



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

AGENDA ITEM 8

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

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 (a) and (b) of its third report [A/39/250/Add.2], the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" and its allocation to the First Committee. In paragraph 2 (a) and (b) of the same report, the General Committee recommends the inclusion of an additional item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" and its allocation to the First Committee. I take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations.

It was so decided (decision 39/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken.

3. We turn now to paragraph 3 of the General Committee's report. On the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences [A/39/482/Add.2], the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the following subsidiary organs to hold meetings during the thirty-ninth session of the Assembly: the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports; the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided (decision 39/403).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

4. Mr. MAKHELE (Lesotho): Mr. President, at the very outset permit me to extend to you and to the members of the Assembly fraternal greetings and a message of peace from King Moshoeshoe II, the Government and the people of Lesotho. We are pleased to congratulate you on your well-deserved unanimous election to the presidency of this session.

*Resumed from the 3rd meeting.

This augurs well for all of us because your great country, Zambia, under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda, has been in the forefront of the freedom struggle that has swept from the north to the southern part of our continent. While congratulating you as an illustrious son of Africa, we take special pride in recalling that you received the first part of your advanced education in the Kingdom of Lesotho, at what was then the Pius XII College. We pledge our full support to you and to the other officers.

5. Allow me to seize this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, who served concurrently as the President of his great country, Panama.

6. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Lesotho warmly congratulates and welcomes the State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations is a reminder to all of us that this is a universal Organization charged with responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Indeed, the Secretary-General, whom we congratulate on his lucid and succinct report, has stated that "the United Nations is a unique and ideal forum for discussing and solving international problems and conflicts even between the super-Powers".

7. Let us therefore take this auspicious occasion of the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations to rededicate ourselves to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations as enshrined in its Charter.

8. As we meet again, the international economic crisis continues to threaten the survival of small developing nations. Their efforts to restructure their economies are frustrated by the polarized manipulation and refusal of the developed countries to accept the new international economic order.

9. The stalemate in the global negotiations has further organized the North-South relationship into a curious rectangular arrangement of first, second, third and fourth worlds. In this scenario, development strategies conceived in the last decade have degenerated into a thirst for regional domination characterized by coercion and blackmail. Failure to arrest this trend and revert to a normal dialogue between nations can only take the world back to the colonial era.

10. My country, as one of the land-locked and least developed among the developing countries and one of the hardest hit by economics and spiralling inflation, is gravely concerned at the stalemate in the North-South dialogue, which so far happens to be the only possible means of restructuring the present unjust economic order.

11. Of course, resolutions have been adopted by various United Nations institutions and efforts have

been made in an attempt to improve the economic conditions of the least developed countries. These endeavours may not have generated substantive gains, but this fact need not diminish our will and determination to achieve our set goals of development. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, served as a reminder to the developing countries of the importance of mutual co-operation. The developing countries should utilize their experience further to promote their unity and move towards self-reliance.

12. Although multilateral co-operation has made substantial contributions to economic and social development since the last world war, there is a growing awareness of the need among developing countries for reform of the existing international monetary and financial systems. It is almost 40 years since the Bretton Woods blueprint was agreed upon as the basic framework for global economic relationships. Today, near chaos and disorder have made it urgently necessary to re-examine the system and the whole machinery.

13. Even though there are diverse views on reform, we believe that close dialogue would culminate in some practical reforms. In Toronto, the Commonwealth Finance Ministers made commendable recommendations, which have my delegation's full support. That the Development Committee of the World Bank is considering those recommendations is encouraging. The international community should work towards the day when the world's financial and trading systems will be free of major banking crises, disequilibrium in external payments, stagnant growth, increasing trade barriers, volatile exchange rates and reduced investments due to high inflation and interest rates. No blame is being placed on any single country or group of countries for the prevailing uncertainties, but there is no doubt that the major industrialized countries have a special responsibility to initiate reforms.

14. The Secretary-General has called the attention of the international community to the deteriorating economic and social crisis in Africa, particularly in the drought-stricken countries. This call could not have come at a more opportune moment, because we, in Lesotho, have experienced unprecedented drought for the past three to four years, resulting in famine, malnutrition and death. While we express our appreciation to those countries which have responded positively to the call, we must state that the situation is not getting better. Meagre resources have been redirected towards emergency programmes, leaving very little for normal development activities. We therefore take this opportunity to welcome the initiative of the FAO and the World Bank group in bringing to the fore the crisis situation in sub-Saharan Africa, of which Lesotho is an integral part. It is to be hoped that the international community will respond positively and generously to requests for assistance in order to alleviate the plight of the peoples of the region.

15. Today, the global political climate is more volatile than ever before. The deepening confrontation in East-West relations and the growing tendency to resort to force is of the greatest concern to Lesotho and its peace-loving people. In the past year there has been no progress in arms control negotiations. It is our earnest hope that the recent contacts signal a new era whose atmosphere will replace the current atmo-

sphere of heightened fear of nuclear confrontation and violence.

16. There has been violence in many parts of the world. The situation in Cyprus remains unresolved although the issue has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for many years. Indeed, recent developments have exacerbated the problems in that friendly Commonwealth country. The Government of Lesotho continues to support territorial integrity and independence for Cyprus. We are encouraged by and commend the Secretary-General's efforts to that end.

17. The situation in Central and Latin America continues to be characterized by interference in the internal affairs of smaller States. Hence our firm support for the Contadora initiatives and the opening of dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. We hope that the peoples of Central and Latin America will soon be left alone to live in peace, free of external pressures and intimidation.

18. A serious threat to world peace persists in the Middle East. The Palestine issue is at the heart of that problem. We are convinced that Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which endorses the right of all countries of the region to exist, constitutes a just and comprehensive solution. We contend further that all conquered territories must be returned and that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to self-determination, must be respected.

19. The Iraqi-Iranian war is another outstanding international conflict in which many lives have already been lost. What is even more painful about that war is that it involves two fraternal non-aligned States. Lesotho calls for a negotiated settlement to end that fratricidal war and commends the Secretary-General and others for their efforts in trying to bring about peace in the area.

20. On the Korean question, the Lesotho Government has always supported the Korean people's desire to reunify their country peacefully, without foreign interference. Talks have been held between the parties concerned with the aim of achieving genuine reunification. My delegation urges that those talks continue.

21. There are many other areas of world tension, but representatives will bear with me if I single out southern Africa, since it is the most vexing problem and could engulf us in an inferno of immeasurable proportions. The Government of Lesotho has consistently expressed its position on the Namibian question.

22. The United Nations plan for Namibia's independence remains unimplemented. The diplomatic efforts launched by the five Western Powers to persuade South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia have not shown any progress. Many issues that had already been resolved are being reopened and irrelevant matters are being drawn in. There is insistence that Namibia cannot be independent unless Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola.

23. We have maintained that Cuban troops are in Angola at the invitation of the Angolan Government—a bilateral arrangement between sovereign States. The illegal occupation of Namibia is a separate, colonial issue which should be treated as such and not confused with other extraneous matters. South Africa ought to set a date for the implementa-

tion of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and a date for Namibia's independence.

24. The General Assembly, in its resolutions 38/11 and 39/2, unequivocally rejected the so-called constitutional reforms. Since independence, Lesotho has upheld a policy of the resolution of problems between nations through dialogue. Even today the Government of Lesotho is still committed to that policy. We are, however, apprehensive that as long as *apartheid* exists our relations with our neighbour will always present problems, much as both sides would like them to be as reasonable as possible. The Government of Lesotho therefore feels strongly that the question of *apartheid* must be addressed as seriously as possible if there is to be genuine peace in that part of the world. The world should not be deceived into thinking that the push for political change in South Africa is mainly externally motivated. Recent events in that country are compelling examples of the impatience of the majority of the black masses. What we all have to bear in mind is that a people determined to liberate itself will not be halted by anything or anybody.

25. The consequent reprisals by the South African authorities have, as usual, resulted in an influx of South African refugees into my country. In spite of serious pressures from our powerful neighbour, we find ourselves unable to deny sanctuary to those who are denied civil and political rights. This is, first, because, as King Moshoeshoe II stated in the Security Council on 14 December 1982,¹ we are ourselves a nation of refugees. That is why we do not place refugees in camps; instead, we integrate them into our society. Secondly, it is because we are obliged to honour international conventions on refugees to which we are parties.

26. Lesotho will continue to receive those who run to it for sanctuary. But we shall also insist, as in the past, that our country should not be used as a springboard for attacks against other countries. The Government of Lesotho has made a declaration to that effect, which has been reproduced in Security Council document S/16746.² It is because we are committed to a policy of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence that we have continued to impress upon our neighbour that it would greatly facilitate matters for us if the South African Government were to engage in a serious and meaningful dialogue with the black people of that country, the legitimacy of whose struggle for a place in the sun is accepted by the Assembly.

27. The struggle of the people of South Africa affects us in Lesotho directly, for, as my Prime Minister has stated, when these people flee to our country we are used as scapegoats and are falsely accused of giving military bases to the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC].

28. Sometimes those accusations against us become so acrimonious that our very independence and sovereignty are threatened, as was the case recently when South Africa interfered with goods destined for Lesotho from other countries and at the same time restricted the movement of people across our common borders. Another very disturbing dimension in this respect concerns the armed bandits who cross our borders from South Africa into our country to commit acts of murder and sabotage. To contain this situation we have had to divert funds which could

otherwise have been used for development to strengthen our internal security.

29. In this volatile situation, in which the positions of the white rulers of South Africa and the black majority of that country seem to be drifting further apart, as a result of which we, in Lesotho, are not able to concentrate on development, my Prime Minister, Mr. Jonathan, has offered himself as a catalyst between the two sides, with Lesotho as a venue for discussions towards resolving the conflict between them. We have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, but we are affected because of our geographical position.

30. We, in Lesotho, do not subscribe to the view that peaceful coexistence among neighbouring countries in southern Africa can be attained through the signing of so-called non-aggression pacts. It is our firm and sincere belief that the problem of southern Africa, at the centre of which is the *apartheid* system, can be resolved by the dismantling of *apartheid* in South Africa. As a matter of fact, we have stated that we have no problem coexisting peacefully with South Africa and, indeed, the current dialogue, if carried out in good faith, holds good prospects for normalization of relations. But we also think that the continuing influx of refugees into our country, which we cannot stop, will continue to threaten these relations which are showing signs of improvement.

31. We should like to express a very special word of gratitude and appreciation to the friendly countries and international organizations which gave us economic support and political solidarity in our socio-economic development efforts.

32. Our ability to withstand the enormous political pressures which undermine our sovereignty and territorial integrity is firmly based on our historical background. We are happy that the international community is behind us.

33. Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I hope that with your talents and extensive experience your leadership of this session will result in many fine accomplishments.

34. I also warmly congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for the diligent and excellent contributions he made to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

35. My heartfelt congratulations also go to the Secretary-General of this important international Organization, who has worked tirelessly to promote greater understanding among peoples. His dynamic contributions deserve our profound appreciation.

36. I extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations as its 159th Member.

37. We are all greatly concerned about the present frenzied arms race and the danger of a nuclear war which, scientists unanimously agree, would completely destroy life on this planet. Who then is responsible for this situation? Some put the blame on the Soviet Union; others, on the United States; and still others point an accusing finger at both. What, in fact, is the truth?

38. It is well known that immediately after the Second World War, while still maintaining a nuclear monopoly the United States had already proclaimed

loudly the so-called danger of aggression from communism and the Soviet Union as a pretext for accelerating the arms race. Then, in 1957, when the Soviet Union successfully launched the first satellite into outer space, the United States kicked up a row about the so-called missile gap so as further to speed up the arms race. And, ever since 1978, the United States has continued to raise a hue and cry about so-called Soviet superiority in nuclear weapons in order to extend the arms race to an extremely dangerous level.

39. In fact, ever since it came into existence, more than 200 years ago, the United States has never been invaded by anyone. On the contrary, it has acted as an international policeman, engaging in intervention and aggression everywhere, culminating in its war of aggression against Viet Nam. Since it was founded, more than 60 years ago, the Soviet Union has twice been the victim of imperialist intervention and aggression. During the Second World War, it suffered the worst destruction at the hands of German nazism. Soviet troops have never invaded the United States, but, in the early days of Soviet power, the United States sent its troops to intervene in the Soviet Union, and since then it has posed a constant threat to the Soviet Union's security and territorial integrity. Over the past four decades, the United States has forged various military alliances and established overseas military bases in an attempt to encircle and threaten the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, for its part, has undertaken no such activities aimed at encircling and threatening United States territory.

