



General Assembly

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 4 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

- President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
- later: Mr. BERROCAL SOTO (Vice-President) (Costa Rica)
- later: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)
- later: Mr. BERROCAL SOTO (Vice-President) (Costa Rica)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

- Mr. Toure (Guinea)
- Mr. Vo Dong Giang (Viet Nam)
- Mr. Barre (Somalia)
- Mr. Subba (Nepal)
- Prince Mohamed Bolkiah (Brunei Darussalam)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (interpretation from French): The President of the Republic of Guinea, Brigadier General Lansana Conté, President of the Military Committee for National Recovery, while conveying his regrets that he is unable to attend this session because of last-minute changes in his work programme, did me the honour to appoint me to represent him here. I am pleased to be given the opportunity to participate in this session of the General Assembly, which commemorates the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of our world Organization.

First of all, like all those who have preceded us, my delegation wishes, on behalf of President Lansana Conté, his Government and the people of Guinea to assure the Government and people of Mexico of their sympathy and solidarity at this time of deep affliction following the devastating and deadly earthquakes of 19 and 20 September. I ask all Mexicans to accept our most sincere condolences.

I should like to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Guinea on your well-deserved election to the presidency of this Assembly. Your outstanding qualities as a statesman are, in our view, a guarantee of the success of this session, which is being held at a time when the international situation is of particular concern, both politically and economically.

We wish also to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the very positive work accomplished by Mr. Paul Lusaka throughout his term of office as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

Lastly, we commend our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the constant and effective efforts that he has made in the service of peace and social and economic development and to ensure respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea)

The people of Guinea, under the guidance of the Military Committee for National Recovery, has embarked on the building of a democratic and prosperous society that respects fundamental human rights and freedoms.

In keeping with the legitimate aspirations of our people, the Military Committee for National Recovery and the Government of the Second Republic have drawn up a programme of action which is contained in an interim national development plan for 1985 to 1987. This interim plan focuses basically on agriculture, energy, education, transport and communication - in other words the restructuring of the economy and the administration.

Since the development of agriculture and energy are among the priorities in our economic strategy, our efforts have focused on the search for ways and means of developing our vast natural resources. That is why we have embarked on an open-door policy which makes it possible for us to co-operate with all the countries of the world unconditionally and on the basis of equality and mutual interests, in the deep conviction that only such a policy of co-operation can prove viable and fruitful for Guinea and all its partners.

In this respect we welcome the importance attached by the United Nations to the integrated development plan for the Fouta Djallon massif with a view to creating a protective green belt against the progressive desertification of our region and thus making its immense hydroelectric potential available to all the States of the region.

Our new approach, which is reflected in a development-oriented diplomacy, will be supported within the country by a policy of freeing the economy and encouraging enterprises and private initiatives that were for a long time stifled.

We believe that the record of the United Nations in its 40 years of existence can be considered positive. In fact, even though our objectives are not always achieved, we may well be pleased that the hopes aroused throughout the world by

(Mr. Touré, Guinea)

the establishment after the Second World War of the United Nations persist. The maintenance and promotion of international peace and security remain the essential purpose of our Organization, which cannot tolerate the serious hotbeds of tension which still persist throughout the world.

Among those serious hotbeds of tension that command our attention, southern Africa and the Middle East are the most troubling because of the immense loss of life and the extent of the material damage involved. In southern Africa the racist régime of Pretoria is stepping up its defiance of the international community through its systematic, ferocious oppression of the black peoples of South Africa, its acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and its persistent refusal to grant independence to Namibia.

It is fitting here to reiterate our unconditional support for and active solidarity with the national liberation movements and the peoples that they represent.

The interim government established in Namibia by the contemptible régime in South Africa, without a referendum and completely ignoring the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the nationalist movement recognized by the international community, has no legitimacy whatsoever and is therefore null and void.

We take this opportunity to commend the position of the Western countries that have decided to impose sanctions against the apartheid régime.

In the Middle East, the continuing illegal occupation of Arab territories by Israel, made worse by the fratricidal war in Lebanon, makes the prospect of a solution to the Palestinian question seem even less imminent. The Republic of Guinea reaffirms its firm support for the Palestinian people in its struggle under the leadership of its sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to exercise its inalienable right to existence and to a national identity.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea)

As a member of the Islamic Peace Committee entrusted with seeking a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict we believe, in spite of the obstacles encountered, that the common destiny of those two brother Moslem countries will lead them to cease hostilities for the sake of fraternal coexistence.

With regard to the Cypriot question, the Republic of Guinea, as in the past, continues to support our Organization to bring about a just and negotiated solution.

