significance to African and other low-income countries.

36. In order to ameliorate this situation we have tried to get the global negotiations launched. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, suggested a two-pronged approach to this problem. Emphasis was laid on a programme of immediate measures to encompass such important areas as commodities, trade, development, money and finance. The other measures would relate to the restructuring of the world economy in the long term. Unfortunately, all our efforts to get these negotiations launched have been in vain. Global negotiations must remain the framework of concerted efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations to match our new needs. Let us recognize the interdependence of all economies, for there can be no revitalization of the world economy without active participation by all countries.

37. Let me conclude my statement with a sincere call on all members of the General Assembly for bold and far-sighted action. The problems facing the Assembly need dedication and audacity, so that together we can implement the mandate given to us by the millions of people all over the world who have reposed their confidence in the United Nations. We cannot afford to fail.

38. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and all the representatives here present that Zimbabwe will do its utmost towards the fulfilment of the noble goals of the United Nations.

39. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the important statement he has just made.

40. Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): I am pleased to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, our warmest congratulations on your elec-

tion to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You are recognized as the person most eminently qualified for this high office during a crucial period in the life of the United Nations. Your undoubted dedication and wisdom, together with your proved diplomatic skill and sense of fairness, are bound to have a beneficial impact on the Assembly's deliberations. It is fitting, therefore, that in these challenging times, the international community has chosen wise and prudent leadership and is grateful to Zambia and to Africa for providing the services of one of its most distinguished sons.

41. In the same manner, I should like to pay a warm tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to Mr. Jorge Illueca, an illustrious son of Panama and of Latin America, and President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The United Nations is indebted to him for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the Assembly and for his invaluable contribution to international peace and co-operation.

42. My delegation wishes also to congratulate all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, who represent the different regions of the world, reflecting thereby the universality of the United Nations.

43. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations is a historic milestone in its inevitable progress towards complete universality. I am indeed most gratified to extend, on behalf of the Thai delegation, our sincere congratulations to the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam and to its delegation on this momentous occasion. Brunei Darussalam and Thailand are fellow members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and are thus committed to the cause of regional peace, harmony and co-operation.

44. The past year has been marked by contrasting developments which portend both promising and ominous prospects for the future.

45. On the one hand, the industrial nations have overcome one of the most serious recessions since the Second World War; on the other hand, the developing countries are saddled with a crushing debt burden with little relief in sight. While recovery is proceeding, albeit at an uneven pace, in the developed economies, the poorer nations can only look forward to a continued stalemate in the North-South dialogue and various interrelated multilateral agenda.

46. While the world has escaped a major conflagration for another year, armed conflicts continue in many parts of the globe, with increasing risks of escalation. While mutual restraints prevail, there is a virtual deadlock in all super-Power negotiations relating to arms control, with grave implications for all mankind. Not only the fearsome spectre of nuclear holocaust but also the ghosts of famine and mass starvation, indiscriminate violence and terrorism continue to stalk and haunt us, and the basic requirements for exorcising them are too often neglected or ignored. The root causes of these and other problems are too frequently a matter of controversy, and as long as they are not dealt with the problems will persist and may indeed worsen.

47. In all these developments the United Nations has an abiding interest and an important stake. Its membership represents the variegated world in which we live. Its difficulty is derived from the varied interests and preoccupations of our troubled and divided world. Its opportunity can arise from the

growing sense of interdependence which the Organization itself has helped to foster over the years.

48. On the eve of its fortieth anniversary, gnawing self-doubt and external criticisms are threatening to cause a severe malaise towards and within the United Nations. Although this institutional crisis is not the first, or even the worst in United Nations annals, it can lead to paralysis, to the discredit of multilateralism at the very time when international co-operation is imperative to reduce world tension and to strengthen international peace and security.

49. Since collective security and peace-keeping were the main concerns of the founding fathers of the Organization, and these areas are the primary functions of the Security Council, much thought-provoking discussion has been focused on the role of the Council.

50. It is to the credit of the Security Council and the United Nations system in general that, despite recent criticisms of its performance, there is never a lack of candidates for the vacant seats in the Council. Another interesting point is that, on most issues where no veto power is exercised, the votes in the Council tend to reflect the sense of the international community as expressed on the same or related issues in the General Assembly. This point highlights the need to maintain a proportional balance in the Council's membership.

51. Another significant aspect of the Council's composition is that, while there is a need to maintain a balance in proportion to considerations of geography or group, there is also a need for objectivity and moderation, especially in the face of explosive situations. Above all, adherence to principles and a just and reasoned approach to issues are prerequisites for improving the Council's performance.

52. Among the serious issues faced by the United Nations there are two which would seem to many observers to be less difficult to resolve, partly because they do not appear directly to involve the vital interests of the super-Powers or to indicate any prospect of immediate super-Power confrontation. Moreover, failure or further delay in resolving them will in the long run injure certain important interests of the respective super-Powers. These two issues are the question of Namibia and the situation in Kampuchea.

53. In both instances it is clear that the respective occupying Powers are acting illegally as well as in an inhumane manner. Any country or individual professing love of freedom, independence, human decency and dignity must find the ongoing situations in those two countries—Namibia and Kampuchea—abhorrent and unjustifiable. Thailand's positions on both issues are identical. We continue to support the legitimate rights of the Namibian and Kampuchean peoples. We continue to support the demands for withdrawal of the occupying forces without delay. As the front-line State in the Kampuchean situation, Thailand suffers similar attacks and acts of aggression, as well as a similar refugee problem, to those experienced by the front-line African States. We continue to support the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] in the same way that we continue to support the just struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with Prince Sihanouk as its President. At the same

time, we continue to support the role of the United Nations in trying to achieve a peaceful solution in accordance with its relevant resolutions and the principles of the Charter.

54. Despite the efforts of the United Nations for many years, especially in the case of Namibia, the Namibian and Kampuchean peoples remain deprived of their legitimate rights and dignity. It is not difficult to see why. Both South Africa and Viet Nam have used similar tactics to deceive the world while determinedly maintaining their ruthless objectives. Both South Africa and Viet Nam have relied on their superior military capabilities to subjugate the occupied countries as well as to intimidate neighbouring countries.

55. However, a cogent argument is that the super-Powers also have a vital interest in maintaining peace and stability in the regions of southern Africa and South-East Asia, which are undoubtedly important parts of the world. Moreover, their interests can be severely damaged by strained relations with the majority of countries in those regions. Since their immediate interests are not involved in supporting South Africa and Viet Nam, respectively, but only their fears of the other's intentions, their interests would be better served by ensuring the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), and the framework for a settlement of the Kampuchean problem adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981.¹

56. Thailand had the honour of hosting the extraordinary plenary meetings of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Bangkok, from 21 to 25 May 1984, at which the Bangkok Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [A/39/24, para. 495] were successfully adopted. My Government will continue to maintain its support for the Namibian people until they achieve sovereignty and independence in a united Namibia.

57. By the same token, Thailand will maintain its support for self-determination by the people of Kampuchea. Recently, the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of ASEAN issued a joint appeal calling for the restoration of full independence and sovereignty to Kampuchea through withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country, national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties and the exercise of self-determination free from outside interference.

58. It is important to note that in the ASEAN appeal there is a factual cognizance of the existence of Kampuchean factions whose reconciliation is necessary—indeed, essential—for the survival and well-being of the nation, and that an independent, neutral and non-aligned and united Kampuchea will best serve the interests of the Kampuchean nation. On the other hand, foreign occupation, under whatever pretext, will never conform to the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people. Moreover, it will only lead to more bloodshed, regional tension and external intervention. For these reasons, therefore, the ASEAN States hope that their joint appeal will find increasing support among the States Members of the United Nations.

59. With reference to the incidents near the Thai-Lao border, my Government regards them as minor border incidents which can unfortunately occur in any part of the world. The issue itself concerns only

three small, remote villages covering an area of 19 square kilometres and with a population of 1,100 people. The matter arose when Lao troops began harassing a Thai work crew building a road some distance from those villages and well inside our border. Once military actions had taken place, it became difficult for either side to yield for fear of giving the advantage to the other side.

60. This bilateral issue was further complicated by an undue interference from a third country, which has seized upon the opportunity to divert world attention from its military occupation of Kampuchea and to introduce an extraneous factor in the form of linkage to the Kampuchean problem.

61. It has long been the policy of the Royal Thai Government to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Laos. The issue of the three villages should not be permitted to stand in the way of improved relations between the two peoples, who speak the same language and have relatives on both sides of the border. Therefore, despite efforts of the other side to impede progress towards a peaceful settlement, the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem.

62. The situation in Afghanistan involves one of the super-Powers as a combatant against the Afghan patriots, who only wish to see the restoration of sovereignty and independence to their country. Having undergone some internal dissension, Afghanistan fell prey to foreign intervention and naked armed aggression. Five years of foreign occupation have resulted in nearly a quarter of its population being displaced and in their hapless existence in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. My delegation wishes to pay a fitting tribute to Iran and Pakistan for providing these unfortunate refugees with temporary refuge, which imposes a serious burden on their economies.

63. The Thai delegation reaffirms its full support for the repeated calls by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly for the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, in order to allow the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind. My delegation also reaffirms its full support for the effort of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to bring about a negotiated settlement in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

64. The Middle East continues to be embroiled in conflicts which are of the greatest concern to us all.

65. The war in the Gulf area between Iran and Iraq constitutes a worrisome source of instability in the region, with grave implications for international peace and security, as well as tragic human consequences.

66. The Government of Thailand enjoys friendly relations with both conflicting parties and earnestly wishes to see the two parties engage in a cease-fire and peaceful settlement of their dispute. We watched with deep concern the start of the present conflict by Iraq and continue to watch with equal concern the determined persistence of Iran in proceeding with the war until certain conditions are met. Does this mean that the hostilities and the accompanying agonies and

risks will be prolonged? The world has already witnessed "qualitative" escalation in the use of arms both on land and sea, including chemical weapons. It bodes ill for the patriotic youths of both great nations having to lay down their lives in a war that may never be won.

67. The core of the Middle East problem remains the question of Palestine. Thailand deplores the fact that the Palestinian people are still denied their inalienable rights, including self-determination. While we are asked to ensure the right of all States in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, the rights of the Palestinians to national independence and statehood are ignored. While we were rightly horrified by Nazi persecution of the Jews and are deeply moved by the plight of dissident Jews, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and properties has never been adequately addressed. Nor has the plight of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

68. The Arabs in the occupied territories, too, share a similar plight, having to live under foreign occupation while Israeli authorities adamantly refuse to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and to withdraw their forces from the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war. Thailand's consistent policy is to demand the prompt withdrawal of all Israeli forces from those territories and the full implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions without further delay.

69. Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Middle East has been fraught with heightened dangers. Lebanon is today wracked by civil strife and outside interventions, posing a grave threat to Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is with genuine sadness that we observe Lebanon, with its dynamic people and ancient heritage, being ravaged by destruction and incalculable suffering. It has been the consistent policy of Thailand to recognize the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The ongoing crisis in its southern part, which is under Israeli occupation, has recently deepened, owing to illegal actions by the occupying authorities. It seems only just that the position of the Lebanese Government be scrupulously respected, since it constitutes the Administration recognized by all, including Israel, which had indeed concluded an agreement with the same Administration.

70. Above all, Thailand calls for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 509 (1982) and urges all United Nations Members to respect the sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as its inalienable rights to its resources, and to support the efforts of the Lebanese Government to restore the legitimate authority of the Lebanese State throughout its territory within the internationally recognized boundaries.

71. The situation in Central America continues to be a cause of concern for the international community. My delegation is of the view that the Contadora Group's proposal for negotiations among all parties concerned, in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement with viable guarantees, is constructive and conforms to the aspirations of the peoples of the region. We wish, therefore, to express Thailand's support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, which apparently

enjoys increasing acceptance not only by the regional countries, but also by the international community.

72. One of the tragic human consequences of conflict is the refugee problem. While we have not successfully dealt with its root causes, we must continue to perform our humanitarian task, within the limits of our capabilities, in taking care of uprooted and displaced persons. There is nothing more symptomatic of our troubled times than the existence of millions of refugees all over the globe. The fact that poorer countries have had to bear a disproportionately heavy burden also indicates the state of the world's conscience.

73. The refugee population in Africa alone numbers 5 million. It is gratifying to note the successful convening at Geneva, from 9 to 11 July 1984, of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, and the fact that other countries with a similar problem, including Thailand, participated in that Conference and made their pledges to assist their African brothers.

74. In numbers, Asian refugees follow closely behind those in Africa. There are 2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, for instance. The magnitude of the problem in Asia is often compounded by the circumstances and duration of their plight, as in the case of the uprooted Palestinians. In Thailand, some Indo-Chinese refugees have languished for over nine years. Following the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces, the number of Kampuchean refugees reached its peak a few years ago. Continued Vietnamese occupation has brought about widespread famine and food shortages and has driven a quarter of a million more Kampucheans to the Thai border, a fact that is a matter of concern to the international community.

75. The refugee influx has, in turn, displaced the local population. However, their predicament is less well appreciated by the world at large and should be given due sympathy and assistance.

76. On the other hand, international concern is more clearly perceived with regard to the Vietnamese boat people. Since 1975, Thailand has given temporary refuge and protection to approximately 80,000 Vietnamese boat refugees. It continues to be Thailand's policy, as in other refugee cases, to assist these hapless boat people in ways that are commensurate with Thailand's limited resources and capabilities. The fact is that, long before their plight had become an issue of international concern, Thai authorities had provided them with relief and assistance. As long as the root causes are not dealt with, there will continue to be people who are willing to flee their country in rickety boats and to risk dangers on the open sea. Unfortunately, there will also be ruthless individuals who will prey on them. In 1981 the Royal Thai Navy set up an anti-piracy unit of its own. In 1982 the Government commenced an anti-piracy programme in co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. However, owing to financial and territorial constraints, it was possible for the programme to cover a sea area of only 15 per cent of the total area envisaged. In this connection, it should be noted that the so-called Gulf of Thailand comprises sea areas belonging to several coastal States, as well as parts of the high seas. Even then, according to UNHCR statistics, the incidents of piratical attacks on the boat people as well as on fishermen have decreased significantly. In July of

this year, the programme was extended for another year, thereby indicating the confidence of the participants in the continued usefulness of the programme.