40. Since the beginning of the Second World War, the United States, with its absolute military and economic superiority, has never concealed its ambition to impose on the world a United States order—a "*pax americana*"—and to make this century the United States century. To this end, the United States has used two familiar instruments: the carrot and the stick aimed at ensuring lasting military and economic superiority so as to threaten and subjugate other countries and compel the Soviet Union to engage in an arms race which would result in its economic collapse. That is why, even in the 1950s when the United States enjoyed absolute military and economic superiority over all the other Powers combined, it still accelerated the arms race and adopted a policy of massive retaliation and brinkmanship. Even though the United States has to this day remained the number one Power in terms of strategic forces, ever since the early 1960s it has continued to clamour against the so-called missile gap.

41. The past 40 years have witnessed a struggle that changed the military and economic balance of forces between the big Powers of the world. In order to deal with the United States threat, the Soviet Union has endeavoured to narrow the economic gap between itself and the United States and, at the same time, to catch up with the United States in terms of strategic weapons. Because it was bogged down in and weakened by the Viet Nam war, since the early 1970s the United States has not enjoyed the same military and economic strength it had in the 1950s. But there is still no country stronger than the United States in military and economic terms. From the early 1970s to date, the world has witnessed the emergence of a rough balance in strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union. This rough balance led to a period of détente between the Soviet

Union and the United States, and improved East-West relations and détente in Europe. But, since the late 1970s, the United States has considered détente and improved East-West relations as not conducive to its ambition for world hegemony. That is why it concocted the so-called Soviet military threat, thus provoking international tension, undermining East-West relations, accelerating the arms race, and pushing mankind to the brink of a world nuclear disaster, with the intention of intimidating and subjugating the peoples of the world and, through the arms race, exhausting the Soviet Union economically.

42. The realities of the last four decades raise the following question for people of conscience: if the United States had continued to maintain its monopoly of nuclear weapons, what would be the fate of other nations today? It will be recalled that the United States used the atomic bomb while it had a nuclear monopoly, and that it has still refused to commit itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is obvious that the Soviet Union's attainment of parity with the United States in strategic forces constitutes the firmest guarantee of world peace and the independence of all nations.

43. Like all peace-loving peoples, the Vietnamese people favour the elimination of all types of weapons, which alone can ensure a peaceful life for all people. That is why we support the efforts of the Soviet Union and other forces for peace to maintain the present strategic balance between East and West, as well as the initiatives aimed at the gradual slowing down of the arms race and at eventual disarmament.

44. Another burning issue that must be solved is the economic situation of the developing countries. The serious economic difficulties that Asian, African and Latin American countries are facing are due, first of all, to the consequences of prolonged colonial domination and imperialism's onerous exploitation. These difficulties have been aggravated by the arms race and the heavy burden of the economic crisis of the past 10 years, which the imperialist countries have placed on the backs of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The gap between the Western and the developing countries grows wider every day. That is why it is imperative to struggle to establish the new international economic order and gradually to improve the economic situation of the developing countries, as called for at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. The struggle of the developing countries to acquire an independent economy and establish the new international economic order is long and arduous.

45. The global negotiations and the North-South dialogue of the last few years show that we cannot count on the goodwill of some Western countries. This is natural, for, after being forced to grant political independence to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, they intend to use the economic weapon to maintain their hold on those countries and keep them in their sphere of influence and domination.

46. In Viet Nam, having failed to subjugate our people by force of arms, the forces of imperialism and international reaction have tried by hook or by crook to destabilize Viet Nam through an economic blockade and have carried out acts of sabotage in

order to bleed Viet Nam white. They want to destroy Viet Nam economically so that they can teach the Asian, African and Latin American countries the lesson that the peoples of the world may win a war of national liberation but will be beaten on the economic front.

47. Despite this, we have, step by step, achieved some success. In spite of numerous difficulties, Viet Nam's economy has not collapsed, as some had hoped. It has survived the most difficult years and is now gradually and steadily improving. We have some balance-of-payments problems, but our external debt is small and almost negligible. We must do all we can ourselves and also rely on the assistance and co-operation of the socialist and non-aligned countries and other countries.

48. The friendly co-operation between Viet Nam and India in the last few years has brought some positive results. In particular, the visit by the General Secretary of the Party to India has opened up new possibilities for co-operation between the two countries in many fields. India is a great country, with rich experience in building an independent economy and a national culture and raising its people's standard of living. The friendly co-operation between Viet Nam and India, based on a spirit of equality and mutual interest, is a good example of economic co-operation between two non-aligned countries as well as of South-South co-operation.

49. Since the Second World War, the United States has assumed the role of international policeman, and in playing that role it has intervened and committed acts of aggression throughout the world. In so doing, the United States has always used the anti-communist, anti-Soviet argument, slandering the victims of its aggression as agents of communism and the Soviet Union, and declaring one part of the world after another to be a sphere of interest vital to its security.

50. What is the truth? The 100 or so acts of intervention and aggression by the United States in the last four decades have been directed against independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As a pretext for its aggression against Viet Nam, the United States slandered Viet Nam as the agent of the Soviet Union, China and international communism and declared South-East Asia to be an area vital to its national interest. But the whole world knows that the struggle of the Vietnamese people was a struggle for national independence against United States aggression. Now similar slanders are being used against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Lebanon, Syria and other countries to justify United States intervention and aggression in Central America, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

51. The present anti-communist and anti-Soviet policies of the United States cannot fail to remind us of the Monroe Doctrine advocated by United States expansionist elements in the nineteenth century. The difference is that the United States previously applied the Monroe Doctrine only to Latin America, while it is now imposing it on the entire world, under the anti-communist banner, regarding the entire world as a zone of interest vital to the security of the United States. Just as the Latin American peoples frustrated the Monroe Doctrine by their united struggle, today the peoples of the world will certainly defeat neo-Monroeism. The peoples of the world united with the Vietnamese people to defeat the United States in its war of aggression against Viet

Nam; they must now unite with the peoples of Central America, the Middle East and other parts of the world to stop the United States policy of intervention and aggression.

52. The Vietnamese people has consistently sided with the fraternal peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua in their just struggle against United States intervention, aggression and threats of aggression. We strongly condemn the United States invasion of Grenada. We fully support the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries in their struggle for peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

53. We whole-heartedly support the struggle of the Arab peoples, especially that of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its authentic and legitimate representative, against the Israeli aggressors and for the establishment of its own State on Palestinian soil. We express our complete support for the important initiative of the Soviet Union to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. We fully support the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in its struggle to exercise its right to self-determination. We resolutely support the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its struggle against any threat of aggression by the United States.

54. We resolutely demand that South Africa immediately restore independence to Namibia. We express our full solidarity with the struggles of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], of the South African people, under the leadership of the ANC and of the other peoples of southern Africa for national independence and social progress. We attach the greatest importance to strengthening solidarity and mutual assistance among the African countries.

55. We unreservedly support the struggle of the Afghan people to defend and consolidate the fruits of their April revolution. We support the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding tripartite talks on the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the peaceful reunification of that country. We support the struggle of the Cypriot people to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We support the right of the peoples of East Timor and of Micronesia to self-determination.

56. Although Europe was the battleground of two world wars and is currently the site of the world's most formidable arsenal, for the past 40 years it has been the only region not to experience a local war. In sharp contrast, Asia and the Pacific are the only places in the world where, during the same period, three massive and lengthy local wars have taken place: the Korean War and the two Indo-Chinese wars. That does not take into account the wars unleashed by China against many of its neighbours. After having established in Europe the biggest military alliance ever—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—the United States went on to set up an enormous number of military alliances in the Asian and Pacific region, including the Central Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and the Australia-New Zealand-United States, United States-Japan, United States-Taiwan and United States-South Korea alliances. However, the manoeuvres of the forces of imperialism and reaction have met with one set-back after another,

and Asia is the continent which has experienced the most fundamental upheavals in the world in the course of the past four decades.

57. Despite repeated failure, the forces of imperialism and reaction have still not abandoned their aggressive hegemonistic designs concerning the peoples of Asia. The United States is at present working towards the creation of a military alliance with Japan and South Korea. Japan is on its way to becoming the unsinkable aircraft carrier of the United States in Asia. Today the peoples of Asia and the Pacific are gravely concerned at the increasing collusion between the United States and China and between China and Japan, which is directed against the peace and independence of the nations of the region. Washington has never concealed its intention of forming a NATO-type military bloc in Asia.

58. This situation demands that the peoples of Asia increase their vigilance and unite in the struggle for lasting peace on that continent. We welcome all efforts to that end. In this context, we greatly appreciate the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic regarding signature of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

59. The fierce struggles and profound changes in Asia find their fullest expression in the three countries of Indo-China. The so-called question of Kampuchea is nothing but a continuation of the evolution of the situation in Indo-China over the last 40 years. In order to find a just solution to this so-called problem, the true nature of the situation in Indo-China and Asia must be considered. That situation may be summed up as follows.

60. First of all, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are the only countries in the world to have been ravaged by 40 years of uninterrupted war and to have been the target of a quantity of bombs and explosives five times greater than that used during the Second World War.

61. Secondly, the three countries of Indo-China have been the main victims of aggression at the hands of the United States, China, Great Britain and France—all four of them permanent members of the Security Council, a body with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and the preservation of the sovereignty and independence of peoples. To ensure the success of their aggression against the three countries of Indo-China, the imperialist and reactionary forces have used the ploy of the thief who cries "Stop thief", accusing the three Indo-Chinese countries of being tools of communist expansion and a threat to neighbouring States.

62. Thirdly, the countries of Indo-China are the victims of a common enemy: imperialism and reaction. The aggressors have invaded the territories of these three countries simultaneously, with the aim of imposing their domination on all of them. Therefore, solidarity in the fight against the common enemy is a necessity for the countries of Indo-China. Their armed forces have always fought side by side for the independence of each and all of them. They have never gone beyond the borders of Indo-China, and the solidarity among the three countries has never threatened the interests of neighbouring States. Common solidarity is of vital importance for the three countries of Indo-China, as it is for the Arab countries, the African countries, the front-line States in southern Africa, and so forth. Imperialist and

reactionary forces from outside have collaborated in making use of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—except for Indonesia—and their territories to oppose the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. These forces have tried to divide those countries, using the false concept of the so-called Indo-Chinese Federation, which was abandoned by the three countries following the dissolution by France in 1950 of French Indo-China.

63. Fourthly, the aspiration of the three Indo-Chinese peoples to independence has crystallized into an invincible force. For the past 40 years, neither the successive long and brutal wars nor the sustained economic blockades and attempts at political isolation have been able to subjugate the three countries. The aggressors have finally had to agree to participate in international conferences ending the war and recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the three countries. Ours has been the only region of the world regarding which three international conferences have been held with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council. They resulted in the only international agreements recognizing the national rights of the countries of Indo-China.

64. Fifthly, the struggle in South-East Asia over the past four decades has resulted in the formation of two groups of countries, with differing political and social systems: the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China. In pursuance of their policy of "divide and rule", the imperialist and reactionary countries have pitted the ASEAN States against the States of Indo-China. Peace and stability in South-East Asia require both the peaceful coexistence of these two groups of countries and the end of all outside intervention in the region.

65. Sixthly, during the past 40 years the majority of Members of the United Nations have remained silent in the face of the prolonged and most brutal wars of aggression waged against the countries of Indo-China. And today, again, the majority are siding with the expansionist forces by recognizing the Pol Pot clique, which is guilty of the genocide of 3 million Kampuchians and is now trying to impede the rebirth of the Kampuchean people. That is precisely why the settlement of the Indo-Chinese wars—the longest and bloodiest in the world—has taken place outside the United Nations framework.

66. If the so-called problem of Kampuchea has dragged on for six years without being resolved it is because of an unwillingness to address the crux of the problem: the struggle of the three peoples of Indo-China to defend their independence and sovereignty against the hegemonism and expansionism of their neighbour to the north. Some have deliberately supported the aggressors against their victims. Similarly, there has been support for the Pol Pot clique, which massacred 3 million Kampuchians, launched wars of aggression against neighbouring countries, and is now trying to impede the rebirth of the Kampuchean people.

67. During the past six years, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become an undeniable reality. From the mass graves of the Pol Pot régime, the Kampuchean people have returned to life and regained their national unity and harmony. They have exercised, and are exercising, their right to self-determination, which, for them, is first and foremost

the right to live free from the Pol Pot criminals. But, under the pretext of defending the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, the imperialists and the reactionaries are trying to bring the Pol Pot clique back to power.

68. Vietnamese volunteer forces have on three occasions gone to Kampuchea to fight alongside the Kampuchean people against their common enemy. Twice they have withdrawn from Kampuchea: the first time was in 1954, at the end of the French colonialists' war, and the second time was in 1975, at the end of the United States war. They will withdraw for the third time when China has ended its threat.

69. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam categorically reject the demand for a unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, a demand designed to bring Pol Pot—either openly or in disguise—back to Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people's recovery has made possible a gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea each year, starting in 1982. This has frustrated the design of those who would like either to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, opening the way for the Pol Pot clique to return to power in Kampuchea, or to keep these forces bogged down in Kampuchea unable to withdraw.

70. All the military, economic, political and diplomatic measures that China and the countries of ASEAN have taken against the three Indo-Chinese peoples during the last six years have failed. All attempts to impose a unilateral solution on Kampuchea have come to naught. Now there is only one alternative: to engage in a dialogue, to consider jointly the proposals of both parties and to start negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests. We are of the view that if the parties concerned sincerely wish to settle their differences, the opportunity for doing so has presented itself. Such a development will conform to the interests of all parties in South-East Asia and to the resolutions on South-East Asia adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, resolutions which were accepted by the countries of both ASEAN and Indo-China.

71. We welcome all initiatives by other countries to facilitate negotiations between the two groups of South-East Asian countries to find a solution that ensures respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and guarantees peace and security in South-East Asia.

72. Attempts to impose a solution aimed at thwarting the rebirth of Kampuchea, which would result in the return of the genocidal Pol Pot clique and which would threaten Laos and Viet Nam, should be abandoned; otherwise peace and stability in South-East Asia will continue to be undermined. In this context, with the growing strength of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Vietnamese volunteers will continue their annual withdrawals from Kampuchea. Within 5 to 10 years, when most of the Vietnamese volunteers will have been withdrawn from Kampuchea, the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be able to shoulder its own defence, and the question of Kampuchea will thus resolve itself.

73. As a people who have endured centuries of foreign domination and half a century of wartime

destruction, the Vietnamese people long for a life of peace more ardently than any other people. We wish to entertain friendly relations with all countries and especially with neighbouring States. We are ready to let bygones be bygones and to look to the future in our relations with those countries which have caused and are still causing so much suffering to our peoples.

74. A stable situation in South-East Asia depends first and foremost on the relations between the two main groups of countries, those of ASEAN and those of Indo-China. There is no alternative to these groups settling their differences through negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, free from outside interference. The peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea always respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand and wish to develop neighbourly relations with its people. However, it should be pointed out that the main obstacles are the hostile policies pursued by the Thai authorities in collusion with the foreign reactionaries, using the Pol Pot clique to oppose the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, supporting acts of subversion against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, continuing their occupation of the three Lao villages as well as their hostile policies towards Viet Nam. We hope that the Thai authorities will soon realize this, for the sake of their national interest and for the sake of peace, stability and peaceful coexistence in South-East Asia. We demand that the Thai authorities put an end to their interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Thailand must immediately withdraw its troops from the three Lao villages it has illegally occupied since 6 June 1984, return the villagers it kidnapped, compensate the people for the loss of life and property it inflicted and allow the three villages to return to their normal way of life.

75. The occupation by Thailand of the three Lao villages—at a time when the differences between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries, having dragged on for six years, have not yet been settled and may or may not soon be settled—further points to the urgent need to reach some agreement on peaceful coexistence between ASEAN and Indo-China in order to defuse the explosive tensions which threaten to get out of control.

76. While constantly consolidating and strengthening our relations with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, we always wish to restore traditional friendly relations with the Chinese people. It is our view that the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations and the restoration of mutual friendship are in the interest of both peoples and at the same time constitute a very important factor for peace and security in South-East Asia.

77. Even though it will take us a long time to overcome the consequences of the war of aggression conducted by Johnson and Nixon against our people, the people of Viet Nam always consider the American people as their friends, the peoples of the two countries both being victims of that war. If the United States Government really wishes to contribute to peace and security in South-East Asia, its efforts will be welcomed. We once again reaffirm our willingness to settle with the United States all problems that concern our two countries including the questions of the Americans reported missing in action, the Amerasian children and criminals in re-education camps, and so on.

78. The relationship between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is one of enduring fraternal trust that has stood the test of time. The Soviet Union is the only permanent member of the Security Council that has shown respect for Viet Nam's independence and wholeheartedly supported its struggle for independence. Thanks to the valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam has been able to overcome the most serious obstacles in defending and building its country.

79. The United States, China, Japan and the ASEAN countries are now raising a din about the so-called Soviet military base at Cam Ranh. I should make it clear that, at present, there is no such Soviet military base in Viet Nam but our country has the right to let Soviet aircraft and vessels call at its ports in Viet Nam. Soviet aircraft and vessels calling at Vietnamese ports do not pose a threat to any country. The only real threat to all Asian countries is posed by China with the largest armed forces of the world, as well as by the colossal United States military bases in the Philippines, in Thailand and in Okinawa and particularly by Japan's position as the United States' "unsinkable aircraft carrier". This fact can be underscored by the use of these territories and bases in the United States war of aggression against Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries. The outcry by China, the United States and the ASEAN countries about the purported Soviet military base in Viet Nam is simply aimed at obscuring the grave threat posed by China's gigantic military machine and by the colossal United States military bases in Asia. If these countries are really worried about Soviet aircraft and vessels in Viet Nam, why then do they reject the resolution adopted in 1983 by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the South-East Asian region? Why then do they refuse to accept the concept of a zone of peace and neutrality in Asia, proposed since 1971 by the ASEAN countries themselves? Viet Nam favours the idea of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace and neutrality, as called for in the Seventh Conference resolution and as proposed by the ASEAN countries.

80. Mr. SEMEDO (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):* Mr. President, first of all, my delegation is very pleased to see an eminent son of Africa presiding over the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. In electing you to the presidency for this session, the international community wished, above all, to pay a tribute to your country, Zambia, with which Guinea-Bissau maintains relations of friendship and brotherliness, for its important contribution to the process of decolonization of the African continent and the realization of the ideals of peace and freedom which are so dear to the Organization. The General Assembly also wished to show its appreciation for the lofty qualities which distinguish you, to salute your dynamic and tireless activities as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and to greet you as a humanist and staunch defender of the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

81. I should like also to express to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, my country's grati-

tude for the devotion and personal commitment he displayed throughout his term of office.

82. I should like also to take this opportunity to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the great family of the United Nations and to wish it every success in the consolidation of its national independence and its economic and social development.

83. We are particularly pleased with the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's realism and far-sightedness, which we had occasion to emphasize at previous sessions of the General Assembly, have been further confirmed in his persistent efforts to improve the functioning of the Organization and to strengthen its role in the consolidation of international peace and security, development and co-operation. We wish to commend his lucid analysis of the world situation, which is a reflection of the main concerns of the international community, and we subscribe to the measures advocated for remedying the various crises affecting international relations.

84. In view of the complexity of the problems now confronting mankind and their constant deterioration, it is indeed a matter of regret to have to note that a certain spirit of pessimism and a certain conformism appear to be more and more prevalent in our work. This state of affairs may be explained by the structural nature of our problems and also by the lack of real political will to seek just and lasting solutions.

85. A more and more noticeable trend towards crystallization of our discussions around the same questions indicates the urgent need for us to meditate on our own individual and collective conduct and to give our joint actions the necessary dynamism and motivation. Above all, it is important to eliminate the spirit of confrontation, selfishness and intransigence and the various kinds of pressure, which tend to undermine the proper functioning and the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

86. The numerous failures and disappointments we have noted in the efforts of the Organization to build a world of peace, justice and progress are nothing more or less than a corollary to our own inconsistencies and weaknesses. That being so, it is clear that the problems besetting mankind as a whole can be resolved only through a global approach and through effective participation in that process by all States. To try to avoid that reality or simply to ignore it would be tantamount to denying the principles contained in the Charter and to condemning the United Nations to repeated failures.

87. That helps to explain the various attempts which have been made by the developing countries in general, and particularly by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to encourage a constructive dialogue with the wealthy countries on matters of development. It may be said that, despite the persistent obstruction of certain countries, these efforts have nevertheless been pursued. The meetings held at Quito, Cartagena and Mar del Plata and the recent meeting held at San José, Costa Rica, with the participation of some Latin American States, the members of the European Economic Community, and Portugal and Spain, bear out that resolve.

88. The economic indicators, in both the developing and the developed countries, clearly demonstrate the pressing need for relaunching global negotiations.

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

89. When we speak of North-South dialogue we do not understand it to mean a sort of accommodation designed to satisfy the wishes of a particular group of countries—in this case, the least developed countries. Rather, it is a common enterprise undertaken by the international community under the auspices of the United Nations, on the basis of a unanimous desire to put an end to the present intolerable international economic situation. This action should be geared to the creation of conditions that would make possible the achievement of balanced and equitable development which would be in keeping with the dialectic of positive interdependence among nations. In this connection, it is important that due account be taken of the constructive proposals made by the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77.

90. The distortions of the present economic and financial situation, in addition to the natural catastrophes besetting the populations of developing countries, all require immediate and appropriate action. The burden of external debt, compounded by high interest rates, the drop in production and exports, the constant deterioration of the terms of trade, the food crisis and lack of the resources needed to exploit their economic potentials have today placed the developing countries in a grievous situation, the persistence of which jeopardizes their achievements in many of these fields and compromises the attempts to satisfy the legitimate rights of their peoples to social well-being, health and education, and at the same time tends to diminish their faith in the future.

91. The African countries are suffering particularly from the consequences of the present world economic crisis, and from the phenomenon of desertification, which affects most of them. Afflicted by drought, the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian area, including Guinea-Bissau, have experienced desert creep, a decrease in their agricultural capabilities and destruction of their cattle, without at the same time having the means necessary to enable them to cope with such situations.

92. The impoverishment of Africa and the third world in general has thus reached alarming proportions, proportions which jeopardize the very possibility of survival for millions of human beings tragically affected by hunger and sickness.

93. Nevertheless, nothing can justify acceptance of hunger as a necessary evil of our time. Nor can the absence of adequate measures for the eradication of this scourge be justified when it is borne in mind that there are enormous food surpluses elsewhere, in other countries, the rational utilization of which would make it possible to save millions of human lives.

94. In the light of this gloomy and regrettable state of affairs, I think no one can deny the historic responsibility borne by our northern partners, regardless of their socio-political and economic systems, to be actively involved in efforts to promote collective prosperity.

95. In this connection, we hope that the appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations will help produce a heightened awareness of this tragedy and encourage the specific emergency measures the situation dictates.

96. The question of peace, the relationship of which to development seems for the time being only to be

viewed theoretically, is also a constant preoccupation of mankind.

97. General and complete disarmament, which is often erroneously presented as a matter within the exclusive purview of the major military Powers, is one of the essential prerequisites for strengthening world security and creating a climate that would favour the advent of genuine global peace.

98. The rechanneling of the tremendous resources now being used for military purposes so that they may be used to further the economic and social progress of the developing countries in particular would in this connection be a heartening sign of humanity's choice to realize its profound aspirations to peace, progress and happiness through a clear-sighted, consistent and beneficial action. This is, essentially, an indispensable step towards the establishment of the new international economic order, to which we all aspire.

99. The current international situation makes it necessary for us once again to express our extreme disquiet at the recrudescence of violence, instability and insecurity in various parts of the world.

100. The persistence and constant deterioration of areas of tension in the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America and southern Asia, as well as the scant signs of any positive developments in these matters, make us wonder about our capacity to handle the present problems and *a fortiori* any others that might arise in the future.

101. Thus, for example, although it is unacceptable and has been the subject of unanimous condemnation, the attitude of South Africa and Israel has still not been dealt with effectively by the international community. The arrogance displayed by those two States and their total scorn for the principles and norms of international law, the resolutions and decisions adopted by various bodies of the United Nations and all the initiatives that have been taken internationally can only be explained by the considerable support provided by their economic and military allies. The continuation of this situation is a threat to international peace and stability and clearly indicates the increasingly marked trend in certain States to seek simply to serve their own interests to the detriment of the rights of other peoples.

102. Our solidarity must be ever more active *vis-à-vis* the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, as also those countries that border on those bastions of *apartheid* and Zionism, by way of defending their national independence and their territorial integrity.

103. The effective support of the international community for the liberation movements in southern Africa, in particular the ANC and SWAPO, should be aimed at providing a clear-cut affirmation of the justice of their struggle and the need for full realization of the inalienable rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to independence, progress and social justice.

104. Full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the most appropriate way of ensuring Namibia's swift and peaceful accession to independence. The attempts to link that country's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola are nothing more than a delaying tactic which the United Nations and the vast majority of its Members have rejected out of hand.