77. The principle of burden-sharing must remain the cardinal tenet in dealing with the aftermath of a refugee influx, so as to enable the countries of first refuge to continue with their humane policies. Not only must the international community do its part in alleviating their burden, but it must also try to deal with the root causes in order to alleviate the refugee problem itself.

78. There are many important aspects of the humanitarian problem of concern to mankind, but among the most serious and appalling must be the deprivation of the basic and fundamental human rights of the black majority in South Africa. The policy of *apartheid* and its practice by the Pretoria régime are roundly condemned by the international community. Thailand's consistent policy is well known to all, and my delegation will continue to demand the abrogation of *apartheid* by the Pretoria régime and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the black people in South Africa in accordance with the principle of majority rule and with respect for human dignity and equality.

79. By the same token, the international community has a stake, and an important role to play, in dealing with another humanitarian issue, namely, drug abuse. The Royal Thai Government intends to remain in the forefront, in co-operation with the international community, in its efforts to suppress opium cultivation and to interdict trafficking in illegal narcotics in the areas under its jurisdiction. While it is true that not all our efforts have been completely successful, we remain no less committed and determined. The task is made more difficult by the inability to curb demand, which is often the responsibility of another sovereign Government, and by the rugged terrain and the limited equipment in the hands of enforcement officers. Moreover, in the case of opium cultivation by hill tribesmen, any ill-considered actions in contravention of their age-old custom and belief should be avoided. Indeed, one can safely predict that if such precipitate actions were taken, they would be condemned by many people from the same country which now demands such actions.

80. The problem of drug abuse, if permitted to continue unabated, would become a time bomb that might ultimately lead to the debasement, and even the destruction, of man. Death would not be as rapid as in a nuclear war, but man would lose his reason for being long before death overtook him.

81. The world is still confronted with the unprecedented threat arising from a massive buildup of arms and competition in the qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds. Furthermore, rapid advances in science and technology have made the extension of the arms race into the new dimension of outer space a very real possibility.

82. Negotiations, both within and outside the framework of the United Nations, to halt the spiralling arms race and reduce the risks of nuclear confrontation have not thus far made any significant progress. To this paralysis of multilateral negotiations is added the recent suspension of the bilateral talks between the two super-Powers on intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction issues. Moreover, the deterioration of the interna-

tional situation provides added impetus to the arms race, thereby bringing the world closer to the brink of doom.

83. In view of the unabated escalation of the arms race and the dangers that confront the world today, disarmament has become more urgent and imperative than ever before. The Thai delegation fully shares the views expressed in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], the first special session devoted to disarmament, that, while the final objective should be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the immediate goal must be the elimination of the dangers of nuclear war and the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race. My delegation urges that all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, pursue as a matter of urgency negotiations on the implementation of the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document, taking into account the legitimate security interests of nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States alike.

84. As a further step to advance the cause of disarmament, measures to halt and reverse the arms race should be complemented by other initiatives, such as the establishment of zones of peace. Such zones could strengthen the fabric of regional peace and stability and prevent extraregional interference, thereby creating conditions conducive to regional co-operation in economic and social development. In the light of this fact, Thailand and the other countries members of ASEAN will exert every effort to bring about the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

85. In the same manner, Thailand supports an early convening at Colombo of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. My delegation urges that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean continue to make determined efforts to overcome the outstanding problems and finalize all preparations for the Conference in a timely manner.

86. Recent reports of the use of chemical and biological weapons in certain parts of the world, including South-East Asia, are an appalling reminder of the urgent need to control and eliminate this type of armament. In view of their inhumane and indiscriminate effects, my delegation is strongly opposed to the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of these weapons in any circumstances. A comprehensive treaty banning such weapons, with adequate mechanism for verification, should be a matter of the highest priority in the ongoing work of the Conference on Disarmament.

87. On the eve of this session of the General Assembly, my delegation was encouraged to see some signs that the two super-Powers were more inclined towards a resumption of their bilateral arms talks. While it may be too optimistic to hope for a meaningful dialogue between them before the end of this year, it should be realized that time passes and with each passing day the risks of confrontation increase. In this connection, the tone set by President Reagan in his statement before the Assembly [*4th meeting*] should further encourage us to renew our collective efforts in the quest for a world free from weapons of mass destruction. Such a step would indeed be a giant step for mankind.

88. If the world can be spared the immense costs of the arms race, then enormous amounts of resources

can be released for such constructive uses as the economic and social development of the poorer countries.

89. The Thai delegation is conscious of the crisis at present affecting the global economy. While the underlying problems are structural in nature, international efforts to revitalize the development process in the developing countries are indispensable for sustained global recovery. In this regard, my delegation is convinced that such recovery and continued economic development are inseparable. My delegation therefore wishes to express its disappointment at the lack of progress towards the launching of global negotiations and to reiterate its call for their early inauguration. At the same time, we endorse the proposal for an international conference to re-examine the functioning and rules of the present international monetary, financial and trading systems and to bring them within the framework of global negotiations.

90. Since Thailand is a developing country heavily dependent on export earnings from food products, agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials for the financing of its development programme, it is concerned that in the past year commodity prices have dropped to their lowest levels in more than 30 years. Increasing recourse to protectionist measures, including export subsidies, quantitative restrictions and the use of other non-tariff barriers by the industrialized countries continues to accentuate the economic plight of the developing countries, to the detriment of trade growth and global economic recovery. The Thai delegation believes that verbal commitments to honour an open trade system must be followed by concrete actions to reduce trade barriers.

91. Protectionism in developed countries has imposed severe constraints on our food production and marketing, and too little attention has been paid to the impact of trade barriers on the problem of famine and malnutrition in the world at large.

92. Thailand is deeply sympathetic regarding the economic difficulties of the least developed and landlocked developing countries, which are the world's poorest and most disadvantaged. These countries include Thailand's neighbour, the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Many such countries, in Africa in particular, have to face serious famine and privation. Despite its limited resources as a developing country and despite its various commitments, Thailand has been able to provide modest assistance in the form of food aid and financial contributions, as well as technical assistance, to those nations most severely affected. Recognizing the seriousness of food shortages, particularly in Africa, my Government will look further into possibilities for bilateral co-operation with African countries in food production in order to promote self-sufficiency.

93. Regarding the question of energy, recent adjustments in fuel prices should not be regarded as diminishing the need for lasting and effective solutions to energy problems, including those of energy conservation and the utilization of alternative sources of energy. Investment, development and growth of production in the energy fields in the developing countries should also be encouraged. The Thai delegation supports the need for a sustained mobilization of international financial resources as a means of assisting the national efforts of developing

countries in using domestic energy resources. My delegation also renews its call for the early establishment of the proposed energy affiliate of the World Bank and for an early implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.²

94. With regard to the debt problem, Thailand feels that it not only imposes a burden on debtor nations but also constitutes a far-reaching constraint to world trade and recovery and contributes to the weakening of the international financial system. We were therefore disappointed at the failure of the London Economic Summit of the seven major industrialized countries, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, to address adequately the problem of debt and the whole range of problems besetting the majority of countries in the world, including trade liberalization, commodities and financial flows.

95. On science and technology, Thailand welcomed the agreement reached on 20 June 1983 on the establishment of the long-term financial and institutional arrangements for the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development.³ Although the agreement falls short of world-wide expectations, it is hoped that successful collective efforts will be made to mobilize adequate resources for the system, to enable the long-term arrangements to take effect as soon as possible. The Thai Government stands ready to make a financial contribution to the arrangements.

96. As a founding member of the Group of 77, Thailand attaches high priority to the goals of collective self-reliance through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, both within its own subregion and at the global level, under the aegis of the Caracas Programme of Action⁴ and the Buenos Aires Platform,⁵ respectively. In this connection, Thailand has recently played host to two technical meetings under the sponsorship of the Group of 77 and at the Group's request. One of the important outcomes was the establishment of an action committee on co-operation in fossil fuels, which is the first of its kind under the Caracas Programme of Action.

97. This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Group of 77. It is indeed a significant milestone in international co-operation. My delegation joins the other Members in extending its best wishes to the Group, as well as in thanking its chairmen, past and present, and their able staffs for their dedicated work on behalf of the Group, to which Thailand is proud to belong.

98. It is perhaps through lending one another a helping hand that we can best learn to experience the multilateral approach. The value of multilateralism cannot be gainsaid in a forum such as this, where leaders of so many countries have taken the trouble to be present.

99. This is an opportune moment to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who has courageously appraised the role of the United Nations, noted its accomplishments and shortcomings, and added stature to his position during his relatively short tenure thus far.

100. In the conclusion to his report on the work of the Organization [4/39/1], the Secretary-General has reiterated his call for a multilateral and rational

approach to the problems of international peace and development, and he states that:

"It is widely understood that without such a system we shall run unacceptable risks and that it is therefore irresponsible to weaken the multilateral approach. Without the safety net which multilateral organization provides, the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place."

101. My delegation fully subscribes to his views. On the eve of the Organization's fortieth anniversary, the Thai delegation pledges its continued co-operation to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General in the furtherance of the noble aims and objectives of the United Nations. Let the cry in this Hall be: "Forty more years!"

102. Mr. HAYDEN (Australia): May I congratulate you, Sir, warmly and sincerely, on behalf of the Australian Government, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Although at opposite ends of the alphabet, Australia and Zambia enjoy closer relations than many would expect. We do this through the Commonwealth and bilaterally. I know, too, that Australia can regard you, personally, as a friend. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Government of Australia is well aware of your valuable contribution as President of that body.

103. I should also like to extend a warm and neighbourly welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the newest Member of this world body. The admission of the 159th Member brings us closer to the goal of universality in membership of the United Nations.

104. As all representatives will know, Australia is one of the two agreed candidates of its regional group standing for election to the Security Council for 1985 and 1986. We see membership of the Council as an opportunity for Australia to pursue its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity of assuring other delegations that Australia, if elected, will approach its duties with a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. We shall also strive to uphold the Charter and to make the Council a more effective instrument for the containment of existing conflicts and the prevention of new conflicts.

105. It has to be said that in the last 12 months the long march to world harmony and the achievement of universal basic human freedom has been painfully slow. Australia agrees with the observation in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*] that a major reason for this is the regrettable tendency to retreat from internationalism and multilateralism. I propose to explain Australia's position on those issues in which, for strong historical and geographical reasons, we have a special interest.

106. The United Nations continues to spend much energy on the state of affairs in southern Africa and particularly the poisonous effects there of the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. The façade there of constitutional reform has in fact made matters worse. Indeed, the non-white citizens have demonstrated this in the most dramatic way possible. Black South Africans—70 per cent of the population—have been allowed no part in this alleged reform. Only one Coloured or Indian person in five was persuaded to vote for the new constitution.

107. The constitution that emerged in this so-called reform depends totally on the system and the laws of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* is designed, as we know, to entrench the domination in South Africa of a racial minority. This evil doctrine depends on injustice and fosters violence. The world community has condemned it and Australia is unequivocally opposed to it. So long as it continues and so long as the South African Government pursues it, South Africa cannot expect to be welcomed back into the international community.

108. In Namibia, we are still waiting for the promised outcome of the latest round of negotiations, which started early this year. All principal parties have professed to agree to the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Australia therefore regrets that the principle of linkage between independence negotiations and the presence of Cuban personnel in Angola has been raised as a barrier to progress. Moreover, there is no guarantee that more issues outside the scope of resolution 435 (1978) will not be raised in the future to impede solution of an issue which could and should have been solved by now. Australia shares the impatience of African and other nations over the delay of Namibia's independence and we question the professed good intentions of the South African Government in this regard.

109. In the South-East Asian area, stability is subjected to undesirable strain by Viet Nam's continued occupation of Cambodia. Australia condemned the invasion of Cambodia when it happened and we continue to condemn it. Nobody can tolerate armed incursion by one country into another, wherever it occurs. Accordingly, Australia considers that Viet Nam should withdraw from Cambodia. The reasonable way for this to take place would be in the context of a settlement acceptable to all parties. This is why the need continues for negotiations towards a settlement, for which Australia has been working in the past 18 months. Australia remains ready to provide the site and any facilities necessary so that the parties involved, or any combination of them, can discuss ways in which settlement can be reached in Cambodia.

110. The Soviet Union continues its occupation of Afghanistan and, through recent offensives, including high-level bombing of the Panjshir Valley, has added immeasurably to the suffering of the Afghan people. The recent widening of the conflict through the bombing of civilian targets in Pakistan by Afghan aircraft has served to heighten the degree of risk associated with the continued Soviet occupation. The needless loss of civilian and military life in the region will come to an end only when the Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan in accordance with successive United Nations resolutions.

111. In the South Pacific region, Australia remains alert to the fact that a colonial situation remains in New Caledonia. We continue to support peaceful evolution to independence in New Caledonia, determined in accordance with the wishes of the people there and free from outside influence. We welcome the recognition by the French Government of the legitimate claim of the Kanak people to an inherent and active right to self-determination in which independence is an option. We note that an act of self-determination is scheduled to be held by 1989. Australia calls on France to ensure that the transition to an independent, multiracial New Caledonia is

achieved speedily and peacefully and, indeed, in a shorter time-scale than previously envisaged.

112. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East remains a necessary but elusive goal. It can be achieved only if it is accepted that Israel must be allowed to exist within secure and recognized boundaries and that the Palestinian issue is centrally important for any settlement. Acceptance of these principles does not mean that Israel can feel free to continue its settlement programme in the West Bank, since these settlements are contrary to international law and an obstacle to peace. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which represents a significant proportion of the Palestinian people, should be included in the search for peace. Australia acknowledges also that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination, including a right to choose independence and the possibility of their own independent state. However, there is limited, perhaps non-existent, opportunity for the PLO to engage productively in the search for peace so long as it persists in denying Israel's right to exist. The Australian Government will maintain its refusal to recognize the PLO while it persists in that denial.

113. A major cause of fear around the world community, of course, lies in the unsteady state of relations between the super-Powers and the obstruction this is creating to effective arms control leading to disarmament. This year has seen more growth in nuclear arsenals and deployment of new missiles in both East and West. The prospect for talks between the super-Powers in September on arms control for outer space was withdrawn, for what to the rest of the world must seem specious reasons. Their negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and on strategic nuclear weapons have been suspended. In the negotiations at Stockholm and Vienna about European issues, there has been no progress despite the new proposals. In the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, a shameful procedural deadlock is holding up the agenda of negotiations.