105. The self-styled constitutional reforms and the semblance of a democratic trend in South Africa can surely only be construed as an insidious attempt to improve cosmetically the racist image of the *apartheid* régime. Furthermore, the genuine reasons for this scenario are quite obvious: the further alienation of the black majority from political life in the country and the accentuation of racial stratification by arousing dissension in non-white communities and justifying the inhuman treatment inflicted on the black populations.

106. Guinea-Bissau subscribes to Security Council resolution 554 (1984), which rejected the so-called new constitution. We should like here to express our full solidarity with the patriots of South Africa who have courageously and resolutely opposed this new manoeuvre on the part of the South African régime, thus issuing a heartfelt appeal to the universal conscience that steps be taken to make it possible to eradicate the odious system of *apartheid*.

107. The extraordinary summit meeting of the heads of State of African countries whose official language is Portuguese—Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe—on 27 April last in Maputo, reaffirmed the unflagging support of our five countries for the struggle of the fraternal peoples of Namibia and South Africa. The summit went on to emphasize that as long as *apartheid*—being, as it is, the main factor leading to tension and destabilization in the region—continued to exist, there could be no genuine peace in that part of the African continent.

108. The summit also welcomed the negotiating process initiated in southern Africa and reaffirmed its solidarity with the front-line States, the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique in particular, in their efforts to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity.

109. Guinea-Bissau, which is aware of its own responsibilities in the total liberation of the African continent from all forms of domination and oppression, would, in the light of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes among States, lend its support to any initiative that would take into account the expressed interests of the Namibian and South African peoples regarding peace and stability in southern Africa.

110. In the Middle East, it is quite obvious that as long as there is no solution of the Palestinian issue—a solution that should involve full exercise of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to create a sovereign and independent State—and as long as Israel continues illegally to occupy Arab territories, there can be no real possibility of peace in the area.

111. The seriousness and complexity of the explosive situation prevailing in that part of the world fully justify the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including, quite obviously, the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

112. Although we have achieved noteworthy results, particularly in the process of decolonization, along the lines laid down in the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it must at the same time be admitted that this is a matter still at the forefront of our attention. Particularly on the African continent, certain Territories are still subject to foreign domination, despite the repeated efforts

made by the international community to liberate them.

113. In this connection, the situation prevailing in north-west Africa, where there is still a dangerous source of tension and conflict, is a matter of particular concern to us. We regret that resolutions on the question of Western Sahara adopted at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,³ and at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [resolution 38/40], which, *inter alia*, advocate direct negotiations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO,⁴ have as yet not been implemented. However, were those resolutions implemented, that would undoubtedly be a factor of prime importance, not only in ushering in peace in the region, but also in laying the groundwork for strengthening the unity of the peoples involved and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and the advent of a greater Maghreb.

114. We would like to reiterate our continued support of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and the Frente POLISARIO in their just struggle for the independence of Western Sahara.

115. The situation in Chad is also a matter of concern to us. Here, we remain convinced that the solution to the problem of Chad should be an internal one, free from any external interference. That is why we hope that the recent developments in Chad will help to promote a settlement in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU and also serve to safeguard the higher interests of the people of Chad.

116. We could not give any coherent account of the history of decolonization or talk about the right of every people freely to determine its destiny without referring to the question of East Timor. The repression and massacre of the Maubère people are facts that no member of the international community, whatever its socio-political system or ideology, could possibly overlook. The final solution of that question presupposes recognition of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and requires that negotiations be held among all the parties concerned, namely, FRETILIN,⁵ Indonesia, and Portugal as the legal administering Power.

117. We believe that the steps taken by the representative of the Secretary-General to find the necessary conditions for a final solution to this problem should be pursued and should enjoy the support of the parties concerned and of the international community.

118. My country supports the plan for the peaceful reunification of Korea and welcomes the efforts that have been undertaken to make it possible for this legitimate aspiration of the Korean people to be satisfied.

119. Safeguarding the national unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus is also something that enjoys our full support. That is why we should like to commend the efforts made by the Secretary-General to achieve those ends.

120. The persistent tensions in South Asia, Central America and the Caribbean do not augur well for any lasting solution or any return to peace and stability as long as the legitimate rights of all States in those regions to the free conduct of their own affairs and

the free choice of their economic, social and political systems are not respected.

121. The action of the Contadora Group to establish a climate of peace and understanding in Central America through dialogue and concerted effort deserves our encouragement. We believe that all the countries in the region, and particularly Nicaragua, should be in a position, quite free from any external interference, to resolve their domestic problems and create the necessary conditions for peace and development in their respective countries.

122. My country is increasingly disturbed by the tragic situation prevailing in the Gulf as a result of the war between Iran and Iraq. Once again we urge those two member countries of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to opt for the path of negotiation, which is the only way in which the higher interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples can be safeguarded and the only way they can be guaranteed the peace that they so sorely need if they are to make progress within their respective frontiers.

123. In recent years, Guinea-Bissau has suffered from drought, a drop in agricultural output and declining exports. The deterioration of climatic conditions, together with the devastating effect of the world economic crisis at large, is one of the main concerns of the people and Government of Guinea-Bissau. That is why our Government is making every effort to stimulate agricultural output, particularly by having production-support sectors whose commerce, transport and warehousing infrastructures will help to guarantee self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and an increase in exports.

124. The implementation of the first national development plan is thus responsive to our country's desire to structure the economy by adapting it to the requirements of the process of economic and social development. It is in this context that, with the assistance of UNDP, this year we organized a round table involving the main trading partners of Guinea-Bissau. A rapid follow-up to the conclusions reached at that meeting will lead to the implementation of measures required for the stabilization and revamping of our economy.

125. On behalf of my Government, I should like to take this opportunity to thank all those countries and governmental and non-governmental organizations which took part in that round table for their clearly expressed desire to develop fruitful co-operation with Guinea-Bissau.

126. As we approach the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, despite its difficulties and weaknesses, we think it is quite legitimate to rejoice at its achievements. But there can be no doubt that a great deal remains to be achieved and that the responsibilities weighing on the United Nations are becoming ever heavier.

127. We are convinced that the realization of the hopes of the peoples we represent here is within the grasp of the human resources and immense wealth available on this planet.

128. Man's creative genius, judiciously used for peaceful purposes, can help to eliminate sickness, hunger, poverty and injustice and to promote the collective prosperity for which we all yearn so deeply. It is the duty and responsibility of our States to work to create peace in the world and to mobilize available resources in order to achieve development objectives

on a global scale. Our efforts must be collective; they must all be focused on a better state of understanding among our nations; they should dispel mistrust and tension, thus making it possible to consolidate the bases for global co-operation which will serve the interests of all mankind.

129. Mr. TULL (Barbados): Mr. President, I wish to add my congratulations to those which have already been expressed as you commence your tenure of office as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In addition to our admiration for your sterling qualities, well-known diplomatic skill and vast experience, my country has always had the most cordial relations with the country which you have the honour to represent. May I add, Mr. President, that you, as a former High Commissioner of Zambia to Barbados, played a major part in fostering those relations. Because of the bonds of history and culture that link Africa with the Caribbean, the people of Barbados can, and do, lay a secondary claim upon you.

130. May I also express my congratulations to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for his capable handling of the critical issues which commanded the attention of this body during the thirty-eighth session.

131. Barbados extends a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam as it joins the membership of the United Nations. I am certain that our common characteristics as small island States will lay the foundation for a fruitful association in pursuit of the goals of the Organization.

132. Since I last had the honour to address the Assembly, little headway has been made in resolving the critical and often overwhelming problems with which mankind is beset. Indeed, one may be forgiven for yielding to cynicism and despair at the daily reports of hunger, strife and economic collapse, and at the endless chronicle of increasingly chilling human rights abuse.

133. For us, in the English-speaking Caribbean, the events which began on 19 October last year with the bloody overthrow of the Government of Grenada have constituted, unquestionably, the single most traumatic development in the recent political history of our region. After all the years of struggle for our internal political emancipation, followed by the battle for our independence, the practice of electoral democracy has become engrained in the psyche of our people. Government by the duly elected representatives of the people is something which we have come to take for granted as a natural part of our political reality. Any overthrow of such a system, any imposition of gun rule on the people in one part of our region—people who are often our blood cousins, sometimes even our blood brothers and sisters—strikes instantly at the deepest level of our security. Despite the formal constitutional divisions between the entities in the English-speaking Caribbean, we are essentially one people. The events in Grenada brought this home with a new and frightening awareness. Unfortunately, in a world which has become inured to change of government by *coup d'état*, which increasingly acts as if democracy were a luxury reserved for a privileged few, this special relationship is not generally understood.

134. Happily, throughout the Caribbean the feeling has grown that the time for recrimination has passed. The process of reconstruction, both economic and

political, has begun in Grenada, and shortly, in the full glare of international publicity and scrutiny, the people of Grenada will elect a government in free and open elections.

135. It is a sad but seemingly inexorable rule of history that great change seldom comes without great shocks to trigger it. The shock of the Grenada tragedy may turn out to be salutary if it pushes the international community to recognize the fact that it owes a particular duty to the smaller States among its membership. It is a duty that springs almost organically from the nature of international society. The integrity of small States is, first of all, the business of those States themselves, otherwise there would be no meaning to the concept of national sovereignty. But, for the very health of the international community itself, and hence of this Organization, it is imperative that the special difficulties of smaller States be high on the agenda of international deliberations. A former Secretary-General of the United Nations argued eloquently that the Organization is, above all, the Organization of the small and the weak. Much lip-service has been paid to this concept, but the truth is that the Organization has not yet been able to wind its increasingly cumbersome machinery into the proper position for dealing with the realities of the plight of many of its smaller Members. It brings to mind the unhappy image of a great ship incapable of changing course quickly or safely enough to save the man who has fallen overboard.

136. More and more, it is obvious that the international community must gear itself, both practically and constitutionally, to the task of shoring up the sovereignty and integrity of its smaller member States. The other possibilities are stark: if, in times of trouble, small States cannot be confident of the disinterested embrace of this Organization, there is a very real risk that they will fall into the clutches of those whose interests and power are by definition inimical to the flourishing of diversity and independence among States.

137. It is not only on the political front that small States are exposed to security threats. Policies on the part of powerful States which amount to economic coercion can easily upset the fragile balance of small open economies. I need hardly say that disruption of economic security leads sooner or later to political instability.

138. Fortunately, the past few years have seen a growing recognition of the special difficulties faced by small States. The particular problems of small island States, of which Barbados has an intimate knowledge, have also been receiving the attention not only of the United Nations, through the work being done by UNCTAD, but also of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It is to be hoped that some of the fruits of this work will be presented to the General Assembly in order that the international community may be made more aware not only of the problems but also of the possible solutions to the dilemmas of these geographically disadvantaged countries.

139. Until very recently, however, consideration of this issue has focused primarily on economic concerns. One notable exception has been the work of the United Nations with regard to mercenaries. Mindful of our own vulnerability to mercenary attack, Barbados has been consistent in pressing for the adoption of resolutions and conventions to stamp

out the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

140. We are heartened by the fact that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries has at last been able to agree on a "Consolidated Negotiating Basis" for future negotiations. We are optimistic enough to interpret this as a signal that the members of the Committee are prepared to work seriously in future sessions towards the early elaboration of a convention, which is so sorely needed. Barbados will continue to contribute to this end in whatever way it can.

141. It is evident that the original concept of a nation State, responsible for, and capable of, providing fully for its own defence, is no longer applicable in today's world. Nor is the United Nations equipped in its present form to play this role. As Prime Minister Olof Palme, of Sweden, Chairman of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, points out in his report, "Common Security",⁶ the present United Nations security role is restricted to peace-keeping. The report highlights the limitations of United Nations peace-keeping operations, noting that such operations "can only be launched after a conflict has broken out", and then only "with the consent of . . . the warring parties", and require "the mandate of the Security Council which may not be forthcoming because of political differences among the permanent members . . . In short, current concepts of peace-keeping possess little capacity to deter".

142. Until the necessary international machinery is put in place to safeguard their security, the sense of vulnerability felt by small States will continue to increase. It is therefore incumbent on the Organization to set about this task as a matter of urgency.

143. Economic security goes hand in hand with political security. Indeed, the security of small States can hardly be considered in isolation from their special economic problems. Caught in the ebb and flow of global economic fortunes, small States have their extreme fragility brought into sharp focus. It is in such States that the impact of a sudden economic downturn in the international economy is felt first and most forcefully, and they are the last to benefit from any subsequent upturn.