114. Australia has a special right to express its concern about this, as the site of the joint facilities with the United States, and as a major supplier of uranium. The Australian Government believes that the joint facilities are an essential part of the monitoring system in effective arms control. It believes that holding on to our uranium would be an obstacle to disarmament because it would mean abandoning the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The Government has gone to great lengths to convince Australians to accept the paradox that the existence of the facilities and the supply of uranium make nuclear war less, not more, likely. We believe that our role in these matters gives us the right to be heard on the need for genuine progress towards nuclear disarmament.

115. This crucial issue has the very highest priority among our policies. We have fully supported moves to draw up a draft convention on chemical weapons. We believe that there is a general will within the Geneva Conference to establish a convention that prohibits chemical weapons and their means of production. The Australian Government welcomed the submission by the United States of a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons,⁶ which contains what we consider to be elements of an effective system. This draft text has been criticized in

some quarters. Let us not leave it there; let the critics come forward with constructive alternatives.

116. We—Australia—have put it to the Conference on Disarmament that in its exploration of the issue of arms control in outer space it should consider measures to protect from attack all satellites which help to preserve the strategic balance and which can contribute to monitoring disarmament agreements. We have proposed also that the same protection be given to the ground stations which are essential to the operation of those satellites.

117. The Australian Government has given an extraordinary amount of attention to the issue of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, an issue which is central to effective arms control and disarmament. Our objective is to get meaningful negotiations on the way to establishing such a treaty. We have been trying to help overcome the procedural obstacles which have been put in the way of the treaty. We have been trying to get a subsidiary body of the Geneva Conference set up to do the urgently needed practical work with a view to negotiating such a treaty. Naturally, we would prefer a so-called full negotiating mandate. We would prefer agreement in clear terms that parties will start negotiating with a view towards drafting a truly comprehensive test-ban treaty. But the consensus for such a mandate apparently is not there. The mandate that we have proposed instead is the best possible in the present circumstances. It proposes that the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Conference on Disarmament should work on scope, verification and compliance with a view to the negotiation of such a treaty. I submitted a working paper at Geneva in August⁷ as a guide for negotiations on these very points.

118. The Australian Government will give all possible support to work on the treaty. But I will repeat now what I said in August at Geneva: we cannot accept a state of affairs in which an already limited mandate is used to justify delay in progress towards a treaty which has been in the gestation phase for far too long as it is. It would be wrong for anybody to presume that Australians in general have an inexhaustible well of patience with the slow pace of the work being done in the cause of solving a problem that could destroy us all.

119. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General urges that the multilateral forums be used to deal with this compelling issue. All Member States should use those forums to let the nuclear-weapon States know that real progress is needed towards limiting those weapons that cause such fear around the world. Let us smaller States remember the opportunity that the United Nations provides—in the General Assembly, in the various disarmament forums and in the IAEA. In common, we have an influence on even the most powerful of our colleagues that we lack when we act alone.

120. In the context of disarmament, I refer briefly to two important developments: first, the increased international interest in Antarctica promoted by our good friend Malaysia. The Antarctic Treaty⁸ has provided an effective basis for peaceful co-operation, for scientific co-operation and environmental conservation for a quarter of a century. The disarmament provisions of the Treaty have established the only denuclearized and demilitarized zone in the world today. While we believe the Treaty system is flexible and that the operation of the Treaty can be im-

proved, Australia will oppose any proposals in this body which we consider would lead to undermining the Treaty. The best course on Antarctica is to await the expected report of the Secretary-General. Only when we have examined it will we be in a position to consider what, if any, further steps involving the United Nations might be considered.

121. The second development of importance was the recent decision by the countries of the South Pacific to begin work on a treaty to create a nuclear-free-zone in the South Pacific region. The proposal, brought by Australia to the countries of the South Pacific Forum, has significance not only for the region but also for the whole of the international community which wishes to make the world a nuclear-safe place. This time next year, I feel sure, the countries of the region will be able to report that a significant step in reaching this objective has been taken.

122. Another great issue the resolution of which demands our combined will concerns the instability caused by the indebtedness of developing countries. This issue is pressing not only because of its impact on the world financial system but also because of the hardship involved for developing countries that are undertaking adjustment programmes. The Australian Government firmly supports the international consensus for the central role of the IMF in this issue and the case-by-case approach it has adopted to deal with current problems. This approach has its critics, but there is in the short term no effective alternative. It is important that the IMF continue to insist on a disciplined attack on a most complex problem and that it be given consistent support while it is doing so. But we must be careful to keep our eyes on the political dangers ahead as we deal with the debt problem.

123. One of those dangers concerns the burden of interest rates—a matter that the leading economies represented at the London Economic Summit, held in June this year, failed to address adequately. It would be unfortunate if rescheduling attempts now being arranged were to be overrun by any sudden climb in interest rates. I say that although there appears to be a fairly solid level of confidence that these arrangements have been crafted together in a more secure way.

124. A note of caution also needs to be sounded about the possible political effects of some of the conditions imposed by IMF debt rearrangements. There are States going through the adjustment process—with all that that implies about strict economic management—which are also undergoing complex and sensitive political change; some are emerging into democracy from long periods of authoritarian rule. We must be careful that policies for economic recovery and stability do not undermine their fledgling social and political reforms.

125. Another danger lies in the tendency to oversimplify the debt problem. The debts that command our attention are those of the relatively well-off countries which tapped the commercial markets in the 1970s to help achieve their considerable industrial growth potential.

126. There is, however, a real danger that the problems of other debtor countries, less significant in terms of their implications for their creditors but no less serious in relation to their own domestic impact, will be crowded out of our attention. Such countries,

generally poorer and with less ability to attract the new opportunities of commercial borrowing in the 1970s, are linked more to traditional sources such as official development assistance and development institution loans. The solutions may be different, but the task is no less urgent. When coupled, as in Africa, with additional problems such as drought and rapidly spreading desertification, the need for attention is all the more compelling. This issue was recently reported on by a Commonwealth Group of Experts on the Debt Crisis. That Group, established by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their 1983 summit, included among its proposed measures to help low-income debtor countries a call for additional resources for IDA. Australia has decided to respond by making a voluntary and unilateral special contribution to IDA, in addition to our pledged contribution of \$200 million.

127. I have said that this complex problem demands our combined will for its resolution. It is in the United Nations—which has striven for 40 years to serve the interests of all members of the world community—that this combined will can best be utilized.

128. Australia emphasizes the point, because we disagree with the disposition in some quarters to accept that the United Nations is perhaps afflicted by a kind of premature hardening of the arteries. Part of the blame for this feeling must be attributed to the Organization itself. From earliest days, Secretaries-General have complained of lack of co-ordination and of inefficiency. Many persons inside and outside the United Nations have become disenchanted with its reputation as a talking-shop. But we should be careful not to encourage too extreme a reaction to this. The complaints made about the Organization may to some extent be true, but they are far from the whole truth.

129. For all its imperfections, the United Nations has developed a range of policies and activities that have brought comfort and even life to people all over the world. As the Secretary-General says, it has played a decisive role in the process of decolonization. I should like to mention parenthetically in this context that Australia conducted an act of self-determination in the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, which was observed by a United Nations Visiting Mission. We expect that this development will lead at this session to the de-listing of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, thereby ending Australia's role as an administering Power.

130. In the field of human rights, the United Nations has facilitated the development of a framework of international standards and obligations which translates into practical terms the humanitarian ideals of the Charter. This is a continuing process. Australia very much hopes to see the Assembly take the necessary steps to adopt an effective convention against the abhorrent practice of torture.

131. United Nations agencies have helped eradicate disease, provide care for refugees, control drug abuse and expand food production. I specify the literacy and education programmes of UNESCO, since that agency has been subject to intensive examination recently.

132. I am not convinced either that all the 4,000 or so resolutions adopted by the General Assembly are entirely the "hollow voting victories" that Dag Hammarskjöld suggested they were. The whole ritual

of conference and dialogue has played an underestimated role in dampening down tension and satisfying passions.

133. Another source of criticism of the United Nations is the natural disappointment that has followed the enthusiastic but unreal expectations of early years. People expected the United Nations to create a Utopia—something requiring powers that no nation was prepared to cede to it.

134. Yet another part of the United Nations problem is that it is no longer the tight little community of the Second World War victors that was set up nearly 40 years ago. The balance of representation in the United Nations is now starting to reflect the balance between the main regions of the world in terms of population. If the United Nations were today what it was 40 years ago, then it would truly be irrelevant; instead, it represents the real world, not the world some would like it to be.

135. I am saying this because the Organization, which has brought untold benefit to so many people, should be defended against attack. I am saying it because my country, Australia, feels that it has a special obligation to take part in this defence. Australia was not only a founding Member of the United Nations, but also an active supporter of the view in its early days that the United Nations should not be the preserve of great Powers. We foresaw the opportunities for Members of a truly representative United Nations to advance interests in common that we could not promote individually. We wanted the newest and humblest of nations to be able to mix with the oldest and mightiest in conferences and dialogue. We believed that smaller States like ourselves would be swamped if great Powers in a nuclear age were free to arrange matters among themselves in private as they did at Potsdam and Yalta. We are all affected by the arrangements between great Powers. We have the right to be able to express views about them and to be involved in the formation of these views.

136. I have said that disarmament and international economic stability are the major pressing issues of our time. The Australian Government urges that more energetic ways to settle these issues, in particular disarmament, should be pursued within the multilateral framework. Not only is the search for answers urgent; it is also of paramount importance that the answers be fully representative of us all, large and small nations alike.

137. Mr. ANDRADE-DÍAZ-DURÁN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first be allowed to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Guatemala, our warmest and most cordial congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the thirty-ninth session. Your great human and professional qualities and well-recognized dynamism and achievements in helping to bring about the unity of the sister countries of Africa, as well as your thorough knowledge of the problems with which we deal in this forum, are a guarantee of the positive results we will no doubt reach in our work. I offer you my delegation's co-operation in carrying out the sensitive and important tasks entrusted to you.

138. I should like to express the gratitude of Guatemala to Mr. Jorge Illueca for the excellent work done by him as President of the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session.

139. I carry also the greetings of the people and Government of Guatemala to the Secretary-General, who has been working tirelessly for peace and harmony among the peoples of the world, a task that my country would like to encourage him to continue, with renewed faith in the principles of the United Nations.

140. I wish also to greet the representatives at this Assembly, who will have to shoulder the responsibility for the various items on the agenda of this session.

141. Guatemala would like to join other Members in welcoming Brunei Darussalam most cordially on its becoming a Member of the United Nations and to express its best wishes for the well-being of its people.

142. I should like also to thank all delegations for the resolute support extended to my country to occupy one of the vice-presidencies of the Assembly for the Group of Latin American States.

143. Guatemala, as a founding Member of the United Nations, has always followed with special interest the work done by the Organization over a period of almost 40 years to fulfil the purposes and principles that inspired it. We must recognize the fact that the United Nations, at various times and in various circumstances, has served as an instrument for the preservation of peace and security among peoples and has promoted multilateral co-operation in all fields. There is no doubt that this most important world forum has served as a framework for dialogue and understanding and has fostered the loftiest ideals of today's world.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

144. From here efforts have been made to democratize international society and, by means of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the United Nations has avoided confrontations that had endangered world peace. Nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that the United Nations has been unable to avoid a great number of conflicts in the course of its history. We continue to experience regional crises that are a grave threat to peace, as well as tensions which seem to deepen between the two super-Powers, with the ensuing concern experienced by the international community. Despite various attempts and initiatives, not much progress has been made in arms control, nor do we glimpse any significant progress in the Conference on Disarmament, under the auspices of the United Nations. Most of all, there still persists the fear of nuclear confrontation which threatens to unleash the greatest catastrophe in the history of man.

145. Moreover, economic difficulties, which affect mainly the countries of the third world, still exist and, despite the recovery that we see in some highly industrialized countries, there are few short- and medium-term prospects of improvement for most States Members of the United Nations. Natural disasters have also struck various continents, and sometimes we see with frustration that economic and social development programmes are inadequate to meet the most pressing needs of mankind.

146. The international situation is certainly alarming, and it is therefore to be hoped that multilateral co-operation will materialize through the United Nations and thus facilitate the establishment of procedures and formulas that may help us overcome these serious difficulties. It is the duty of States Members of the United Nations not only to adhere to

its policies but also to practise them and to adjust their conduct to the requirements which they imply.

147. For our part, we, the countries of the third world, have been establishing closer bonds of co-operation and achieving better co-ordination of our efforts so that our statements may not only be heard but also heeded, as is only just.

148. Despite these imperfections, the United Nations retains its unique universal character and is constantly enriched by the incorporation of new States as they become independent. Guatemala wishes to reaffirm its faith in the United Nations and in the principles of the Charter, but at the same time we believe that an objective evaluation of its achievements and failures should be conducted so that it may truly be the effective instrument for the achievement of peace and security.

149. I shall now briefly set forth the general lines and the most salient features of Guatemala's national and international policy.

150. In my statement last year, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [24th meeting], I listed in general terms the political, economic and social objectives of the Government headed by General Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores. Today I can state with deep satisfaction before the international community that what was promised has indeed been done and that the process of political liberalization and democratization has now been set in motion in Guatemala. The law that had established special tribunals, placing limits on the right to self-defence and the principle of due process, has been abrogated, and those who had been sentenced under the law have been pardoned. The amnesty decreed from the very outset by the Government, for the purpose of fostering, facilitating and accelerating the efforts at national reconciliation, is still in force. Thousands of Guatemalans who, directly or indirectly, had participated at some time or other in subversive activities—forced to do so by circumstances or misled and confused by false promises—have benefited from this amnesty. Peace reigns in areas that had been the scenes of conflict in former years, and this has been made possible basically by the understanding and identity of purpose achieved between the people and their authorities.

151. A spirit of solidarity now exists in Guatemala. It is a spirit that we intend to see prevail in the future also. That will make it possible for us to face, with hope, the task of the comprehensive development of all Guatemalans.

152. The Government has fostered a climate of peace and harmony, which made it possible to appeal to the conscience of Guatemalans so that those able to vote would register to do so and past irregularities would not be repeated.

153. Two and a half million Guatemalans registered to vote, exceeding the most optimistic forecasts. Elections were held for a national constituent assembly empowered to promulgate the Constitution of the Republic, a habeas corpus law and a definitive electoral law. Sixteen political parties and two civic committees, representative of the various ideological trends, having complied with the established requirements, were authorized by the electoral college to take part in the elections.