144. Against this background, we must once again call upon the international community, in particular the developed countries, to show substantive proof of their oft-stated commitment to the development of the economically disadvantaged nations. The evidence is growing that their own continued prosperity is inextricably linked to the viability of the developing world.

145. We take note of the Economic Declaration issued at the tenth Economic Summit of Western industrialized countries, held in London from 7 to 9 June 1984 [A/39/304, annex]. In this document, recognition is given to the economic pressures on the developing world and to the vital role which industrialized countries must play in promoting the process of economic growth in the third world.

146. This is fine language. But what is needed is action, urgent and purposeful action. It is our firm belief that a restructuring of the international economic order is imperative if the third world is ever to attain acceptable levels of prosperity. It is evident,

too, that such a process must involve a significant input from the developing countries for whose benefit it is intended. In this context we reiterate our support for global negotiations, with the full and meaningful participation of all developing countries.

147. A genuine and consistent effort is needed to reverse the protectionist trends in international trade which are effectively stifling the efforts of developing countries to create the linkages essential for self-sustaining growth. At the same time, the international community must be prepared to channel a greater flow of resources to developing countries to assist in the necessary structural adjustment of their economies. In concert with this, ways must be found to ease the debt burden of these countries and to initiate the long-overdue revamping of the international financial system.

148. My Government considers that the debt problem is one of the most crucial and urgent issues on the international agenda. Unless there is rapid acceptance of the need to reschedule short-term debts and to accord an extension of repayment periods, it is difficult to see how a real and comprehensive recovery can come about.

149. At the same time, it must be recognized that there is an urgent need to restructure the international monetary system. The endemic instability in that system, with its wildly fluctuating exchange rates, constitutes a real impediment to the economic advancement of the developing world.

150. High on the agenda of international political concerns is the question of Namibia, which continues to defy solution. The world body finds itself powerless to end the illegal occupation of that country by South Africa. In 1978 there was optimism about a settlement of the Namibia issue, when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978). However, since then, little progress has been achieved and South Africa continues to tighten its grip on the Territory and to exploit and plunder its natural resources. In the recent past, the racist régime of South Africa has continued to thwart all hope of progress towards the independence of Namibia, by stubbornly refusing to make sincere or serious attempts to come to terms with the genuine efforts of SWAPO and the front-line States to reach an acceptable solution.

151. Barbados must once again unreservedly condemn South Africa's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions on Namibia. We categorically reject all efforts to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous considerations. Such demands are nothing more than diversionary and delaying tactics.

152. I wish here to reaffirm the unchanging determination of the Government of Barbados to support the struggle to free the black majority of South Africa from the yoke of *apartheid*. The recent constitutional reforms are purely cosmetic, as they plainly fail to address the fundamental issue in South Africa—the systematic and constitutionally sanctioned suppression of the black and coloured majority in their own country. The elections recently held in South Africa have been shown up for the sham which they are, through the boycott of the polls by the overwhelming majority of the coloured and Indian peoples of South Africa. My Government renews its pledge not to rest until the scourge of *apartheid* is relegated finally and irrevocably to the scrap-heap of history.

153. The Middle East conflict continues to occupy centre stage, amid the myriad conflicts raging around the globe.

154. The Government of Barbados maintains its position that the resolution of the question of Palestine is fundamental to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. Just as the State of Israel has the right to exist within agreed and secure boundaries, by the same token Israel must recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to existence as a sovereign and independent State within secure boundaries.

155. In this respect, I wish to reiterate my country's support for Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which provide a valuable starting-point in the search for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East problem.

156. Barbados views with deep concern the latest development in the troubled Middle East region, namely, the mining of the Red Sea waterways. Not only has this succeeded in disrupting shipping in the region, but it could conceivably have claimed the lives of many innocent people. Such indiscriminate acts of terrorism encourage even more extreme retaliatory measures and prove self-defeating in the long run.

157. It is with a sense of cautious optimism that we follow the tentative progress being made in Lebanon towards restoring peace in that country which has suffered for so long. The formation earlier this year of a Government of national unity comprising representatives of the Christian, Muslim and Druse communities was a welcome and positive development. Recent indications that withdrawals of foreign military forces may soon be under way also give cause for cautious optimism.

158. The outlook for peace in another part of the Middle East appears far less promising. We must all deplore the loss of human life and the waste of resources which the conflict between Iran and Iraq, now in its fifth year, is continuing to cause. We join others in calling on both Governments to declare a cease-fire in the conflict and to enter into negotiations to settle their dispute, which poses such a grave and growing threat to international peace and security.

159. Nearer home, international attention continues to focus on the situation in Central America. We are convinced that deep-seated social and economic inequalities are at the root of the conflict in Central America and must be redressed as a matter of urgency.

160. The Government of Barbados is therefore deeply disturbed by the massive buildup of military forces in the area, which not only is dangerous in itself but represents a tragic diversion of funds from necessary social and economic development efforts. In this context, I wish to reiterate our firm support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the conflict.

161. Elsewhere, we seem to be faced with stalemate after stalemate. This is true with regard to Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Korea. In the case of Korea, there are signs, which we warmly welcome, that the possibility of peaceful resolution exists. We would exhort the two sides to grasp such opportunities and to seek a creative and constructive path to peace.

162. Against the background of the intensification of global conflict and the security needs of small

States, it is pertinent here to touch on the issues of the arms race and disarmament.

163. The breakdown of the Geneva talks on strategic arms reduction gives cause for deep disappointment. It is in the hands of the two major Powers that the delicate balance of world peace is held. It is therefore their solemn duty to put aside intransigence and to seek a viable agreement in a spirit of compromise. Nothing casts so large a shadow over the world as the fear of nuclear war. Those who hold the keys to the final holocaust have an overwhelming duty to mankind to narrow their differences and to maintain permanently open channels of dialogue.

164. In this context, the statistics on military expenditure are depressing in the extreme. It is particularly heart-breaking to see small developing nations devoting vast sums to military budgets while poverty, hunger and unemployment run rampant in their countries. This phenomenon serves to underscore my earlier remarks concerning the need for effective international machinery to shore up the security of small States. For where there are real or perceived threats to their national security, nations cannot concentrate fully on their economic development and social progress.

165. I need hardly point out that if a fraction of the resources devoted to the expenditure on arms were channelled instead to social and economic development a better life might at last be within reach of the wretched majority on this planet. Moreover, until the world as a whole, and the super-Powers in particular, are prepared to show tangible proof of their commitment to disarmament and to putting an end to the arms race, the threat of a sudden conflagration will continue to hang over us like the sword of Damocles.

166. Mr. President, one of your most onerous responsibilities in the coming year will be to oversee preparations for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Barbados considers the celebration of this anniversary to be of the utmost importance, beyond the formalities of ceremony and protocol. This anniversary will provide the opportunity for the international community to assess the operation of the present international system and then to improve it to meet the realities of today's world.

167. The Charter of the United Nations was framed at a particular point in history, in the face of a particular set of circumstances, to meet a particular set of objectives. There is no doubt that the international system has been eminently successful in the humanitarian and social areas, in health and education, in agriculture, in emergency relief, and in relation to the interests of workers and the welfare of refugees. Despite all this, the United Nations system is too frequently the target of criticism.

168. This state of affairs arises because so often in the areas of both politics and economics the international system is not allowed to function to its fullest capacity. Narrow concepts of national interest are given a higher priority than the peace and security of mankind; the Governments of some nations are so busy trying to impose their values on the Governments of smaller and weaker countries that they fail to see that the longer-term interests of all countries and peoples depend on co-operative international effort. Some United Nations agencies find themselves starved of resources and are correspondingly ineffective as they try to fulfil their mandate to

deliver the programmes required to give the majority of mankind the chance to reach the minimum living standards established by the international community itself.

169. The Charter was drafted on the assumption that the great Powers would act in concert to safeguard peace and security in the world. This concept emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War, when horror at the devastation suffered acted as a catalyst for a new international solidarity that would for ever banish the scourge of war.

170. Events since the Second World War have created a completely different atmosphere on the international scene and it has now become virtually impossible for the great Powers to act in concert. My Government believes that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations would be an excellent opportunity to undertake a review of the way in which the Organization functions and to determine what practical steps could be taken to make it a more flexible and apt instrument for dealing with present-day realities. It may be that a special session of the General Assembly with this single item on its agenda would be appropriate, and the Assembly might wish at this present session to set in motion the preparations towards that end.

171. Whatever reservations I may have expressed, I feel bound to conclude my statement before the Assembly by reasserting my Government's continuing faith in this great Organization. If the problems of the world were simple, there would be no need for the United Nations. But that, alas, is not the case. At the storm-centre of the difficulties which face the international community is a problem as easy to identify as it is hard to solve, the problem of ideologies, of methods of viewing the world and its history. There is, we all know, no magic potion, no technology, no electric-shock therapy that will suddenly bring about a universal perspective in which we can all happily acquiesce. Meanwhile, we know only too well that in a nuclear world we have no choice but to find, in the grimmest sense of the expression, a *modus vivendi*.

172. In this search, the United Nations system is the best that we have been able to achieve so far. It is the repository of our best hopes, the expression of our highest ideals. Its universality is a promise that with persistence and imagination the community of States may yet find its way out of confrontation and conflict into an era of compromise and conciliation. Let us keep our feet firmly on that path.

173. Mr. ROGERS (Belize): We are fortunate indeed, Sir, to be approaching the end of the fourth decade of the life of the United Nations under the distinguished presidency of a man such as yourself, a man of experience and stature closely identified with your own land, Zambia, your continent, Africa, and your constituency, the world. It is my particular personal pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of my country, Belize, and on my own account on your election to steer the deliberations of this session.

174. You follow in the footsteps of another great friend of Belize, President Jorge Illueca, of Panama, whose conduct of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly's difficult and at times awesome agenda assures him posterity's recognition as one of the eminent statesmen of Latin America.

175. Both our nations are the product of the ideals promulgated in the landmark decision of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960—a testimo-

ny to the potential for world transformation inherent in the United Nations.

176. The fact that this potential has not as yet been more fully realized is a comment on the absence of moral and political commitment among those with the authority and the influence to translate for the benefit of their own peoples the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations for the benefit of all peoples.

177. We welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member State of the Organization and offer it our friendship and co-operation.

178. Belize begins the fourth year of independent life as a functioning democracy in the Central American and Caribbean region. At this time, the people of Belize are on the threshold of both local and national elections, under the provisions of a Constitution that guarantees universal adult suffrage to all citizens aged 18 years and more.

179. In a region of the world where violence and civil strife seem endemic, where human rights and human values are often mortgaged for political advantage or ideological impulse, I am proud to speak for a nation that has no political prisoners in its gaols, that recognizes that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and upon the rule of law.

180. Our policies of government are based on principles of social justice. These principles allow us to operate the economic system in such a way that the material resources of the community are distributed to serve the common good and ensure adequate means of livelihood for all; that labour is not exploited, or forced by economic necessity to operate in inhumane conditions; and that there is opportunity for all to advance on the basis of merit, ability and integrity.

181. But we recognize that it is not an easy task to maintain these noble principles in difficult political and economic circumstances. There must be a daily struggle to keep our freedom, our independence and our sovereignty intact and secure. A nation three years of age is an infant nation. It needs the help and understanding of older nations, especially those concerned with the peace and stability of our region, if we are to fulfil the promises of the fruits of independence for our people and continue to be a free and independent nation, sovereign over all our territory.

182. As a young nation, we wish to live in peace and harmonious co-operation with all our neighbours. We cherish the example of good-neighbourliness that characterizes the relations between Belize and Mexico, our larger northern neighbour, with which we share land and sea borders. We also cherish the relationship of trust and understanding developed over the years with the nations of the Caribbean community which share with us a common history, culture, language and experience.

183. We are enriched by the friendship of the Central American nations with which we share a common geography, common aspirations and a common destiny. We thank them for their friendship, their support and their co-operation. In return, we ask them to recognize our God-given right to determine our existence as a nation for ourselves, free from external threat and domination, sovereign over all our territorial treasures.

184. To our neighbour State of Guatemala, which persists in claiming our land, Belize reiterates its willingness to negotiate with good faith and determination to find a just solution. Such negotiation, however, will not be predicated on any presumption on the part of Guatemala that it has any rights over independent Belize. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Belize are not for negotiation.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo). Vice-President, took the Chair.

185. We invite Guatemala to face the reality that the self-determination of the Belizean people, after years of struggle and constitutional evolution, culminated in the process of decolonization and separation from the Administering Authority and the emergence of a new nation in Central America. Belize did not have two colonizers. The independence of Belize could not have been a unilateral grant from the United Kingdom; it was the result of a legal and constitutional process. This fact is recognized by the United Nations, the Charter and principles of which Guatemala's spokesmen profess to respect; and Belize is recognized by all the nations of the world, except Guatemala.