154. The political campaign began in January this year. It culminated on 1 July in a great civic celebration, in which 1,856,000 citizens—that is, 73 per cent of those who had registered—a number

unprecedented in the history of the country, came to the polling places to vote freely, without any kind of coercion.

155. We are pleased to say that these elections took place in the presence of observers of the Organization of American States, the Contadora Group and many other friendly countries, who congratulated the people and praised the way the elections had been held.

156. The Government remained absolutely neutral and fully guaranteed the honesty of this most important event. The electoral supreme court, a body independent of other State organs, had the responsibility for organizing the depositing and counting of the ballots. No political parties challenged the results of the elections. That is clear proof that all sectors agreed that no objections to the elections could be raised.

157. On 1 August, the National Constituent Assembly was solemnly installed, and it immediately began its work.

158. The successful conclusion of this first stage of the policy of liberalization pursued by the Provisional Government of Guatemala confirms the irreversible nature of the democratic process thus initiated. These elections are striking proof that the people of Guatemala believe in democracy and political pluralism and categorically reject violence as a means of imposing ideas.

159. The Government is ready to call for general elections in 1985, to choose a president, a congress and municipal councils, at which time the Constitution of the Republic and the constitutional laws will be promulgated. The Head of State has repeated his decision to hand over power to those who will be elected by the free and sovereign will of the people of Guatemala.

160. The public sector has also been working to strengthen the various forms of people's organizations—associations, co-operatives, community groups—that will assist in the comprehensive development of Guatemala.

161. Through political parties and their own civic organizations, the ethnic groups are represented in the National Constituent Assembly.

162. The Government has shown respect for the autonomy of the national university and the private universities. It has been in constant communication with them and has consulted them on cultural, economic and social matters of national interest. Similarly, the principle of separation of church and State has been scrupulously observed. We must emphasize that full respect has been maintained for freedom of thought and that there now exists a process of national awareness to ensure respect for human rights.

163. Guatemala demands changes and reforms in order to ensure that all Guatemalans have an equal opportunity to improve their economic and social conditions.

164. We recognize that we are a developing country and that, therefore, we must solve a number of problems deriving from that fact; that is true of most of the countries of the third world. The achievement of peace, democracy and development is a responsibility shared by all Guatemalans. We draw inspiration from the concept of a comprehensive development which, simultaneously, seeks the improvement

of material life, respects human rights and preserves freedom.

165. In rural matters, the Government has worked tirelessly to ensure that those who were displaced by violence from their communities of origin are guaranteed the means for their protection, as well as sufficient food and whatever else they need to improve their economic and social conditions. Through effective co-ordination of State institutions, an ambitious programme has been started to establish new bases for development in better circumstances. Thus, in the Guatemalan highlands, model towns and villages have been established, with basic services enabling the people to cultivate their fertile land; they also receive technical and financial assistance in order to make the most of their resources.

166. Nevertheless, we must recognize that the international economic crisis continues to have a negative impact on the people of Guatemala and that the groups promoting violence—groups financed and supplied from abroad—are trying to frustrate our efforts to achieve peace and progress in our country.

167. As a consequence of the subversive violence from which certain areas of Guatemala suffered mercilessly, especially in 1981 and 1982, thousands of Guatemalans were displaced; they abandoned their communities of origin and moved into Mexican territory, where they settled in camps close to our border. The present Government is deeply concerned at the situation of these compatriots and has therefore started negotiations with the Government of Mexico, with which it is in constant communication on this problem. By mutual agreement, we have requested the co-operation of humanitarian bodies such as the Guatemalan Red Cross, the Mexican Red Cross, the League of National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UNHCR for the purpose of adopting some kind of procedure to facilitate the orderly return of these refugees to Guatemala and to supply them with food, medical care and the necessary protection.

168. When they return we shall offer them housing and work, so that, in an atmosphere of peace and security, they may devote themselves to their usual endeavours in their communities of origin or other communities which are being built. Repatriation must be conducted on a voluntary basis in absolute freedom, and each of the refugees must be consulted ahead of time about his or her views on a possible return to Guatemala. Our Government is preparing to begin a procedure for direct consultations as soon as possible, and we hope that this machinery will be adopted and put into effect expeditiously. The Government of Guatemala has accepted supervision of this process by the international bodies that I have mentioned to verify full compliance with the agreed terms.

169. Quite apart from the foregoing, I am pleased to say that many Guatemalan refugees in Mexico are already returning to Guatemala of their own accord. They have been welcomed by the authorities in our country, who have given them the immediate assistance they require and transported them to their places of origin. We have reported consistently on these events at both the national and the international level.

170. To sum up, the policy involving refugees is marked by humanitarian aims and concrete actions, designed to ensure that these Guatemalans may enjoy

their legitimate right to live in peace in their homeland.

171. Guatemala shares the view of the international community that respect for human rights is of fundamental importance in contributing to the achievement of individual and collective well-being and security. Respect for human rights is the constant concern of the various national sectors. Hence, my Government continues to adopt internal measures designed to protect and guarantee respect for universally recognized human rights, both individual and social.

172. In keeping with its open-door policy, as compared with other countries, Guatemala has permitted and facilitated visits of representatives not only of human rights committees but also of non-governmental organizations and various other groups concerned with human rights. Our country has nothing to hide from the international community. On the contrary, we want the truth about Guatemala to be widely known, so as to counteract certain campaigns which are encouraged abroad and whose sole purpose is to tarnish our image. In the last few years, we have received visits from various political figures, journalists and foreign correspondents, who have had interviews with leaders of various political parties and of economic, academic and religious groups, as well as with various special-interest groups.

173. My country shares the view that the international community must protect human rights, and for this reason we have co-operated with Viscount Colville of Culross, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, who is entrusted with the task of preparing a report on the situation of human rights in Guatemala. In August of this year he visited us again, and as in the past he was given every opportunity to carry out his important functions in the best possible conditions. The Government of Guatemala accepted a renewal of the mandate of the Special Rapporteur for one more year, and we reiterate our firm desire to continue to co-operate closely with him.

174. The development of a political process with wider participation has had a very healthy effect in considerably diminishing the political violence that affected my country for a number of years. This was noted by the Special Rapporteur and by many non-governmental bodies concerned with human rights issues. We believe that international understanding and support are extremely important to Guatemala, as it will have a positive effect and help us continue the encouraging trend towards the reduction of violence and the strengthening of the democratic process.

175. Thus, Guatemala is concerned by the fact that human rights problems do not always receive objective, serious treatment by the United Nations. The practice of censuring countries—for political reasons or motives or because they are not part of certain military or political alliances—for violations of human rights is one which my country cannot accept. We cannot permit the politicization of the debate on human rights or a selective way of dealing with this question. This issue must be dealt with very carefully. The United Nations has lost some of its moral force in this connection because it has not applied the same criteria and parameters in every case. Thus, some States which commit grave violations of human rights are often not even mentioned.

176. As to international economic policy, Guatemala, like most of the States represented in this forum, is suffering the effects of the structural maladjustment of the international economic system, which has a decisive impact on domestic socio-political problems. Unless there is a renewed effort and determination on the part of the developed countries to work with the international community, it will be difficult to overcome this crisis, which has had a serious effect on the well-being of the peoples. We view with deep concern the fact that advantage has not been taken of the opportunities to improve the multilateral dialogue. The developing countries continue to face also such adverse factors as the decline in commodity prices, drastic fluctuations in exchange rates, an increase in protectionism, high interest rates, the flight of capital, the decline in development assistance and the crisis in resources being faced by multilateral financial institutions.

177. Guatemala fully identifies with the third world and supports its cause, which is that of development and peace. It participates actively in initiatives aimed at finding ways and means of establishing a more just international economic order that would eradicate inequality and the scourge of hunger, disease and illiteracy. There can be no political stability without a just and humane international order in which the sovereignty of each country over its natural resources would be recognized and in which commercial relations between developing and industrialized countries would be a reflection of equality, with a sense of co-operation and recognition of the fundamental values of the human being, whose dignity demands that he be well fed and have access to well-being and culture.

178. My delegation would like to highlight its contribution to the cause of development and South-South co-operation within the framework of the Group of 77. Within this framework, my country is actively participating in efforts being made, particularly in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Geneva and in New York, in the implementation of the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations,⁹ the Caracas Programme of Action,⁴ the Buenos Aires Platform⁵ and the Cartagena Consensus [A/39/331, annex] in order to develop economic co-operation among developing countries. In January of this year, Guatemala hosted a meeting of experts, in conformity with the Caracas Programme of Action, at which the issue of trade-related services was broached. Together with Central American countries, we signed the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities¹⁰ at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and in response to this common effort financial assistance was provided by Norway to facilitate the joint access of our countries to this Fund. At the same time, we approved and supported the Declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 [A/39/536, annex], adopted at their meeting in New York from 26 to 28 September 1984.

179. Guatemala reiterates its concern at the reluctance shown by industrialized countries to initiate global negotiations, in which the developing countries have high expectations as regards the search for solutions to their serious economic and financial problems. We supported the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [A/39/118, annex] adopted at the

Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito from 9 to 13 January 1984, and we have subscribed to trade agreements of limited scope with Colombia and Mexico.

180. Latin America has a very high external debt, which makes it indispensable for the industrialized countries to show understanding and agree to fair renegotiation with the assurance of longer terms and more reasonable interest rates, thus making it possible for our peoples to increase their rate of economic growth and live not merely to pay but rather to develop better living standards.

181. As a Central American country, Guatemala is profoundly concerned about the worsening crisis in our region. There can be no doubt that we are living through dangerous and tense times. Peace and security are jeopardized by severe domestic conflicts in various countries, which could spill over and turn into generalized problems of unpredictable consequences.

182. Political, economic and social problems, indissolubly intertwined as they are, have a negative impact on Central America, but there are also adverse phenomena spawned from abroad that have an impact on our situation, rendering it even more serious.

183. Fortunately, the creative mediation of the Contadora Group has made it possible not only to maintain a frank and permanent dialogue, but also for there to be a political negotiating process, the main thrust of which is to broaden and promote détente and permanent peace in our region. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American countries, meeting at Panama City on 7 September last, recognized the invaluable efforts made by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and reaffirmed confidence in their worthwhile initiative, which marks a genuine regional alternative and a viable and appropriate framework for resolving our differences.

184. A year ago, on 9 September 1983, the five Central American countries and the Contadora Group countries adopted by consensus the Document of Objectives,¹¹ which contains political, security and socio-economic principles and aspects, and the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562] has recently been submitted for our consideration. This is an extremely worthwhile document, comprising the observations, suggestions and proposals made by the Central American countries.

185. In Guatemala's view, this document constitutes an orderly, systematic approach to the proposals of the Governments individually, and puts forward certain formulas and machinery aimed at reconciling the various aspects of the situation where divergence has arisen. My Government feels that this document can become a binding juridical instrument and, in viewing it favourably, would point out that certain refinements in the procedure for putting into practice the commitments to be assumed must be considered. In any case, good faith and political willingness on the part of the Governments concerned are required to fulfil effectively the commitments assumed, making possible verification and control to ensure that what has been agreed upon in the pact is strictly complied with.

186. Guatemala appreciates and is grateful for the efforts of the Contadora Group and recognizes and

fully appreciates its delicate task and its genuine achievements. For these reasons, the Government of Guatemala once again declares its unconditional support for this process of negotiation. We are pleased to note the general backing that has been lent in the Assembly to the Contadora Group, and we urge the international community also to contribute to this vital endeavour of concerted political effort, so that it can be translated into peace, democracy and development for Central America.

187. I should also like to mention that it was a high honour for my country to be chosen as spokesman at the recent gathering which, for the first time in the history of international relations in the Central American isthmus, brought together at San José, in the sister republic of Costa Rica, on 28 and 29 September, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the European Community and of Spain and Portugal and those representing our own sister nations of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora Group—and the five Central American States.

188. I should like here to reaffirm that Central America is a concert of peoples and countries indissolubly linked by geography, culture, history, tradition, personal ties, common interests and, above all, awareness of our common destiny and of the factors that unite us, factors that are much more important than those that may divide us. The permanent interrelation, the common objectives and our specific and tangible needs lead us to act in concert and to promote an integrated development for the benefit of our peoples so that they may achieve a life of dignity with peace, solidarity, justice and progress for all—aspirations which rest on the bedrock of a right which is inalienably ours. Furthermore, to preserve Central America's unity is not merely to continue proclaiming a romantic dream or to rehearse anachronistic formulas bereft of any substance. We fully recognize the reality in our region, which is that of a group of small developing countries whose economic capacities and viability are limited by virtue of the limited dimension of our markets. Nor can we deny that various exogenous factors affect us and impinge upon our political order. United we shall have a broader realm of action to cope with the problems of our region; if separated, this possibility becomes minimal.

189. We reaffirm our commitment to achieving unity—an aspiration that is shared by our five peoples. This has been demonstrated in various ways, above all in the following: our process of integration and its institutions function reasonably well; intraregional trade continues to amount to one fifth of our total exports; interconnected electric power systems have been established; we are carrying out joint development projects, and the national experience thus gained is mutually enhancing the activities of the other countries.

190. With regard to Belize, my delegation believes that this is a propitious moment for informing the Assembly that throughout this year we have held informal exploratory meetings with representatives of the United Kingdom, with the participation of Belize, aimed at finding a just and honourable solution that would satisfy and safeguard the rights and legitimate interests of the parties concerned. The Government of Guatemala reiterates its readiness to continue these negotiations in a broad spirit of understanding, and it hopes for a similar stance from

the other side. Notwithstanding what I have said, the Government of Guatemala reserves its rights over the territory of Belize and, consequently, does not recognize the independence granted to it unilaterally by the United Kingdom; nor does it recognize Belize as a State or its alleged territorial and maritime frontiers.

191. Moreover, we are in favour of continuing to strengthen our ties with the people of Belize and to lend it all manner of co-operation so that we might in the best way possible resolve the various problems affecting us.

192. The existence of colonial situations in the world—some recognized and others disguised—continues to be an affront to the ideal of universal peace. We view with profound concern the fact that the talks between the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic have led to no positive outcome because of the reluctance of one of the parties to discuss the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands. Once again, we appeal for a renewal of this dialogue as the only way to avoid situations threatening international peace. We must not abuse dialogue; nor must we avoid it. Hence the principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be respected and Security Council resolution 502 (1982) implemented.