186. We invite the Government and the people of Guatemala to move away from the archaic and anachronistic attitudes of the past, to acknowledge the exercise of the right of the Belizean people to self-determination, to respect our land and sea borders, to recognize the new State of Belize and to accept its sovereignty.

187. The failure to recognize Belize adds special impediments to negotiations between our two sovereign States. The Government of Guatemala must recognize that authority over Belize is vested in the Government of Belize; therefore, negotiations over Belize must be with the Government of Belize. It is the Government of Belize—and only the Government of Belize—that has and can exercise the authority to conclude a settlement with the Government of Guatemala.

188. To perpetuate the fiction that Guatemala is negotiating with the United Kingdom over Belize is unreal and unproductive. We invite Guatemala to abandon this fiction and to recognize the State of Belize. In this way, we can move forward with realism towards a solution.

189. It is equally fictitious to pretend that Guatemala can strengthen its ties with the people of Belize as long as there exist the institutional distrust and disrespect inherent in their reluctance to accept Belize's independent existence. I can assure the international community that the people of Belize are as united now as they have ever been against the false claims of Guatemala over our territory. We hope that our continuing discussions will bring it to the realization that the way to strengthen the ties between our peoples begins with recognition of our independent existence as a State, respect for our sovereignty and acceptance of our historical borders.

190. Belize continues to agonize over the deteriorating situation in our region of Central America. We express our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the area and our readiness to assist in every way in the search for peace and stability. We regret the introduction, with the resulting damaging effects, of considerations of an East-West configuration.

191. We support peaceful solutions and adhere to the principle of non-intervention in conflict situa-

tions. Because of this, we welcomed the initiatives of the Contadora Group in searching for regional solutions to regional problems. We congratulate the countries of the Contadora Group on their positive efforts towards a peace agreement and look forward to early acceptance and implementation of the agreements by the countries of the region. For our part, Belize supports the principles and concepts put forward in the new Contadora accords.

192. Belize thanks all its friends and allies who, in this world of interdependence, work together with it to advance the economic development and social progress of its people and the peoples of the region and the world. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that, for reasons extraneous to our development needs, Belize often finds itself excluded from regional and hemispheric initiatives designed to improve the economic conditions of our region.

193. As a Central American State, my country is not immune from the results of the conflict in the region. While not a participant in the conflict, we are a recipient of some of the inevitable tragic results, including the need to give refuge, at great sacrifice, to thousands of displaced refugees fleeing from the theatre of civil war. Motivated by our human duty, Belize provides a safe haven for our brother Central Americans in our society.

194. As a disadvantaged developing nation, Belize grapples daily with the facts of underdevelopment: declining export earnings for our sugar and other primary products, high interest rates and the subsequent lessening of foreign exchange available for purchases from the industrialized world. While we have initiated policies to stimulate economic growth, countries such as ours rely heavily on concessionary arrangements and technical and other assistance from international and regional organizations and institutions.

195. We regret, therefore, the deliberate policy of exclusion that prevents Belize from participating in the Organization of American States and its institutions, in the economic initiatives designed for the Central American region and in financial institutions established to assist the development of our part of the world. Passive acceptance of this state of affairs by friendly States in the region is a contribution to the slowing down of the development process in Belize and runs counter to protestations of friendship and regional co-operation.

196. Nearly a year has passed since the tragic events in Grenada traumatized the Caribbean and caused such deep disquiet among our Caribbean sister States and in the larger international community. Our Commonwealth family has agreed that the time for recriminations has passed and that all possible efforts should be made to assist the Grenadian people to reconstruct their shattered country. We view positively the announcement of free and fair elections, to take place in December, and we commit ourselves again to respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Caribbean country.

197. We maintain our solidarity with Guyana and support for its right to exercise sovereignty over all its territory, and are encouraged that the Secretary-General has become involved in the search for a suitable settlement of the controversy. We wish him well in this effort and respect the assurances from both sides concerning the maintenance of a climate conducive to a favourable outcome.

198. We continue to support the United Kingdom in its efforts to find an honourable settlement that will not infringe upon the rights of the people of the Falkland Islands to decide their own destiny, and we call on the new Government of Argentina to resume negotiations without pre-conditions that would be prejudicial to the islanders' rights.

199. The independence of Namibia is inevitable. Efforts to discourage the acceleration of that process serve only to delay the final outcome but cannot prevent it. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with SWAPO in the heroic struggle for the liberation of that country.

200. The suffering continues in South Africa, where the racist *apartheid* régime arrogantly, and with seeming impunity, persists in trampling on the rights and dignity of the majority black population. We condemn the trickery and sleight-of-hand being attempted by the racist régime under the guise of constitutional reform designed to defy world opinion and divide the oppressed people of South Africa.

201. While recognizing the right of Israel to exist, we recognize equally the right of the Palestinian people to forge their own destiny in their own homeland on their own territory.

202. Belize joins the rest of the international community in deploring the continuation of the unfortunate war between the non-aligned States of Iran and Iraq and imploring them to put an end to war and begin the task of reconstruction and reconciliation.

203. We remain concerned at the situation in Afghanistan and look forward to a negotiated political settlement that does not prejudice the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of that country.

204. As a minor actor on the international stage, Belize has no pretensions to considerable influence in world affairs. Our domestic concerns are limited to the consolidation of our independence, to building a durable and enduring democracy, to extending the fruits of development and a better life to all our people, and to offering every Belizean a dignified existence.

205. On the international scene, our policies of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, non-violence and the peaceful settlement of disputes are aimed at promoting international peace, security and co-operation among nations. They are aimed at assisting in the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order in the world, with respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings among nations. And they are intended to protect and preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Belize, to broaden our international recognition and to consolidate our nationhood.

206. We have an abiding interest in the continued existence of the planet Earth. All our efforts to fashion a world order would be meaningless in the aftermath of nuclear war. We call on the international community, and the nuclear Powers in particular, not to shirk their responsibility to humanity but to work strenuously to save us all from the unspeakable horrors of nuclear devastation.

207. Belize's policies coincide with those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as with the approach adopted by the Commonwealth of

Nations. We reaffirm our commitment to those organizations.

208. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to streamline the Organization in the face of great odds, for his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]—a forthright, frank and realistic report—and for his faith in the vision expressed in the Charter.

209. Our vision of the usefulness, indeed the necessity, of the United Nations is not clouded by the criticisms the Organization has attracted during its 39 years of existence. The list of accomplishments of the United Nations far outweighs the amount of criticism it receives. Indeed, the United Nations reflects the aspirations and frustrations of many nations and groups all over the world. We share the Secretary-General's view that "one of its great merits is that all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice—can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power." [*Ibid.*]

210. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us pledge to preserve and strengthen the Organization so that it emerges stronger and more responsive to the needs of the kind of world we are in the process of creating.

211. Mr. LASSOU (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first, on behalf of the Chadian delegation, to congratulate the President of the General Assembly most warmly on his unanimous election to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session. The confidence which the international community has placed in him is a recognition of the role that his country, Zambia, plays in the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly, it is a recognition of his own qualities as a statesman with great experience in international relations. I am convinced that under his wise and enlightened guidance the proceedings at this session will be crowned with success.

212. It is also my pleasant duty to pay a well-deserved tribute to his illustrious predecessor, the head of State of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who guided the proceedings of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session with wisdom and dignity.

213. We wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, our dynamic Secretary-General, for having spared no effort in the service of peace in this troubled world. We thank him, too, for having made international public opinion aware of the economic and social crisis buffeting the countries of Africa, most of which are among the poorest in the world.

214. Finally, I extend my delegation's congratulations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as a Member of the Organization. The admission of that young State is a proof of the vitality and universality of the great family of the United Nations.

215. As everyone knows, the fundamental objectives of the Organization are the maintenance of peace, the development of friendly relations among States and international co-operation. Unfortunately there are Member States of the Organization which, far from contributing to the achievement of those aims, are, on the contrary, deliberately violating the rules to which they have freely agreed.

216. It is well known that Chad is one of the major victims of the flagrant violation of the rules and principles of the Organization. Libya, flying in the

face of those noble standards, has been occupying a large part of Chadian territory since 1973. In August 1983, it extended that occupation to the entire northern section of Chad. This area of 550,000 square kilometres has fallen under Libyan administration as a result of land-based and air offensives by the Libyan regular army and the so-called "Islamic" legion, which is composed of mercenaries of all nationalities. Libya, which had always denied its military presence in Chad, has finally acknowledged it, because it has said that it intends to withdraw its troops from Chad in accordance with the arrangement it has just concluded with France.

217. The Chadian people and its Government are pleased by that Libyan intention and keenly hope it will be translated into reality. However, past experience has shown us that when their backs are to the wall the Libyans use subterfuge to mislead international opinion. Since we are accustomed to the delaying tactics of the Libyan Government, we cannot but remain sceptical about the withdrawal of Libyan forces from our territory.

218. There is a Chadian proverb that says, "He who has been bitten by a snake is frightened at the sight of a mere rope". The Chadian people has not just been bitten, it has lost a limb.

219. At the same time that Libya is announcing its intention to withdraw militarily from Chad, in the south of the country it is continuing to arm rebel factions so as to sow subversion, death and desolation among the peace-loving inhabitants and cause the country's destruction. That is why the international community must not be duped by dissociating what is occurring in the south of the country from the war of aggression that Libya is waging in the north of Chad. That leads us to believe that the Libyan announcement to withdraw its troops is nothing more than a tactic to recoil the better to strike.

220. Despite Libya's warlike and expansionist attitude, Chad has always wished to settle its dispute with that country by peaceful means. That is why my country has frequently had recourse to international bodies, in particular the OAU and the Security Council. Each time we encountered Libyan evasions. Each time Libya answered our peaceful steps with the language of force.

221. If the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya respects its commitments the Chadian Government for its part will, as always, be ready to abide by the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,⁷ and the statement by the Security Council⁸ inviting the two parties to settle their dispute by peaceful means.

222. I should like to emphasize the fact that the people of Chad feels no animosity towards the fraternal Libyan people. The sufferings, atrocities and bereavement caused us by the régime of the Jamahiriya can be ascribed only to that régime, not to the Libyan people which is itself tyrannized by that terrorist régime. The people of Chad has known the anguish of war all too well. It aspires to peace and hopes to live in friendship with its neighbours, including Libya, so as to be able to devote all its resources and energy to the reconstruction and development of the country. That is why, once the Government of the Third Republic was established, it deliberately opted for negotiation in the hope of

finding reconciliation among all the citizens of Chad. It was within that context that the Government multiplied its initiatives to meet with its opponents. It was also within that context that it gave full support to the current Chairman of the OAU in organizing a round table between the opponents and the Government. We endorsed that initiative, because we were aware of the need to bring peace to Chad, reinforce its unity and preserve its independence and territorial integrity in order to devote ourselves to its reconstruction and development.

223. Unfortunately, we must note that the efforts of the pan-African organization were impeded by the manoeuvres of some countries which prevented the holding of a frank and direct meeting between the opponents and the Government. If the round table at Addis Ababa scheduled to be held last January did not take place, it was the enemies of peace in Chad—and they alone—who were responsible for that. An attempt has been made to place a Government and its opposition on an equal footing. That is inadmissible, for it is tantamount to asking the Government of Chad to relinquish its attributes of sovereignty.

224. The Government did not fall into that trap. None the less, it remains devoted to its objective of peace and national reconciliation, with respect for Chad's independence, dignity, unity and territorial integrity. That is why the Government of Chad is grateful to the Congolese Government and encourages it to continue and step up its efforts to organize a conference on national reconciliation.

225. The Government of Chad trusts in the course it has laid out for itself to achieve national reconciliation. Our confidence has been increased by the recent positions taken by some citizens of Chad who have distanced themselves from their Libyan protector. They have unambiguously denounced Libya's expansionism and manoeuvres to divide the citizens of Chad so as to conquer them. Indeed, those persons now know that they have been used by Libya to sow trouble in their own country with a view to Libya's annexing it. We are pleased that our compatriots have come to realize that, although belatedly. Those among them who are still in Libya are, in fact, prisoners of the Libyan régime and its war machine. The least inclination towards independence by them endangers their security. This is the appropriate place to request the international community's assistance to exert pressure on the Libyan régime to allow our brothers to leave Libya freely.

226. Our desire for reconciliation with our brothers and to live in peace with our neighbours is sincere. We want that to be clearly understood and would appreciate all efforts directed to that end.

227. The particularly difficult economic and social situation in Chad owing to the war imposed upon us by Libya is another subject of great concern to us.