193. Direct negotiations between the Governments of South Korea and North Korea is the most appropriate way for the Koreans to settle the question of reunification. We consider that this should foster a process of dialogue free from external interference and in a climate of mutual confidence. The international community welcomed the recent contacts between the two countries in the wake of the natural catastrophes in South Korea. We consider this to be a positive indication of co-operation in humanitarian terms and urge the Governments of North Korea and South Korea to ask the Secretary-General to use his good offices to help bring about a solution to the Korean question.

194. With regard to the Middle East problem, the Government of Guatemala has always maintained a clear-cut position which recognizes the existence and respects the independence of the State of Israel. We once again affirm this here. At the same time, we cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to free self-determination or its right to regain its own territory—the least that can be demanded by the international community.

195. Guatemala cannot remain indifferent to the agonizing situation of Lebanon. For the last several years, the Lebanese people, once an example of democracy and economic development, have suffered aggression and violence. There must be an end to the occupation of Lebanon, and, therefore, the foreign forces that occupy part of its territory must be withdrawn forthwith. We hope that in the near future the people of Lebanon will be able to re-establish a climate of concord and peace.

196. Guatemala categorically condemns the racist policy of *apartheid*, which is an affront to the most elementary standards of human dignity. The situation in southern Africa is intolerable, and the international community must show its solidarity with those suffering the effects of this racial discrimination.

197. The war being waged in the Persian Gulf between the neighbouring countries of Iran and Iraq is a source of profound alarm for the international community. We deplore the loss of thousands of lives

and the enormous material damage caused by this war, which, regrettably, is being waged with sophisticated and lethal weapons. We believe that the Assembly must once again appeal for dialogue and understanding to take the place of the armed confrontation which has caused such desolation and loss of life.

198. Since we subscribe to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, we support Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which recognizes Namibia's right to independence.

199. Guatemala is profoundly concerned over the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. That is why Guatemala adhered to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),¹² which proscribes the introduction of nuclear weapons into Latin America. If the economic resources devoted by the major Powers to military expenditures and to enlarging their arsenals were used instead for the promotion of development, the living standards of mankind as a whole would markedly improve.

200. The international community, horrified by the effects of the Second World War, which cost millions of lives and caused incalculable material damage, greeted with hope the idea of creating an organization, the United Nations, which would preserve international peace and security in the future. For over four decades, there have been intensive debates in the Organization on subjects and issues of a political, economic, social and cultural nature. At times of crisis and confrontation, small and medium-sized countries, like the major Powers, have come to this forum to set forth their grievances and to ask for understanding and support. The sovereign equality of States, which presupposes the same rights and obligations for every one of the Members of the United Nations, makes this possible.

201. However, the United Nations has not always been able to respond to the challenge of history because, regrettably, strategic interests, among other things, have prevailed over the principles and norms embodied in its Charter. Mankind still has a long way to go before reason and justice can take the place of force. Human beings, by their very nature, can discriminate between good and evil; that is to say, they have free choice and act on the basis of their conscience and convictions. But all human beings do not respect the same scale of values, and the desire for domination over others is manifested in various ways. Human beings are imperfect, but they have been endowed as superior beings with intelligence, a will and feelings; therefore, they must act responsibly and learn to respect the rights of others as they respect their own. To know how to respect others is to know how to live in fellowship and share material, cultural and spiritual well-being with justice and fairness.

202. Without the human being there would be no State; therefore, the rights and duties of States must be a mirror image of the rights and duties of human beings. The State was created not to enslave and subjugate human beings, but to serve them. Thus, the United Nations, in order to realize its full potential, must not only take into account the interests of States but, above all, watch over and work for the well-being of all people. Human beings all over the world must be protected. We must combat hunger and poverty and, to the extent possible in the world of today,

provide people with a life in dignity, in which they can attain their highest goals, to which they are called by a higher order.

203. My Government reaffirms its faith in and commitment to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It is the duty of us all to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to build a new world in which peace will reign and from which hatred, racism, selfishness and lack of understanding will be banished once and for all.

204. It is the duty and obligation of each and every State Member of the United Nations to contribute to the integrated development and harmony of peoples and the elimination of the conditions of social injustice now prevailing in the world. Guatemala reaffirms its commitment to peace, freedom, democracy, and development.

205. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):* On behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, I should like first to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that with the active participation of all delegations and under the wise guidance of the President, an experienced diplomat from Zambia, the work of this session will lead to concrete results in many areas.

206. I should also like to offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, on the excellent manner in which he fulfilled his mandate.

207. The Lao delegation would like in particular to praise the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to promote the equitable and effective achievement of the noble purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

208. The Lao delegation welcomes the admission of Brunei Darussalam, a country from the same region as ours, as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

209. This session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the international situation is tense and when there is an acceleration of the arms race carried out by the major imperialist country, on land, in the oceans and in outer space.

210. In many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the war of aggression, direct or indirect, undertaken by the imperialists, the war of destruction and of territorial annexation which is being waged by the expansionists, and the policy of brutal oppression of the racial discrimination régime, the instrument of the imperialists, have been gaining ground, thus infringing the independence and territorial integrity of several countries and threatening the right of those peoples to exist.

211. At the same time, in the economic field there is a further widening of the gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries. The North-South negotiations are simply marking time now. The economic crisis, the exploitation and plundering of resources and the restrictive trade practices and protectionist measures applied by the capitalist countries have all placed the developing countries in an increasingly difficult situation. However, the overall picture is far from being a complete-

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

ly dark one, for the time when imperialism, expansionism and international reaction had absolute power is gone for ever.

212. Today, more than ever before, the movements in support of disarmament and against nuclear war are developing rapidly, as they were last year. They are involving millions of people from all social strata and in all continents in a great effort of solidarity to crush the warlike manoeuvres of the imperialists and to achieve a lasting peace on our planet.

213. The Lao delegation considers it essential to improve international relations, in particular the relations between the major countries which have a determining role in reducing the danger of confrontation.

214. Against this background, the Lao delegation firmly supports the consistent policy of peace, a policy of principle, of the Soviet Union, which has undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We believe that the proposal of the Soviet Union to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" [see A/39/243] demonstrates that country's sense of responsibility with respect to the future of mankind. Accordingly, we fully approve and support the reasonable and realistic proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with a view to achieving disarmament and the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, as well as the various strong measures designed to prevent acts of war provoked by imperialism and international reaction and to ensure the peace and security of peoples.

215. The Lao delegation fully supports the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to conclude a treaty of non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific and its proposal relating to the right of peoples to peace, submitted at this session of the General Assembly [see A/39/141]. By its activities in support of international peace and co-operation, the Mongolian People's Republic is indeed a good candidate for election as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

216. The Lao delegation supports the countries of the region of the Indian Ocean which call for the dismantling of the United States military bases on Diego García and making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

217. The Lao delegation supports the Joint Declaration of the Heads of State of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [A/39/277, annex], addressed to the five nuclear-weapon States. We welcome the favourable response made to that proposal by the Soviet Union.

218. From its own historical experiences, the Lao people clearly recognizes that real peace can be achieved only in true independence and freedom. Thus, the bold struggle of the peoples of the world against the policy of interference, aggression and exploitation by imperialism and international reaction and in support of social progress is an integral part of their struggle for peace and security.

219. The Lao delegation fully supports the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of the PLO, its authentic representative, to regain their basic national right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own State

in Palestine. We support the Lebanese people and other peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle against the aggression of the Israeli Zionists and interference by the United States. In this connection, we support the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 29 July 1984 [see A/39/368] with regard to an overall just and lasting solution to the question of the Middle East.

220. In Central America and the Caribbean, despite enormous difficulties and deprivations, the heroic peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua are able victoriously to defend their independence, sovereignty and illustrious social régimes. And the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Grenada, Honduras, Costa Rica, Chile and other Latin American countries will without any doubt be able to defeat the policy of interference pursued by the United States imperialists, to overthrow military dictatorship and to defend their right to a free and independent existence.

221. We fully support the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and SWAPO, respectively. We support the struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique against the aggression and machiavellian manoeuvres, the divide-and-rule tactics, of the racist administration of South Africa.

222. The Lao people fully supports the struggle of the Afghan people against the undeclared war unleashed by imperialism and international reaction and in defence of what they had achieved through their April revolution.

223. We also lend our support to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle to achieve the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and to ensure the peaceful unification of Korea.

224. In the world today, the problems of international economic relations are the focus of the concern of many developing countries, particularly the Lao People's Democratic Republic, a small, land-locked country, one of the least developed.

225. We believe that it is imperative to bring about a radical reform of current international economic relations and to establish a new international economic order that is more just and more democratic. In this connection, the Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the just positions taken by the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 relating to the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

226. At the present time, the situation in South-East Asia is becoming increasingly tense. The escalation of the war undertaken by the Chinese expansionists along the Chinese-Vietnamese borders in April 1984 was an extremely dangerous occurrence, the most dangerous since the war of aggression waged by Chinese troops against Viet Nam in February 1979. The overt armed intervention by the extreme right-wing Thai reactionaries along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea to save the genocidal Pol Pot clique and the other Khmer reactionaries from their total defeat was also the most serious event to have occurred over the past five years; and the fact that they have sent in regular troops to commit acts of aggression and occupy three areas of Laos is the most serious occurrence since the creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

227. It is clear that all this benefits the Chinese expansionists and the extreme-right reactionaries in leading Thai circles in carrying out their policy, one that is directly hostile to the three peoples of Indo-China, in instigating confrontation between the countries members of ASEAN and the three countries of Indo-China, and in interfering with the movement towards dialogue between those two groups of countries, thereby creating tension and undermining peace and stability in the region. Their accusations against Viet Nam and the Soviet Union will in no way succeed in misleading world public opinion.

228. As is well known, the question of South-East Asia has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for nearly five years. It is indeed deplorable that the United Nations should have adopted so erroneous a decision as to have seated here the genocidal political corpse of the Pol Pot clique, alongside masked members of that clique, for that is in fact a denial of the Kampuchean people's right to rebirth and to existence and self-determination, as well as a denial of the aspirations of the peoples of the region to peace.

229. The Lao people, like the peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, aspires only to live in peace in order to build up its country, to build a new life and to live in peace with its neighbours, including China. Over the past five years, the three countries of Indo-China have put forward various proposals with a view to normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China and have done everything possible to promote dialogue between the two groups of countries, those of Indo-China and those of ASEAN, in order to make South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation. Those principles, which we regard as inviolable, have been confirmed on many occasions; they are as follows: to enter into dialogue on the basis of proposals made by the Foreign Ministers of the Indo-Chinese countries, meeting at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [see A/39/108], and the proposals advanced by the ASEAN member countries on 21 September 1983.¹³ The Indo-Chinese countries mandated Viet Nam to be their representative, and the ASEAN countries asked Indonesia to act on their behalf. We trust that this session of the General Assembly will give additional impetus to the efforts to achieve dialogue between the two groups of countries.

230. In this connection, we welcome the initiative of Australia, which has offered its capital, Canberra, as the site for a meeting between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

231. At this session, the Lao delegation would like to draw attention to the most serious event that has occurred in Lao-Thai relations since the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I am referring to the attack by Thai troops on three areas of Laos—namely, Bane May, Bane Kang and Bane Savang in the Paklay District, Sayaboury Province, in the northern part of Laos—and the occupation of those areas.

232. Our Government has already informed the Secretary-General and has issued several documents, namely, the statement of 13 June 1984 [see A/39/3107], the memorandum of 17 August 1984 and the declaration of 26 August 1984 [see A/39/451], the statement of 6 September 1984 [see A/39/475] and the White Book issued on 18 September 1984 [see A/39/540]. Those documents set forth

all the facts relating to the three localities, the truth about Thai-Lao relations past and present, and our proposals for a settlement.

233. Here I should like to refer to some aspects of the problem. First of all, the occupation of these three areas of Laos is an act of premeditated aggression. Laos and Thailand are two neighbouring countries that share a common border 1,650 kilometres long. From time immemorial, these two peoples have been united by good-neighbourly relations and linked by ties of blood and by similarities in culture, language, customs and religion.

234. The boundary between the two countries was settled by the Franco-Siamese treaties of 2 February 1904 and 23 March 1907. There has never been any boundary dispute between the two countries in these past few decades. History, law and effective administration have proved, indisputably, that these three villages, occupied by the Thai Army since 6 June 1984, come under Lao sovereignty.

235. In 1979, the two countries signed two joint declarations containing principles intended to govern relations between the two countries. Those principles were as follows: mutually to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country; to respect each country's right to choose its own way of life free from outside interference or threat; not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other country, and to refrain from carrying out, directly or indirectly, hostile acts against the other; to settle differences by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and on the basis of equality; and not to use force or the threat of force against the other and not to allow others to use their territory as a base to intervene, threaten or commit aggression against other countries in any manner whatsoever. Such were the terms of the joint Lao-Thai declaration of 4 April 1979.

236. The declaration reiterated that:

"The two Prime Ministers agreed to make the Lao-Thai border on the river and on the land a border of peace and friendship, based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate interests of each and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries."

237. To justify their acts of aggression, the extreme-right Thai reactionaries presented a farce whereby they claimed that Laos had sent troops to occupy three Thai villages in May and then used other subterfuges, saying that this was a "frontier incident", a "border dispute", thus covering up the cynical nature of their aggression.

238. In the attacks against the three Lao villages, the extreme-right Thai reactionaries used several infantry units, together with tanks, artillery and reconnaissance aircraft, all of which were directly commanded by General Arthit Kamlang Ek, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Army of Thailand. In order to perpetuate their occupation of the three villages and justify their claims, they removed the frontier markers in the region and used Thai administration to replace the Lao administrative authorities. They decreed obligatory education in the Thai language, forced the Lao population to use Thai currency, increased their troops to 3,000 men—that is, double the number of people in the villages—strengthened the fortifications and unilat-

erally and tendentiously drew up their own map of the region.

239. At the same time, in order to prepare for a further escalation of the war, they sent their troops and Lao reactionaries in exile along the frontier across from the province of Sayaboury and other provinces in Laos.

240. This was not simply a border incident and it was certainly not simply a border dispute, which is something that can happen quite often between two neighbouring countries. Rather, it was an act of premeditated aggression, violating Lao sovereignty and territorial integrity; it was a serious violation of the two joint Lao-Thai declarations; it was a provocation to confrontation in the region; and it was a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. One might therefore wonder if, with such conduct, this country, a Member of the United Nations, would be a suitable nominee for non-permanent membership of the Security Council.

241. Secondly, the underlying cause of the aggression by Thai troops against the three villages in Lao is the expansionist ambition of the extreme-right Thai reactionaries, an ambition which arose out of pan-Thaism and which enjoys the support of the Chinese expansionists, who instigated the escalation of this destructive war against the three countries of Indo-China.

242. The White Book published on 18 September 1984 by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic exposed the reality of Lao-Thai relations and the hegemonist and expansionist policy of the reactionary military circles of Thailand—formerly known as Siam—*vis-à-vis* Laos from the sixteenth century until the present time.

243. History clearly shows that the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the reactionary Thai leading circles *vis-à-vis* Laos has remained unchanged. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the reactionary Siamese leading circles committed acts of aggression against, occupied, administered and annexed a large part of Lao territory. For 115 years—from 1778 to 1893—they made Laos a vassal State. During the Second World War, from 1941 to 1946, Thailand used the Japanese Fascists to force the French, who were in a difficult situation, to yield the two Lao provinces west of the Mekong, the provinces of Sayaboury and Champasak. During the United States war of aggression in Indo-China, the reactionaries in power in Thailand transformed their territory into a United States base and made their troops participate directly in this war against Laos and the other countries of Indo-China. From 1975 to the present time, Thailand has been a decisive bastion, a docile instrument, used by Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia as a sanctuary for the genocidal Pol Pot clique and its consorts and for other reactionary exiles from Indo-Chinese countries who came to struggle against their own people.

244. The Thai reactionaries used military pressure against the Lao People's Democratic Republic to create tension and sow the seeds of trouble. They co-operated with the Chinese in feeding, training, organizing and commanding the Lao reactionaries in exile and then in invading the three Lao villages on 6 June 1984. This act of aggression is the product of pan-Thaism, which is coming to life again among the extreme-right Thai ruling circles.

245. Thirdly, the aggression against the three Lao villages was part of the overall struggle of the extreme-right Thai reactionaries, in collusion with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against Laos and the other countries of Indo-China.

246. The incident involving the three villages occurred shortly after the visit to China of General Arthit Kamlang Ek, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Army of Thailand. He even went to the Chinese-Vietnamese border to learn from the Chinese experience of its war of aggression against Vietnamese territory. During the visit, the Chinese side declared that it would support Thailand in its aggression against the three Lao villages, an aggression which was commanded by General Arthit Kamlang Ek in person and which took place at a time when the Thais, in collusion with the Chinese, were doing everything possible to help the Pol Potists and their consorts to oppose the Kampuchean people, and at a time when the Chinese themselves also were escalating the war of aggression against the Vietnamese border.

247. It is perfectly clear that the aggression against the three Lao villages enjoyed the support of the Chinese expansionists and that it resulted from their total collusion with the extreme-right Thai reactionaries against Laos.

248. Although these three villages are still occupied by the Thai forces of aggression, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has been very restrained and has been prepared to settle the problem of the three villages jointly with the Thai side through negotiations, so as not to let the fraternal relations between the peoples of these two countries deteriorate still further. That is why the Lao side took the initiative of twice—in July and August 1984—sending a governmental negotiation to Bangkok to negotiate with the Thai side. But the results showed that the Thai side does not sincerely wish to resolve the problem with the Lao side. It submitted many proposals and demands which were unreasonable and unjustified; these all had the purpose of denying the sovereignty of the Lao People's Democratic Republic over the three villages. After vainly expending great effort in an attempt to force the Lao side to accept its unfounded demands, the Thai side decided unilaterally to break off the negotiations.

249. Moreover, the Thai side has been saying, for public opinion and in all its international contacts, that “the three villages are a minor problem”; that “the problem can be resolved through direct negotiations between the two sides”; and that “owing to Viet Nam's manipulation from behind the scenes, Laos is not its own master”. In the end, they established a so-called technical committee—which we rejected—to carry out an investigation in the field. But, as I have already made clear, the border in this sector—and, indeed, throughout its length—was very clearly delimited by the Franco-Siamese treaties of 2 February 1904 and 23 March 1907 and requires no verification. This investigation is intended only to prolong and legalize the occupation and to mislead international public opinion.

250. At the same time, it has pleased the Thai side to inform the Secretary-General about this problem, in order to make it widely known. The head of the Thai delegation abandoned the first round of negotiations with the Lao side in order to pay a visit to China to consult the Chinese side.

251. As everyone knows, the three countries of Indo-China have been the principal South-East Asian victims of the policies of aggression and occupation of the Chinese, the colonialists, the militarists and the imperialists. Laos and Kampuchea in particular have also been victims of the expansionist, hegemonist policy of the reactionaries in power in Thailand. Bearing in mind these historical facts, the three peoples of Indo-China have been forced to join together at the cost of great sacrifices in the long common struggle to regain and defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the forces of foreign aggression.

252. Fourthly, after the grave effects of 30 years of war, the Lao people wants only to live in peace, to bring its country out of backwardness and poverty and to build a new system and a new life of prosperity.

253. The consistent foreign policy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is to establish relations with all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

254. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has spared no effort to develop fraternal relations between its people and that of Thailand, its neighbour. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic notes with satisfaction that, thanks to the united efforts of the two parties, the Lao Government and the Thai Government have been able to sign two joint declarations, in January and April 1979, which turned a new page in the history of relations between the peoples of the two countries. However, the extreme-right reactionaries in the Thai ruling circles took advantage of this to attain their expansionist and hegemonist designs on Laos; this runs counter to the interests of the peoples of the two countries. Accordingly, the Thai reactionaries alone must shoulder the responsibility for the present serious deterioration.

255. The just solution to the problem of the three villages is for Thailand to withdraw all its troops from those villages, to allow the inhabitants forced into Thailand to return to their homeland, to provide fair compensation to the local inhabitants for the loss of life and property caused by the troops and to return the situation in the three villages to normal, as it was before 6 June 1984.

256. The Lao people has a long tradition of heroic struggle against foreign aggression and is resolved to exercise its right of legitimate self-defence, as set out in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, to repel the troops of aggression and to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its sacred homeland. At the same time, the Lao Government will always demonstrate goodwill and will continue to be ready to resume negotiations with the Royal Thai Government in order to resolve the problem on the basis of the principles set forth in the two joint declarations of 1979.

257. We should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the Governments and peoples of the various countries, and to international public opinion which cherishes peace and justice in the world, for their sympathy and for the invaluable support they have lent to the just position of the people of Laos.

258. We appeal here to all delegations participating in this session of the General Assembly to urge the

Thai side to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos by withdrawing its troops from the three villages, by returning the Lao inhabitants, removed by force, to their homeland, by providing compensation to the Lao victims of this aggression and by restoring the situation in the three villages to normal, as it was before 6 June 1984. That would contribute to normalizing relations between Laos and Thailand and to safeguarding peace and stability in South-East Asia.

259. My delegation sincerely hopes that this session of the General Assembly will be an extremely successful one.

260. Mr. VEGA IMBERT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of the Dominican Republic and of the delegation which I have the honour of leading, I wish to convey to Mr. Lusaka our most sincere congratulations on his election to preside over the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This well-deserved distinction recognizes his role as a fighter for the cause of peace and the well-being of nations, his brilliant work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and his effective co-operation in the United Nations. His election augurs well for the balanced and fruitful conduct of this session. This wise choice is also an eloquent tribute to a country, Zambia, and to the entire African continent, which is characterized by its devotion to the quest for a fairer international social order.

261. My delegation also pays a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his efficient leadership of the deliberations of the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session. His diplomatic skill won him the admiration of all and is a source of pride to the peoples of Latin America.

262. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his perseverance in translating into reality the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for his invaluable contributions to the cause of progress and international peace and security.

263. Allow me to extend a most cordial welcome to the new State of Brunei Darussalam, which recently won independence. Its efforts to realize the ideals of justice pursued by the United Nations will undoubtedly prove to be an asset to the Organization.

264. The international situation, which grows more alarming each passing day, should be a matter of collective concern to all peace-loving nations and should, of necessity, lead them to strengthen the United Nations. This firm belief inspires me to reiterate the idea I put forward in my statement at the thirty-eighth session that:

"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." [21st meeting, para. 161.]

265. In view of the growing interdependence that characterizes contemporary international relations, today's problems affect all the members of the international community but have a greater impact on the least developed among them. We are therefore concerned at the tendency on the part of some industrialized States to abandon the necessary co-operation among States, which should be based on a profound feeling of solidarity. We must create a real

political will to embark upon genuine international co-operation, which should have as its aim the establishment of social justice among our peoples.

266. International life is dominated by the critical choice between war and peace. There is a close interdependence between two basic requirements for the growth and advancement of the developing countries: first, the creation of conditions of peace and security and, secondly, the launching of a new international economic order. The arms race militates at one and the same time against attaining both of these requirements.

267. The stalemate in the disarmament negotiations between the two super-Powers has resulted in quantitative and qualitative arms escalation. The international tension created by that escalation is one of the principal obstacles to the attainment of those goals. Moreover, the resources that should be devoted to development are being used instead to produce more sophisticated armaments.

268. In this important matter, I wish to state that we associate ourselves fully with the Joint Declaration on peace and world disarmament made on 22 May 1984 by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. We agree with those illustrious statesmen that:

“The power and ingenuity of the human race must be used, not to perfect weapons of annihilation, but to harness the resources of the earth so that all people may enjoy a life of security and dignity in an international system free of war and based on peace and justice.” [See A/39/277, annex.]

269. For the Dominican Republic, negotiation and dialogue are the best instruments in the search for peace. There is no dispute for which a fair solution cannot be found through the means of peaceful settlement provided by international law and the Charter of the United Nations itself. As a corollary to this deep-felt conviction, our Government takes a consistent position of principle, that of rejecting, in so far as international coexistence is concerned, any threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

270. Keeping the peace should be an indivisible commitment for all Members of the United Nations. We applaud and encourage the work being done by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization with a view to preventing international conflicts and diminishing the risk that they pose. My delegation values that work very highly and announces here its constant willingness to contribute to the attainment of those basic objectives.

271. At the past two sessions of the General Assembly, I explained in detail that my country was desirous of and interested in co-operating in bringing about a negotiated settlement to the Central American conflict. The Government of the Dominican Republic has constantly echoed those responsible voices that offer assistance in restoring peace in those brother countries, free from outside impositions or interference, and in devoting their energies and resources to the requirements of development.

272. On his very first day in office, in August 1982, the President of my country, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in the Santo Domingo declaration issued jointly with four other Latin American leaders, recommended dialogue and negotiations as means

for resolving the crisis in Central America, along with other measures for bringing about political, social and economic recovery in the region.

273. The Dominican Republic has always expressed support for the steps taken by the Contadora Group, maintaining an unchanging and unequivocal position in this regard. The outstanding process of mediation undertaken by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela has culminated in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], which we hope will be signed as soon as possible. It is clear that, while the actions of the Contadora Group have received the encouragement and backing of the United Nations and the international community, this final stage of overriding importance requires the full, active and complementary support of the countries of the Latin American region as a particular and of the international community as a whole. We wish to record our gratitude and express our encouragement to the Central American countries which have already stated their willingness to sign this important document.

274. Similarly, we share the view that assistance from countries with ties to the Central American region would be highly desirable to ensure the effective implementation of the Contadora Act. We believe that the best way of achieving this important goal would be through a determined effort of solidarity by Latin America that would eliminate or at least reduce to a minimum a certain element of confrontation, directly or indirectly, in our hemisphere that could affect the situation in Central America.

275. It is the duty of Latin America as a whole to promote the détente and understanding that would effectively guarantee the establishment of peace in the region. The parties involved must therefore make reciprocal concessions which, in turn, provide mutual benefits, principally in the important areas of national security and economic and social development.

276. It has been an invariable tenet of the foreign policy of the Dominican Republic that any type of colonial domination, whatever form it might take, must be rejected. In line with this attitude, we note with concern that there are still areas of the world under colonial domination. These constitute sources of unrest and tension in the sphere of international relations and endanger international peace and security.

277. One persistent source of unrest is the disregard of the legitimate claim of the Argentine Republic to territorial sovereignty over the Malvinas. We regret the lack of progress at the meeting at Berne last July between representatives of the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom. We cordially urge the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume their negotiations, and we reiterate our support for the renewed mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General with a view to assisting the parties to those negotiations.

278. The insecurity and sufferings of peoples are not limited to one geographical area. I should like to refer to other events, topics and circumstances which affect international life and are of concern to the Government of the Dominican Republic.

279. First, I wish to express the Dominican Republic's profound anxiety over the situation prevailing in southern Africa. A mere glance at this part of the world shows us that *apartheid*, racial discrimination

and colonial domination continue blindly to resist the natural and legitimate forces of social change. The heroic struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for self-determination must receive the most decisive support of the international community.

280. I reaffirm the full solidarity of the Dominican people with the people of Namibia and our unreserved support for the struggle being waged by SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for the liberation of their territory and the establishment of an independent State based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice.

281. Among the disturbed regions of the world, the Middle East has been a constant source of concern to the United Nations since the Organization's inception. My country unswervingly maintains its position that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the region requires prior acceptance of the view that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East situation.

282. We therefore urge, as we have on previous occasions, that the necessary conditions be fostered to enable the Palestinian people to exercise, without any kind of outside interference or coercion, its right to self-determination, including its right to national independence and political sovereignty and to establish a State on Palestinian territory.

283. We reiterate equally strongly our heartfelt conviction that any peace solution in the Middle East must take into consideration Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which recognizes the right of Israel to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

284. No less worrying is the situation in Lebanon—a country with traditional ties to the Dominican Republic—which is cruelly torn by fratricidal battles. We believe that now more than ever the paths of dialogue and negotiation should be explored there and that the international community is morally obliged to extend its full co-operation to the reconstruction process in Lebanon.

285. However, unanimous recognition of the need for the restoration of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the withdrawal from its territory of all unauthorized foreign forces is an essential prerequisite for the settlement of the conflict.

286. The war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq is taking its toll in death and destruction on both sides and is adversely affecting prospects of regional and global peace and security. We believe that the international organizations should be prepared to help and encourage the peace-making process between the parties.