228. Indeed, in addition to the already serious problems confronting it because of its status as a less developed and land-locked country, Chad is confronting other problems caused by natural disasters, such as drought and desertification. The magnitude of the destruction caused by those phenomena is considerable. It is a situation the dimensions of which are not entirely appreciated but certainly constitute a mortgage on our country's future development. Indeed, the drought which at the outset afflicted only parts of Chad steadily spreads each year over vast areas that had previously been spared.

The constant deterioration of the environment and the spread of desertification have caused a mass exodus of population and livestock from the north, east and centre of the country to regions considered to be better. The persistence of drought has caused a chronic food crisis which will become aggravated this year and in coming years owing to an almost total lack of rainfall. Recent cases of famine in the southern regions of the country are a striking example of the consequences of population exodus and the effects of drought.

229. Faced with that tragedy, the Government, with the help of friendly countries and international organizations, has tried everything to take corrective measures, but they have been in vain, given the immensity of the task.

230. I should like to reiterate my Government's successive appeals to the international community not only to render emergency aid to Chad but also to support our efforts to eliminate this scourge.

231. Chad also joins in the appeals of the Sahelian countries to the international community to define a strategy for the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region and other regions stricken by drought and desertification and to mobilize the resources needed to implement it.

232. Although the military aggression of which my country is a victim has blurred the renewed solidarity that was manifested after the International Conference on Assistance to Chad, held at Geneva in November 1982, Chad's economy has recorded rather encouraging signs of recovery. However, my Government is aware that the needs and problems are enormous; that is why it is looking to the international community to help it promote economic and social activities.

233. In this connection, the Government and people of Chad express their thanks to States and international organizations for the aid they have been so kind as to grant to Chad.

234. I should like to remind the Assembly that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/214, my country intends to organize a pledging conference, with the technical assistance of UNDP, during the last quarter of 1985. That conference will consider a general programme of reconstruction and development and the financing of detailed projects in priority areas. A development plan will be before the conference for its consideration. It will cover the main priorities, namely: development, agricultural production and stock raising, the diversification and processing of primary products, the opening up of the country both internally and to the outside world, and the promotion of harmonious regional development. We call upon all countries and all bodies to take part in this pledging conference, of which Chad has great expectations.

235. The Government and the people of Chad wish to express their deep gratitude to the countries and bodies that are good enough to provide them with invaluable assistance.

236. If the economic situation in Chad is catastrophic it is because it also suffers from the side-effects of the world economy, which are very disquieting.

237. Even though we see certain signs of economic recovery in the industrialized countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the shortcomings of the current economic

order result in an ever-growing burden for the developing countries, which have been severely affected by the repercussions of the prolonged structural crisis in the world economy.

238. The reduction of external resources and capital flows from the developed countries, which is due essentially to the increase in protectionism and the fall in commodity prices, has placed the economies of the developing countries in a precarious situation.

239. In particular, the African continent continues to fail to meet its targets.

240. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa⁹ and submitted by the African Ministers responsible for Economic Development and Planning at the last session of the Economic and Social Council gives an eloquent description of the economic and social crisis which is being experienced by Africa, and puts forward emergency, as well as short-, medium- and long-term, measures.

241. The African countries are in a critical situation which deserves the special attention of the international community. The specific nature of the problems facing the African continent today demand this, because this is a question of the survival of many millions of human beings. That is why my delegation believes that it is imperative to put into effect immediately a programme of measures in matters of vital importance for African countries in order to alleviate their tragic plight.

242. The Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session, discussed as a matter of priority the serious economic and social crisis in Africa but was unable to arrive at a consensus text on the ways in which this should be remedied.

243. Turning now to the world economic situation, we believe that it is high time for the developed countries to act on the commitment made with regard to the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,¹⁰ adopted at the Paris Conference, and to agree to the launching of global negotiations. We believe that this would be at least the beginning of the solution of the present crisis.

244. The interdependence of developed and developing countries should not result simply in intermittent international aid, while such fundamental problems as the restructuring of international economic relations to ensure more equitable co-operation are ignored. In fact, in such an unfavourable international climate, it would be an illusion to envisage, even in the short term, economic development that would take full account of the interests of the third world. Selfishness must give way to solidarity so that together we can endeavour to establish a new international economic order that is more just and more equitable.

245. The world economic crisis has been further compounded by the political tensions which continue to buffet our planet, thus posing a dangerous threat to the future of mankind as a whole. Although it must be acknowledged that the United Nations has been able to prevent certain situations from getting out of hand, it nevertheless remains true that frequent violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations continue to threaten the already precarious equilibrium of the world.

246. As in the case of Chad, which we have already emphasized, Lebanon, Palestine, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Namibia continue to suffer humiliating foreign occupation, and the rest of the world remains impotent in the face of the shameful policy of *apartheid* practised by the white minority in South Africa.

247. Such upheavals, which are a feature of the present day, demand that we react in a way that is devoid of any partisan spirit and aimed solely at preserving and strengthening world peace.

248. With its long history of uneasy coexistence with its neighbour to the north, the people of Chad is aware that no force, however powerful, can occupy a country for long without clear and disastrous consequences. It is for that reason that we consider that dialogue and concerted action offer the only possible means of solving all the major international issues.

249. Let us take, for example, the question of disarmament. Our greatest anxiety is that if a nuclear war were to break out there would be neither victor nor vanquished since there would be no survivor. The most heartfelt desire of countries such as mine is that negotiations on strategic and medium-range weapons be resumed as quickly as possible in order to bring about first a freeze and then a quantitative reduction of nuclear weapons.

250. Adoption of this peaceful initiative, as we have emphasized previously, is the only way to prevent encroachments on the sovereignty of other States, invasions and even continuing occupation of foreign territories, intervention and all other types of aggression.

251. On the African continent, there are many tensions which are the result, as elsewhere, of deliberately ignoring the fundamental principles of the United Nations and of the OAU, namely, those concerning the self-determination of peoples, independence, respect for human rights, human dignity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aggression, to cite but a few.

252. In North Africa, the tensions engendered by the botched decolonization of Western Sahara are still smouldering. The refusal of one of the parties to the conflict to abide by the relevant resolutions of the OAU is not calculated to promote a final settlement of this conflict.

253. Chad, which has always supported self-determination for the Saharan people, will give full support to any initiative that will help to facilitate the full implementation of the provisions of the resolutions adopted at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, particularly that which advocates direct negotiations between the two parties.³

254. In southern Africa, the racist minority régime of Pretoria continues to keep Namibia under the colonial yoke and to exclude the black South African majority from power. Recent developments in this part of the world show more clearly than ever the implacable, cynical nature of *apartheid*.

255. In order to perpetuate their oppressive régime, the South African racists have even tried to use coloured people and Indians in their efforts to perpetuate their domination. The glaring failure of that attempt, caused by a general boycott of the so-called elections by the communities concerned, is clear proof that in matters of domination and

exploitation it is pointless to rely on dividing people, particularly if the oppressed people has no option but to resort to force.

256. The delegation of Chad, which upholds the just cause of the South African majority, strongly condemns this inadmissible denial of elementary human rights.

257. With regard to Namibia, we must recall that the people of Chad consider the full, unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be the only suitable path to decolonization. South Africa should unconditionally accept the decolonization of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, authentic representative.

258. In the Middle East, Israel's intransigence and its expansionist policy continue to foster tension and war. The right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State, under the leadership of the PLO, and Israel's right to exist are no longer open to discussion. In the light of this, it is important for the international community to bring pressure to bear on Israel, through an international conference on Palestine, to agree that the Palestinian people has the right to recover its plundered lands.

259. Furthermore, it is undeniable that the foreign occupation of Lebanon is impeding the national unity of that country. As long as the uninvited foreign armies remain in Lebanon, peace and harmony among the people of Lebanon can be only pious hopes.

260. Still in the Middle East, for many years an unrelenting war has continued to rack two neighbouring Islamic countries. I refer to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. My delegation once again appeals to those two countries to settle their differences by peaceful means. In this connection, we welcome Iraq's readiness to resolve the problem through negotiations.

261. The Afghans cannot begin to settle the problems between them, in a brotherly spirit, until the occupying Soviet troops have been withdrawn from their country. However, despite the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the appeals of peace-loving countries, those occupation forces show not the slightest intention of withdrawing. That is a cynical way to delay the solving of the Afghan problem.

262. Another subject causing anxiety and concern, because it results from the use of armed force, is the continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea. It is encouraging to note that the people of Kampuchea has not stood idly by, as is shown by the military and diplomatic successes achieved under the leadership of the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

263. As is the case with Afghanistan, the problem of Kampuchea can be resolved only through the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations—that is, through the withdrawal of all occupying forces and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of its inalienable right to decide its own future.

264. The partition of Korea into two States remains the main subject of concern to the Korean people. The delegation of Chad hopes that the country will be reunified through the initiation of direct negotiations between the two Governments, without any outside interference.

265. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we call upon the Greek and Turkish communities to take part in brotherly talks in order to preserve the unity and integrity of an independent and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

266. I turn now to Central America, where my delegation earnestly hopes that the process of dialogue within the framework of the Contadora Group will shortly bear fruit, so that the States and peoples of the region may enjoy peace and stability.

267. Next year, we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. That will be a fitting occasion to consider ways and means to use all the resources of the Charter to enable the Organization to carry out its mission effectively. That will involve the full shouldering by the Security Council of its responsibilities, rising above ideological and partisan squabbles and selfish interests. It will also involve strengthening international co-operation, in the higher interests of all nations.

268. The failure to apply sanctions over violations of United Nations principles and resolutions has contributed to reducing the Organization's ability to resolve the many problems that the international community faces. It is therefore imperative to devise ways to restore the credibility of the United Nations, which remains the hope of peace-loving and justice-loving countries—in particular, the small, defenceless countries.

269. Chad remains faithful to the rules and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and appeals to the world conscience for scrupulous observance of them.

270. Aggression and repeated acts of interference, of which my country is a victim, are results of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter.

271. Therefore, we call upon the international community to do everything it can to support Chad in its efforts to regain tranquillity and recover its territorial integrity, as inherited from colonialism, by persuading the Tripoli régime to end its aggression and its continual interference in my country's internal affairs.

272. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

273. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for speaking at this late hour. My delegation had not intended to speak, but the preceding speaker's campaign to distort the truth in a desperate attempt to slander my country necessitates our making some essential observations.

274. Speaking on behalf of the Ndjamen group, Mr. Lassou tried to hide the facts; he tried to say that Chad's problems were due to a conflict between Chad and Libya.

275. The truth, however, is clear to all: it is that Chad's current problems are internal problems, the main cause being the rebellion of Hissein Habré and his group, known as the Armed Forces of the North. With the support of imperialist forces, they caused the overthrow of the transitional Government of national unity, under the presidency of Goukouni Oueddei, the only Government since independence, which had been set up democratically under the Lagos agreement on national reconciliation, which was accepted by all 11 parties in Chad and had the

blessing of the OAU. Had that Government remained in power, it might have been able to improve the situation in Chad. In that event, Chad would not be in the situation it finds itself in today.

276. But Hissein Habré's lust for blood and power made him continue to rebel and to obstruct all efforts aimed at restoring peace and stability in Chad. Every agreement reached among the conflicting parties has been obstructed. He has rebelled against President Félix Malloum—having once sided with him, serving as Prime Minister towards the end of August 1978. He rebelled against the March 1979 Kano agreement. Finally, he rebelled against the Government of national unity established by virtue of the Lagos agreement following his appointment as Minister of Defence in that Government.

277. Hissein Habré is an adventurer! I do not believe I need to put forward any historical facts to prove that the support given to him by imperialist and colonialist forces is a clear indication of his true nature. I do not need to prove the massacres against the people of Chad during the time he was in control in Ndjamená after he rebelled against Félix Malloum and Goukouni Oueddei, for dozens of skeletons were found in the Shari river and in his own yard. Did he not assassinate Idriss Miskine, even though he had long praised him?

278. Mr. Lassou, whom we have heard today, was himself imprisoned by Hissein Habré, the Pol Pot of Africa. He said here that once you have been bitten by a viper you look askance at a rope. One would think, then, that he would do well to follow that advice, so as to avoid further suffering at the hands of Hissein Habré; he would have been better off never having co-operated with that butcher.

279. Since Habré took control of the capital, he has persisted in his efforts to obstruct every sincere attempt to achieve national reconciliation in Chad. He aborted the initiative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to hold a Chadian national reconciliation conference at Addis Ababa by insisting on certain procedural points—which he himself had opposed during the national reconciliation talks which took place during the Kano conference, in 1978, when Félix Malloum was President of Chad. We have no doubt whatsoever that he will continue in his destructive efforts to abort any attempt at achieving peace and stability in Chad.