287. We reaffirm our belief that the desired reunification of the Korean people should be achieved through a negotiated settlement between the two parties, without outside interference or pressure.

288. One of the sustaining pillars of Dominican foreign policy is non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. This has been a historical constant, evident throughout the life of our Republic. However, we consider that non-intervention is closely linked to another cardinal principle of international life: the self-determination of peoples. The Dominican Republic has invariably shown firm support for the right of peoples freely to decide the form of government they deem most suited to their national interests.

289. Our deep attachment to these principles impels us to express before this Assembly of the international community our profound concern at the situation prevailing in several parts of the world where foreign interference is damaging the sacred attributes of national sovereignty and independence. In this connection, we affirm our absolute rejection of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Lebanon, Central America, Africa and anywhere else that this situation exists.

290. The Government of the Dominican Republic views with deep concern the upsurge of acts of terrorism in international life. It has condemned these and will always condemn them wherever they occur. We believe the recourse to terror, in any form and for any motive, is unacceptable to the international community and offends its conscience.

291. On the subject of scourges, I should like to refer to the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, signed by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, by the representative of the President of Peru, by the President-elect of Panama, by a member of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and by the Vice-President of Panama at Quito on 11 August 1984 [see A/39/407]. We associate ourselves fully with the approach adopted in that Declaration—that is, to consider traffic in narcotics as a crime against humanity, with all the legal consequences applicable in such cases. We also support the proposal for the establishment of an international or regional fund to furnish aid to developing countries affected by traffic in narcotics, in order to combat and overcome the causes responsible for such situations and to provide the competent national institutions with suitable instruments to deal with such activities.

292. The international community is still being battered by the worst world economic crisis of recent decades. Despite some signs of recovery observed in certain industrialized economies, the international recession persists and the third-world countries—particularly those in Latin America—are still beset by economic stagnation and subjected to painful processes of adjustment which in the main are ineffective because of the lack of equity and symmetry in the distribution of the costs of international economic restructuring.

293. From the Second United Nations Development Decade, the 1970s, which held promise of a transfer of real resources to the developing areas, we have moved into a period dominated by the group and sectoral interests of some industrialized countries which, not fully realizing that we live in an interdependent world, have caused a reversal of financial assistance flows, leading to restrictions on market access and the pursuit of economic policies that have upset the international economic order.

294. Consequently, the sustained economic growth of a few years ago has come to a halt. Our peoples' purchasing power in strong currencies has dwindled. World trade is at a standstill. A dramatic shortage of international liquidity is threatening the stability of the financial and monetary system.

295. The third-world countries, which set their sights on industrialization during the 1980s in the hope of absorbing growing unemployment, find that important industrial sectors cannot grow satisfactorily because the developed countries' economies, de-

prived of comparative advantages, are imposing quotas and restrictions on our principal exports.

296. One example is sugar, the underpinning and the mainstay of economies such as that of my country. Sugar is subjected to subsidies and protectionist measures which some developed countries extend to their producers and which are one of the main reasons for the decline in the world price of this commodity. In addition, the United States has just reduced by 20 per cent the sugar quotas assigned to our countries. This measure is contrary to the philosophy underlying the promising initiative for the Caribbean basin sponsored by that country.

297. These protectionist measures show the extent to which the world economy may be destabilized if this type of behaviour continues to spread. If the countries that are most competitive in selling certain goods cannot find outlets for their production or do not obtain suitable prices for their commodities, where will they obtain the international liquidity to purchase goods from abroad or to finance the servicing of their external debt?

298. Clearly, the answer cannot be that this liquidity should be achieved at the expense of the standard of living of our peoples, because that solution would be economically unfair and politically and socially destabilizing and would have implications that could even endanger the international financial and monetary system itself.

299. During the 1960s and 1970s, the relationship existing between trade and development was reflected principally in the fact that the surpluses generated by trade were recycled in the form of investments and loans. By contrast, the present trend is to concentrate capital inputs on the basis of incentives to encourage high interest rates and other measures involving substantial restrictions on international trade.

300. High interest rates are aggravating the external debt problem, by increasing financial costs. Thus, Latin America will have to pay out over \$7.5 billion more than it would have had to pay out if the United States base rate had not risen by three points since the beginning of this year. In turn, the existence of such high interest rates encourages the outflow of capital to the financial centres, thus further reducing the capacity to pay and the international liquidity of our economies. That is one reason why Latin America, deeply in debt, has paradoxically become a net exporter of capital.

301. The figures supporting this statement are chilling. In net terms, Latin America is transferring to the industrialized countries over 3 per cent of its gross domestic product. In 1983 over \$30 billion, representing half of the region's net savings, were transferred as interest and profits alone. Debt servicing—interest alone—absorbs 35 per cent of Latin American exports. In the past four years, the region's output declined by 10 per cent, and unemployment is still on the rise.

302. The severe deflation into which the developing countries' economies have been led, in order to create conditions in which debt-servicing payments can be made, has undoubtedly reduced the threat looming over the financial order of the developed countries. But this has been achieved through severe, indeed traumatic, curtailments of imports and of consumption, through a decrease in the already precarious standard of living of our peoples and, in

many cases, through disruption of social peace owing to the sacrifices required of peoples with fewer resources available to them.

303. My country, which has suffered at first hand the rigours of this crisis and the consequences of economic adjustments, cannot remain indifferent to this distressing social picture, which is working against the United Nations ideal of creating the necessary conditions of stability and well-being for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

304. Faced with the serious phenomenon of external indebtedness, which as has been seen, has significant adverse effects on them, the Latin American countries have—it must be recognized—already set in train a dynamic process of solidarity, which is increasingly becoming an example for the third world and which is backed by firm political will.

305. The Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [A/39/118, annex] preceded by the Santo Domingo undertaking, and more recently the Cartagena Consensus [A/39/331, annex] and the Mar del Plata Communiqué [A/39/554, annex] are eloquent expressions of this solidarity and of this common will, whose main objective is to find a solution to the serious problems identified during the dialogue and to achieve understanding between all the parties concerned—in other words, between creditors and debtors.

306. This was clearly stated by the President of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in a speech made at the University of South Carolina, before the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, and other leaders of the Caribbean Community. He said:

“At Cartagena, we acknowledged the need to restructure our economies, to make the adjustments which will enable us to exercise self-discipline, but we also proclaimed the necessary joint responsibility for the solution of the crisis borne by the Governments of the creditor countries, the international banks and the international financial organizations.”

307. The countries which joined in the Cartagena Consensus reaffirmed at Mar del Plata the need for direct political dialogue between creditors and debtors which would recognize the joint responsibility of all in the search for solutions to the crisis and lead to the achievement of a fairer economic order.

308. As the provisional secretariat of the consultation and follow-up machinery established under the Cartagena Consensus, the Dominican Republic will do everything in its power to help bring about the proposed political dialogue which, as stated at Mar del Plata, should preferably be held during the first half of 1985. This political dialogue would also serve as an opportunity to review the role played by important international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank in the international economic order.

309. As we commemorate the tenth anniversary of the solemn proclamation by the General Assembly of the new international economic order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)], we note with regret that the attitude of some industrialized countries is hindering the start of the global negotiations, the result being that the North-South dialogue on international economic co-operation is being kept in a state of virtual paralysis.

310. There is still no progress in the negotiations, despite the notable flexibility of the non-aligned

countries and the Group of 77, as evidenced at their most recent meetings, and despite the fact that the developed countries acknowledged at their economic summit meetings, such as those held at Williamsburg in 1983 and in London last June, the global nature of the international crisis and the interdependence which must necessarily exist between North and South.

311. Nevertheless, as shown by the report of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [A/39/48 and Corr. I], the industrialized countries are having difficulty in taking measures consonant with the agreed principles.

312. The proposals submitted at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, proposals that were the fruit of concerted action involving representatives of approximately 100 nations from three continents, were rejected—yet another example of the meagre responses of the industrialized countries, whose last two summit conferences, instead of giving rise to expectations and fostering hopes, caused painful frustrations.

313. The recently concluded Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, again provided a forum for a demonstration of the inflexibility of the most powerful nations in the face of the urgent need to promote a more stable economic order, showing that the voice of the third world at the end of the century is heard almost as a monologue of over 100 voices rather than as part of a dialogue.

314. This obliges us to ponder the need for an effective expansion of South-South co-operation in all spheres, since this would create better prospects for the strengthening of our economies, without any intention of diverting trade into exclusively horizontal patterns, because we fully recognize the high degree of interdependence prevailing in North-South relations. This would not prevent our countries, which have very marked common interests, from strengthening their mutual trade, deliberately and with a very clear political will, in pursuit of the goal of remedying even partially the unequal treatment to which we are subjected.

315. We trust that the critical international economic situation will be a factor accelerating the informal consultations being held at the United Nations on the subject of global negotiations. At the end of this session of the General Assembly, we hope to have significant agreement in the area of global negotiations, the continued postponement of which is a source of discouragement to the developing countries.

316. Before concluding, I should like to say that my country, which is host to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, is extremely pleased to note the very efficient and capable work of the Institute in the performance of its vital tasks. We hope that the international community will continue to extend its support to this dynamic Institute. This new autonomous United Nations body is devoting its efforts to training and to the dissemination of information on the link existing between the development process and the situation of each individual in particular.

317. In this context, we must state that the modern world seems to have understood that when international relations are subordinated to the interests of the rich countries, the problems and aspirations of the vast majority of the developing countries—all seeking diversified and democratic solutions to the world crisis—are ignored.

318. International conflicts assume a much more complex character with unforeseeable consequences when due consideration is not given to the particular identity of our peoples and to the very special needs which they have at the various stages of their evolution and growth.

319. The approach of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will provide a very propitious occasion for a review of our international system and of its efficiency. We attach vital importance to the level of understanding and knowledge possessed by the peoples of the world on the subject of the United Nations, so that mankind can identify with the principles, spirit and ideals of its Charter.

320. Forty, for the United Nations, is an age of maturity and experience, of vigour and of youth. To reflect on the commitments assumed by this universal Organization for the solution of conflicts, for disarmament, for human rights, for justice and for co-operation, is to realize that we all belong to one and the same community, which must seek peace and development through solidarity.

321. In reiterating on this occasion the firm support of the Government of the Dominican Republic for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we urge the Members of the international community to strengthen the Organization, so that it may really serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

322. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for me to extend to Mr. Lusaka my most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. His election to that high office is an honour to his country and to him personally. His great knowledge and experience of the United Nations will, I am sure, enable him to guide the deliberations of this session to fruitful results. I assure him that my delegation will always lend him its entire support and co-operation to help him shoulder the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him.

323. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who demonstrated exemplary competence and devotion during his presidency of the thirty-eighth session.

324. It is also a great pleasure for me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his zeal and devotion to the purposes and principles for which the United Nations was created and for the consistency of his efforts to promote peace and understanding among the nations of the world.

325. The delegation of Djibouti is also happy to congratulate the State of Brunei Darussalam on its independence and welcomes it most warmly to membership in the United Nations. We are happy to see Brunei Darussalam take its place here among the great family of the United Nations. We hope that soon we will be able to co-operate with that country.

326. Meeting once again here in the General Assembly, we find ourselves faced with many interna-

tional problems that require great efforts of understanding and co-operation from us all.

327. We believe that the United Nations is the forum most suited to the exchange of ideas. It provides the most favourable atmosphere for developing human relations for the promotion of international understanding, peace and security. This is why we believe in the purposes and principles of the United Nations, particularly at a time when economic, social and political turmoil are creating hotbeds of tension and disruption in many parts of the world, especially in the third world. This dangerous situation in Africa, Asia and Latin America could, if remedies are not found rather swiftly, threaten the very survival of their populations.

328. Moreover, because of the escalation of tension that has been triggered particularly by the arms buildup, the entire world is living through a nuclear nightmare which could ultimately eliminate any glimmer of hope. All of us here are concerned about this danger, which would spare nobody. The nuclear and conventional arms races do not help dialogue among nations and are not in accordance with the principles underlying the creation of the United Nations following the terrible Second World War.

329. How can we speak of co-operation if the nuclear danger and this tension hang over our heads? We trust that through our combined efforts we shall be able to bring about a relaxation of tension, which will be in the interest of the peoples of the entire world.

330. Turning to the economic crisis, we are all aware of the fact that we would be virtually powerless to control the world economy unless there were full co-operation between the United Nations and its Member States.

331. The deterioration of the international economic situation has led the international organizations to give priority to studying ways and means of achieving a rapid improvement in the economy. Yet the problem of restructuring the world economy with a view to establishing a new international economic order based on more equitable economic relations remains unsolved. Only an atmosphere of mutual trust and a common determination to arrive at agreement on the most crucial issues will enable us to overcome the difficulties and lead us out of the deadlock in the negotiations between the developed and the developing countries.

332. I want to emphasize the terrible consequences of the economic crisis for Africa, which is most seriously affected by this situation. This problem has become a source of major concern and a matter of priority in the United Nations, as can be seen by the praiseworthy initiative of the Secretary-General and as has been emphasized in many international forums.

333. The African countries, aware of the gravity of the situation, have advanced various constructive solutions to help resolve the crisis. These proposals, which are contained in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,¹⁴ adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, held at Addis Ababa in May of this year, reflect the views of African Governments and should be given due attention by the international community. In this connection, we urge the world community to co-operate fully with African Governments in their efforts.

334. The Republic of Djibouti, which ranks as one of the least developed countries, is experiencing a rather precarious economic situation because of its lack of natural resources and the non-existence of productive agricultural and industrial activities. My country has to import most of its consumer goods and food at very high prices. In addition, the acute shortage of qualified and experienced manpower in almost all public and private sectors aggravates the economic situation.

335. We also suffer from periodic droughts, the most recent of which affected more than a fifth of the population and destroyed a large percentage of our livestock.

336. In addition, the Republic of Djibouti, despite its meagre resources, welcomes in its territory refugees, and this makes even heavier the burden of the Government.

337. The economy of our country has so far been service-oriented, and this sector will be improved and modernized in years to come to meet national, regional and international requirements. However, to avoid complete dependence on a single sector, the Government has taken a political decision to which effect is given in its programme for the next seven years and which will enable us to establish the necessary conditions for a dynamic process capable of creating a productive economy based on the principles of collective autonomy. This programme was submitted to the international community in November 1983, when the conference of donors to Djibouti was held. Friendly countries and international organizations responded favourably to our appeal and contributed to the success of that conference. I take this opportunity to thank them for that response. We are convinced that the commitments entered into at the conference will be honoured so that we can attain our objectives.