280. The whole world knows that the Armed Forces of the North, under the leadership of Hissein Habré—who sent a representative to speak here on his behalf—represents only one of the 11 conflicting parties in Chad which were signatories of the Kano agreement on national reconciliation. The world must not fool itself by legitimizing a Government which represents only one of the 11 conflicting parties and which took power by force of arms and with the assistance of imperialist forces and their puppets. The rebel Hissein Habré and his chosen few have no legitimacy and no popular support among the people of Chad. What is currently taking place in Chad is a civil war which goes back 20 years and is due to the presence of elements loyal to Hissein Habré, who put their own selfish interests before the interests of the people of Chad. This attempt to divert international attention from the true situation in Chad by hurling insults at the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will solve nothing. The only solution lies in national reconciliation, in accordance with the

Lagos agreement and under the auspices of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, with the participation of all parties which signed the agreement. Hissein Habré's continuing rebellion will only increase tension, prolong the blood-bath and destroy Chad.

281. As we see it, the current situation in Chad involves, on the one hand, a legitimate Government of national unity, under the leadership of Goukouni Oueddei at Faya-Largeau, which controls most of the country, and, on the other, a rebel Government which controls Ndjamená with imperialist assistance. That is the situation which we must consider.

282. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as a neighbourly, fraternal country, is prepared to participate, as it has done in the past, in any efforts undertaken within the OAU to achieve security and peace in Chad.

283. I wish to conclude by stating that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has consistently stressed that it wishes to see a united and independent Chad. At the same time, however, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will defend its territory at any cost. The distribution by the representative of the Armed Forces of the North of a faked map, including Libyan territory within the borders of the Republic of Chad, is totally unacceptable. I stress that what is called Aouzou is an integral part of Libyan territory, inherited from Italian colonialism in accordance with the map—attached to the report of the United Nations representative, Mr. Adrien Bell—on the basis of which Libya was granted its independence. Aouzou is Libyan territory and will remain so for ever.

284. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation does not intend to respond to what has just been said by the representative of Libya, because, as everyone will have observed, he spoke only as is his custom, of Chadian domestic questions, attempting to take the place of the people of Chad themselves, and describing the head of an independent State Member of the Organization as a rebel. I leave it for members of the Assembly to form their own judgement about this kind of language, which shows manifest disrespect for the lofty traditions of the United Nations.

285. The representative of Libya at no time denied that Libyan troops had been occupying Chadian territory since 1973. They have been occupying our territory and, as our Minister said in his statement, they have extended their occupation to several thousand square kilometres of Chadian territory. The Libyan representative has said that there is no peace in Chad and that if what he calls a legitimate Government had not been overthrown there would be peace in Chad.

286. We challenge Libya to withdraw once and for all from Chadian territory, in accordance with the arrangement which it has recently signed with France, and to put an end to any interference in Chadian territory; the international community will then see whether Chadians can make peace among themselves. We call upon Libya to halt its reckless interference in Chad.

287. We know that Libya is rich and that it is well armed. Let Libya devote its wealth, its resources and its armaments to the defence of Libyan territory and leave Chad alone. Chad is a country which is underprivileged in terms of natural resources. Let it devote its meagre resources to its economic and social development and the well-being of its people.

288. Let me state for the record that we stand entirely by the statement just made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad as far as Libyan aggression and Libya's constant violation of the principles and rules of the United Nations and the OAU are concerned. Libya must withdraw from Chadian territory and leave the Chadians in peace. Libya has imposed too many afflictions upon the people of Chad. The people of Chad have suffered too much from the Libyan presence. They want only to live in peace with all their neighbours, including Libya.

289. Everything that the Libyan representative has said shows again the full extent to which Libya has been interfering in the internal affairs of Chad.

290. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for asking to speak a second time. It is not my intention to respond to the attacks just made by the representative of Hissein Habré. All I wish to say is that he is seeking legitimacy for his élite, a legitimacy which he has not been able to obtain from the Chadian people itself. However, earlier, he mentioned something to which I should like to have responded, but time did not allow me to do so. He mentioned an agreement between France and Libya on withdrawal from Chad. Indeed, there is an agreement. However, what is the framework of that agreement? There is an agreement to withdraw the support forces of Libya from Chad, as well as the French forces. We do not have an army of occupation in Chad. We have advisers assisting the Government of national unity of Goukouni Oueddei, the legitimate Government. This assistance is given on the basis of an agreement, arrived at with that legitimate Government and registered at the United Nations. We could indeed have sent forces to Chad under that agreement. However, desirous of maintaining peace and security in Chad, we did not do so. This is all I wish to say. I certainly do not see any need to respond to all the claims and allegations mentioned by the representative of the Ndjamena clique.

291. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In exercise of our right of reply, we should like to make some clarifications in respect of the statement made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras [26th meeting]. Those clarifications will not focus on the Honduran delegation's attempt to conceal the sad reality of that country as regards the military situation and the role that country, occupied by the United States, is playing in the strategic plans of that Power in the Central American region, because the constant joint military manoeuvres by United States and Honduran troops are familiar to all; because everyone is aware of the permanent presence of United States troops in that country, troops that number over 1,000 at the present time; because everyone is aware of the existence of a central military training camp for Salvadorian and Honduran troops; and because everyone is well aware of the expansion and improvement of air and land military bases, and of the remnants of armaments and military constructions that have escaped the control of the Congress of the United States and are used by the CIA [*Central Intelligence Agency*] for training on Honduran territory. Everyone is fully aware of the vast foreign military presence which makes of Honduras—to the shame of its nationals and of all the peoples of Central America—one more United States aircraft carrier. We should like to refer to other issues, the

manipulation of which by Honduras may lead to confusion on the part of the international community.

292. The line of argument used by the Honduran representative against my country is strangely similar to the line of reasoning which has been used in the Security Council by the United States, and with which we are already familiar: "Nicaragua is paranoid about an invasion"; "there is a relationship in timing between our accusations and the meetings of the Contadora Group"; "there is a parallel with the situation of civil war now prevailing in El Salvador".

293. It is not without cause that our country is presenting facts regarding an imminent invasion by the United States. Information is brought to light almost daily in this respect even in the United States media.

294. We would merely like to ask a few concrete questions and address them to the Honduran delegation.

295. When its Minister for Foreign Affairs announces that our nation should not fall prey to expansionism from outside the continent, should we take it that it accepts the historic presence of the United States in that region? Is it prepared to eliminate the military bases once and for all, as Nicaragua has proposed, and not to accept them, regardless of whether they are United States or Soviet bases, or those of any other Power? Is it prepared, as Nicaragua was, not to fall prey to foreign interests, and not to be the first to attack any other Central American country? Is it prepared to stop being the launching pad for the CIA in its undeclared dirty war against my country, by expelling mercenaries who are not and cannot be refugees, by not allowing them to use its territory and military installations? Our dead, the destruction we suffer, and the base, undeclared war waged by the CIA which involves them, are these the product of our imagination or are they the results of a reality known by all and condemned by all?

296. Nicaragua reiterates its commitment to peace and co-operation in the region and to the Contadora Act of 7 September and the commitments arising from it: our commitment not to become an aggressor against our Central American neighbours, not to be a base for any Power, not to allow the use of our territory for the advantage of foreign interests. We hope that when Honduras recovers its dignity and sovereignty, which are now lost, we may walk together on the path of peace.

297. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have listened to the reply by the Nicaraguan delegation to the remarks made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras this morning.

298. We respect points of view which, although different from ours, delegations are fully entitled to express.

299. This attitude is consonant with the internal philosophy of the Government and life of my country, in which the free expression of thought proceeds unimpeded along democratic channels, with due respect for the rights of individuals and States.

300. Therefore, my delegation did not wish to exercise the right of reply when Commander Ortega addressed the Assembly and made a statement in which he sought to persuade the Assembly that my

country was involved in hypothetical aggressive adventures against his country.

301. Now the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras has stated the point of view of the Honduran Government and we would expect some small degree of reciprocity from the delegation of Nicaragua. However, the facts unfortunately prove, with increasing emphasis, that any expectations we had of mutual respect and understanding in our relations with countries such as Nicaragua were quite illusory.

302. We have just heard a Nicaraguan reply invoking arguments which have already been used to the detriment of the work of United Nations organs, in particular the Security Council and the General Assembly, in dealing with serious and responsible expressions of policy in the quest for positive contributions to the major problems of peace and security facing many countries in many regions of the world.

303. As can be seen from the documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council and from protest notes sent directly to the Government of Nicaragua, we have in the past repudiated these false charges which are now being repeated, unnecessarily and maliciously. I shall not revert to them, but if we continue to be confronted with such remarks I shall do so.

304. We are nevertheless aware of the fact that the reply by Nicaragua has been made because its systematic distortions of fact and the misuse it has been making of the United Nations for purposes alien to those of the Organization are being brought to light.

305. However, in our statement to the Security Council on 3 February 1984, we had anticipated that. We said this:

"If we have spoken about the Sandinist Government's systematic campaign of false accusations before various forums and for the benefit of the media, it is because the facts bear these out. As everyone knows, in international relations both indirect provocations and press campaigns are inimical to international negotiations . . .

"As a distinguished author from a country that suffered the serious consequences of the Second World War and Hitler's policies said, control of the media can make it possible for some Governments to produce sentimental and even passionate reactions among their people and create a political crisis. Hitler's tactics featured an impressive balance of attacks, like the ones being made now, and offers at negotiation, like the ones that the Sandinist Government says it is putting before the Contadora Group. It is interesting that a Government which has already shown the world what its basic ideological orientation is does not seem willing to follow its own orientation but has assumed certain immoral attitudes which have already been historically rejected by the entire world community."¹¹

306. I wish to conclude by merely making an appeal to our Nicaraguan brothers. We should leave the tortuous paths which lead us away from the path of peace and harmonious understanding among our peoples. We also urge them to redirect the misguided efforts of the past and strive together for an early agreement which will restore peace, co-operation and democracy in Central America, because such an agreement, together with the political will to preserve it and put it into effect in good faith, would be the

best pledge for the well-being of our peoples, the best political expression that their leaders could offer not to use the weapon of confrontation against their neighbours to further their domestic policies.

307. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply in response to the assertions made by the representative of Honduras. I wanted to add one more to my list of questions: we should like to know what the reply of Honduras is to our invitation to accept immediately—right now, at this time of great danger, a time when concrete decisions are being made in the process of bringing peace to the region through the efforts of the Contadora Group—the Act of 7 September, so that the will of the United States may not be imposed on us.

308. The response from the Government of Honduras will allow us to perceive the real intentions of that Government and its degree of independence, its degree of interest in the safeguarding of its genuine national interests. We hope that the spectre of war will not soon become a destructive reality for our peoples and our countries.

309. Later polishing may be needed for the Agreement, but not substantive changes. In signing it, in having faith in our commitment, we see perhaps the last opportunity to achieve peace in the region.

310. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have always used language consistent with the quest for peace, and we are very pleased to hear peaceful expressions when, in fact, Nicaragua's statement was quite a warlike one. Reference has been made to signing the Contadora Act and the need to press forward with that effort. In this we agree. It was the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras who proposed that negotiations to draw up the Contadora Act should continue until 30 September. It was the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua who, in the Contadora Group, proposed the date of 30 October. The Contadora Group proposed the date of 15 October. So it is paradoxical to talk about earlier dates when in Central America itself attempts are being made, through other channels, to delay matters.

311. In addition, we are within a process and we are acting on the basis of consensuses adopted by the new countries of the Contadora Group, in which it has been pointed out that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is a fundamental phase in the deliberations so that the five Central American countries will meet as soon as possible to define pragmatic and realistic formulas leading to the final form of the Contadora Act. Yesterday, we sent the five Central American Ministers for Foreign Affairs an invitation to a meeting on 19 October in Tegucigalpa, so that they, within the Contadora process, through co-ordination among the Central Americans themselves, may be able to arrive at a final position for the definitive phase of the negotiations. I can state publicly that if our Nicaraguan brothers choose not to come to Honduras, we would be most willing to go to Nicaragua. It is up to them now to respond to this serious and responsible move, so that we Central Americans ourselves may define our problems, for the purpose which he claims to be pursuing: the restoration of peace in that tormented area.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year*, 2406th meeting.

²*Ibid.*, *Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984*.

³A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX).

⁴Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁵Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁶See A/CN.10/38.

⁷A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res.106 (XIX).

⁸See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Resolutions and Decisions*, p. 8.

⁹See E/1984/110, annex.

¹⁰See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

¹¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2513th meeting.