338. The Republic of Djibouti would also like to promote fruitful co-operation with economic and trade partners based on mutual respect and the principles of interdependence and equality. We attach great importance to regional and interregional economic co-operation among developing countries, and we are ready to make our contribution to these efforts. We appreciate the value of fruitful co-operation with our Arab and African brothers and with other friendly countries.

339. We have always applied a policy of good-neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and, in the regional context, this ensures that trust, tolerance and mutual understanding prevail. Faithful to that position, we continue to work in this direction and we urge other States to intensify their efforts to create the conditions necessary to ensure the restoration of peace and stability to our region. We believe that initiatives in favour of a positive dialogue should be directed above all to developing significant co-operation in cultural and trade exchanges. We also believe that success for such a peace policy can be achieved only if we respect the fact that each of us is different.

340. Here we should like to pay a tribute to the efforts to ensure a dialogue that will have a positive impact on our region as a whole.

341. On the subject of the Indian Ocean, we believe that it is essential to apply the principles contained in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] in order to avoid any

continuance of the military escalation in that region. The Republic of Djibouti fully supports the wish expressed by the countries of the region and other States that want the Indian Ocean to become a zone of peace. Accordingly, we support the tireless efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean.

342. Last July, international shipping in the Red Sea faced an unprecedentedly dangerous situation when 18 or 19 ships belonging to different nations were damaged by mines. It goes without saying that this criminal act opens up new prospects of international terrorism, the consequences of which are unforeseeable.

343. The Republic of Djibouti, as a coastal State whose economic stability depends on maritime trade, views the deliberate mining of international waters with concern and anxiety. We have said that we are willing to co-operate with States in the Red Sea basin to prevent any such occurrences in future. This danger might not be limited to a single region of the world. Nobody knows where it will strike next. In these circumstances, the international community must be vigilant.

344. The Palestinian question remains the crucial issue in the Middle East crisis. At its last session and at earlier sessions, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions condemning unambiguously the practices of the State of Israel in the occupied Arab territories and declaring null and void all the administrative and legislative measures taken by the occupying Power in pursuit of its annexionist and expansionist policy.

345. So far, no tangible results have been achieved. On the contrary, the occupying Power, through its discriminatory and arbitrary measures, has been strangling the economic, cultural and social life of the Palestinians and has been encouraging new settlers to come by using force and terror.

346. Much has been said about peace in the Middle East. We believe it is high time to talk about justice, for peace is a corollary of justice. Several peace plans have been proposed but none has yet taken effect because of the stubbornness and the categorical rejection of the Israeli Government.

347. We believe that the only path to just and lasting peace is recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of an independent and sovereign State, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and recognition of the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

348. We would, here, pay tribute to the courage of the Palestinian people and congratulate the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, our brother Yasser Arafat, for his tireless efforts to ensure that the objectives of his people are attained.

349. Since Israel has been occupying Jerusalem, the Islamic holy places have been the object of acts of sacrilege by Zionist extremists whose declared goal is to destroy the Christian and Muslim holy places, actions that they consider as the first steps towards complete Judaization of Jerusalem.

350. For centuries, the Muslims have been protecting the Christian and Jewish holy places, in accordance with the prescriptions of the sacred Koran,

establishing relations between Muslims and those that received the writings before them. But, alas, nothing prevents the Zionist zealots from committing dastardly and cowardly crimes that will be inscribed in the annals of the darkest pages of the history of mankind. We believe that the international community must shoulder its moral and political responsibility and condemn such actions and ensure that the holy places of the various religions are kept safe.

351. Israel has always shown that it can indulge in acts of aggression against its neighbours as it sees fit. The most recent was the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. We should not like to recall the horrors of that war, but we want to express our deep concern over Israel's continuing occupation of southern Lebanon and over the arbitrary measures taken by the occupying forces. Israel's attempts to isolate southern Lebanon by blocking the two main roads linking the south to the north, the restrictions on freedom of movement imposed on the inhabitants, its repression of the population there and its usurpation of the natural resources expose the real intentions of the Zionist occupiers.

352. The United Nations must exert pressure on Israel so that it will submit to the principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). We call on the international community to help Lebanon regain its sovereignty over all of its national territory so as to allow for the reconstruction of that country, which for a decade has been subjected to unprecedented suffering and devastation.

353. The constant search for solutions to the tragic situation in South Africa has unfortunately not yet yielded any positive results. Confrontation and violence are constantly occurring, for the racist régime of Pretoria arrogantly rejects all appeals launched by the international community to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and continues to refuse to give the great majority of the people of South Africa fundamental political and human rights and freedoms.

354. The international community believes that *apartheid* has become a well-established system of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination against the black majority of South Africa. That is why *apartheid* has repeatedly been condemned as a crime against humanity. International mobilization to ensure the total elimination of that scourge is a sacred duty of the international community.

355. We reaffirm here the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate that vicious system, which flouts the most elementary rights of an entire people.

356. It is more than high time for the international community to take concerted action to avoid any escalation of violence that could give international dimensions to this conflict. We urge all States to respect the decisions adopted at international conferences.

357. Last August, the *apartheid* régime introduced a so-called new constitution which exposed another aspect of the odious policy of segregation, racism and racial discrimination in South Africa. This so-called constitution is a new strategy of confrontation which opens the doors to violence and police brutality against the black majority. It brought back to life that old policy of the colonial era which is now in its

death throes: "divide and rule". However, we did note that the election of the three-chamber parliament required by the constitution through a referendum was almost completely boycotted. This humiliating defeat inflicted on the policy of *apartheid* was an outstanding proof of the great extent of popular support for the black majority struggling in South Africa. We believe that this so-called new constitution and the manoeuvres relating to it are just another aspect of *apartheid* which we must condemn and declare null and void.

358. We declare once again that condemning *apartheid* means actively supporting the liberation struggle and giving increased assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa.

359. As far as Namibia is concerned, the racist régime in South Africa continues to occupy the country illegally. The presence of the armed forces and the administrative authorities of South Africa in Namibia, the brutal repression of the Namibian people, the constant violation of human rights and the illegal exploitation of Namibia, and the attacks against neighbouring independent States, all of these must be forcefully condemned.

360. Any negotiations towards a political solution in Namibia must try to arrive at a cease-fire, followed by an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African occupying forces from the territory so as to enable the Namibian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

361. We reaffirm that the United Nations plan for Namibia, for which Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides a framework, remains the sole basis for a just and peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. We must strongly condemn the most recent manoeuvres of the South African administration which are designed to flout the United Nations plan, thus violating the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and leading to the continuing colonial domination of Namibian territory by South Africa.

362. We strongly condemn the repeated acts of aggression and attacks perpetrated by the South African armed forces against neighbouring sovereign independent States, trying to intimidate, destabilize and discourage them from providing support to the liberation fronts.

363. In particular, we pay tribute to the front-line States, which have sacrificed a great deal to the cause of Namibian liberation and have stepped up their moral and material aid to the courageous people of Namibia and to SWAPO, despite the constant threats by South Africa. We call upon the international community to increase its generous assistance to the Namibian people struggling under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative.

364. We believe that any economic or financial co-operation with South Africa would only increase the capacity of that *apartheid* régime to commit aggression and thus intensify its brutal repression of the African majority in South Africa.

365. With regard to Chad, we have always stated from this rostrum our conviction that foreign intervention or interference can never settle that problem. We now welcome the fact that France and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have decided to withdraw their respective forces from that territory. We hope that this new situation will lead to a resumption of the

reconciliation process between brothers in Chad and that they will embark on an authentic dialogue aimed at ending a tragic situation that has already lasted too long. We trust that the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to resolve the problem will be stepped up in order to create an atmosphere and a framework conducive to dialogue in Chad.

366. My country reaffirms its position with regard to Western Sahara, namely, that the Saharan people should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination. We fully support the consensus obtained within the framework of the OAU on organizing a referendum so that the Saharan people can express their wishes freely and in accordance with the various resolutions of the OAU summits.

367. We welcome the efforts undertaken for the solution of this problem and trust that the impetus will be maintained in order to preserve peace in our continent. We sincerely hope that the unity and understanding among the countries of the Maghreb will help the OAU in the search for a peaceful solution to this problem.

368. Turning now to the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Republic of Djibouti is deeply saddened by the dangerous situation in which those two countries have been involved for the past four years. They have been engaged in a bitter conflict in which they have both suffered and exhausted human, economic and material resources that could have been used for their economic development.

369. While we appreciate the constant efforts of the Security Council and the good offices of the Secretary-General and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, we must nevertheless express our deep concern and sorrow at the failure of the efforts undertaken to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. We regret that the war has recently been extended to the Gulf region and we feel that this could not only threaten the region but also have serious repercussions on world peace and security.

370. We welcome the wise action of the States members of the Gulf Co-operation Council in seeking a peaceful solution to that tragic conflict, and my Government has consistently supported the efforts undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

371. We fully appreciate the positive initiative taken unilaterally by the Iraqi Government with a view to starting negotiations and halting military operations. We believe that efforts must be redoubled and support given to all initiatives in the hope of bringing peace to that region.

372. The Afghan crisis is still unresolved despite intensive efforts in the search for a political settlement based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. It is clear that foreign armed intervention and the permanent foreign presence make it impossible for the Afghan people to express their wishes through free elections. The withdrawal of foreign troops and strict respect for the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries would enable the Afghan people to choose their future in freedom.

373. The Kampuchean people are the victims of foreign invasion and armed occupation. That situa-

tion is still unresolved and is a matter of concern to all nations that cherish peace. The Republic of Djibouti is opposed to foreign armed intervention and to the presence of foreign troops in the territory of Kampuchea. We reaffirm the need for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from Kampuchea in order to promote a political settlement that will ensure respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and restore its sovereignty, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

374. With regard to the Korean Peninsula, we believe that the unity of Korea can be achieved peacefully through direct negotiations between the two parties concerned, without any outside intervention or interference. We call for an early resumption of the dialogue in order to reduce the present tension and establish trust between the two parties, thus preparing the ground for a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and making it possible to satisfy the national aspirations of the Korean people.

375. We wish to reaffirm the importance that we attach to what could be called the world conscience. On the basis of the elementary principles of the right to live in dignity and guided by the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all nations represented here must shoulder their responsibilities so that solutions may be found to the most urgent problems facing our peoples, in particular the poorest among them. We are convinced that through the determination and political will of each State we shall be able to bring to international relations more tolerance and fairness based on open and loyal co-operation. Practical examples of this exist, and we believe that, despite all difficulties, we must build upon them and strengthen them so as to give hope to future generations.

376. We might also mention South-South co-operation as part of this dynamic process. We welcome the realignments in the third world that should make it possible to ensure authentic dialogue between their peoples, leading to stability and peace.

377. I said earlier that in the context of this world conscience we all have a collective responsibility, and it is in the United Nations that we come closest to that reality. We sincerely hope, as the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations approaches, that greater and greater efforts will be made to ensure that we achieve the purposes and principles of the Organization, for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

378. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

379. Mr. CHUTIKUL (Thailand): With reference to the regrettably polemical statement delivered by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic this afternoon concerning incidents near the border between Thailand and Laos, the Thai delegation would merely wish, in exercise of its right of reply, to reiterate the relevant portions of the statement made earlier this afternoon in the Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand.

380. With reference to the incidents near the Thai-Lao border, he stated that the Thai Government regards them as minor border incidents which can, unfortunately, occur in any part of the world. The

issue itself concerns only three small, remote villages covering an area of 19 square kilometres and with a population of 1,100 people. The matter arose when Lao troops began harassing a Thai work crew who was building a road some distance from those villages and well inside our border. Once military actions had taken place, it became difficult for either side to yield for fear of giving the advantage to the other.

381. The bilateral issue was further complicated by undue interference from a third country, which has seized upon the opportunity to divert world attention from its military occupation of Kampuchea and introduce an extraneous factor in the form of linkage to the Kampuchean question.

382. It has long been the policy of the Royal Thai Government to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Laos. The issue of the three villages should not be permitted to stand in the way of improved relations between the two peoples, who speak the same language and have relatives on both sides of the border. Therefore, despite efforts of the other side to impede progress towards a peaceful settlement, the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem.

383. I should like to repeat what the Thai Minister for Foreign Affairs said earlier this afternoon, namely, that "the Royal Thai Government has decided to remove the Thai military presence from the three villages in order to defuse the situation and bring about a peaceful solution to the problem".

384. In the light of my Minister's statement, it is my delegation's earnest hope that the Lao delegation will demonstrate a more constructive attitude towards the solution of any and all problems and misunderstandings that may arise between our two neighbouring countries in the sincere spirit of brotherhood that has for many centuries existed between our two peoples.

385. Mr. NGAOSIVAT (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The occupation of the three Lao villages by Thai troops is in no way a minor issue, as claimed by the Thai representative and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand. It is an issue of sovereignty, of the territorial integrity of an independent State, a State that is a full-fledged Member of the United Nations.

386. If Thailand deems the issue of the three Lao villages attacked and occupied by the Thai Army to be a minor one, why did it not resolve this issue in the course of the two rounds of negotiations at Bangkok and why did it unilaterally break off those negotiations? Why does Thailand seek to drag out the search for a solution to the problem and to take advantage of this session of the General Assembly to declare, in a very vague way, that it is withdrawing its troops?

387. The United States, for its part, has for several months been declaring that it would be withdrawing its troops from Grenada. To date, however, nothing has been done in that connection. Its statement is gratuitous. The statement of intent to withdraw the Thai military forces without specifying dates is also meaningless.

388. In those three villages there are not only military personnel, but also paramilitary personnel and civilians. The statement by the Thai representative is therefore aimed solely to appease, to create a

diversion and to deceive world public opinion, which forcefully condemns the occupation of those three villages. It is also aimed at winning votes for the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

²See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10–21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

³See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 37*, annex, sect. B, decision 4 (V).

⁴Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981. See A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

⁵Adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983. See *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.

⁶See CD/540/Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/500.

⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, document CD/531.

⁸United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

⁹Adopted at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha from 12 to 16 February 1979. See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

¹⁰United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

¹¹*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

¹²United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

¹³See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

¹⁴E/1984/110, annex.