Other hotbeds of tension also deserve our consideration. In Afghanistan, as in Kampuchea, we have before us a situation which continues to be of concern to the international community. The Government of the Republic of Guinea believes that the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples must be allowed to choose their own political system in complete freedom.

Also in Asia, a new glimmer of hope has emerged as to the outcome of efforts to ensure the peaceful reunification of the Korean homeland. In this respect, we reaffirm the complete support of the Republic of Guinea for the steps already taken in many forums and organizations with a view to the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the transformation of the armistice agreement into a peace agreement.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea)

In respect of the Western Sahara, the Republic of Guinea supports unreservedly the right of peoples to self-determination in the spirit of United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) and therefore believes that the time has come for the current President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to join efforts in order to find at last an honourable solution to that painful conflict.

In connection with Chad, that brother country which only wants to live in peace within its borders, we applaud and support the efforts made by the Congo to bring all parties in Chad around the same negotiating table.

The peace and security that we all need and for which all of us struggle daily can only be obtained through the establishment of a new international economic order, making trade equitable and bringing about a just distribution of benefits among States.

There can be no development of the peoples without meeting the primary needs of man through the complete economic development of nations in a climate of peace and security for all.

In the context of the New International Economic Order, we wish to encourage the North-South dialogue and to place particular emphasis on the need to promote South-South co-operation.

The persistent economic recession which is creating increasing difficulties for the poor countries requires that the international community become more aware of the situation, otherwise its efforts to safeguard peace will be doomed to failure.

We are also giving close attention to the problem of disarmament, at this time when we are witnessing the development of a new stage in the arms race. What do we see? The arms race, far from slowing down, has been increasingly extending into

(Mr. Touré, Guinea)

outer space. We believe that this question should not be discussed in a bilateral framework which places the United Nations at a secondary level. This question should be resolved in a universal framework where all the nations of the world can contribute to the preservation of mankind from a possible war of self-destruction.

Peace is one and indivisible. The United Nations must without delay assume its full role in an undertaking as delicate as that of general and complete disarmament.

Consequently, in view of the increasing enlargement of the sphere of activities of our Organization, it is essential to adapt its structures and its functioning to the demands of our day.

Thus, we must recognize that the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular cannot fully and effectively play their role unless the Member States agree to give them complete responsibility in correctly implementing the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of the Security Council.

Ignorance, disease and hunger remain ills from which almost two thirds of the population of our world suffer, and it is on that sad note that we would like to make an urgent appeal to all nations for solidarity, above all to the most advantaged nations, so that they may demonstrate greater political will through practical action, in order to put an end to these scourges and ensure the survival of mankind.

We endorse and firmly support the goal of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund, that is, the universal immunization of children by the year 1990. As we all know, children represent mankind's most valuable resource.

Mr. VO DONG GIANG (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French):

Mr. President, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would like, at

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

the very outset, to congratulate you most cordially and to wish you every success in your guidance of this historic session of the General Assembly.

Permit me to express to the Government and people of Mexico the profound sympathy and sincere condolences of the Government and people of Viet Nam for the heavy losses caused by the recent earthquake. We are convinced that with their undaunted will and with the assistance of the international community, the Mexican people will soon be able to overcome this severe trial.

Today we have an opportunity to look back at the four decades of activities of the United Nations and to identify the crucial problems which call for common efforts by the entire international community.

Forty million men, of whom 20 million were sons of the heroic Soviet people, laid down their lives for mankind's great victory, which ended the Second World War and led to the creation of the United Nations, the largest and most important of all international organizations. Since then, millions of others have sacrificed their lives to quench the flames of war kindled by imperialism throughout the world, and to wrest back independence and freedom and achieve social progress. Enormous human and material resources were needed to break the nuclear monopoly of imperialism and to establish a military and strategic equilibrium, thus enabling mankind to enjoy the longest period without a world war in this century.* These significant achievements, realized at the cost of priceless sacrifices, have served as the basis for the adoption of many useful resolutions at the United Nations. However, the struggle for a stable and lasting peace on earth, as well as the fight for independence, sovereignty and development of peoples, are far from ended. They

* Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

have even grown more intense, given the self-evident fact that the imperialist and reactionary forces will never willingly renounce their designs of domination and exploitation of the world's peoples.

Today, with the constant growth of the forces of national independence, peace and social progress, a real possibility has emerged, of which is becoming increasingly well-defined, preventing and gradually thwarting all attempts to provoke a new world war. However, given the insane calculations of the militarists and warmongers, the danger remains greater than ever of a war which would mean the wiping out of the human race. These forces remorselessly continue their arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, in a bid to destroy the strategic equilibrium. Even worse, under the deceitful label of the "strategic defence initiative", they have launched a programme for extending the arms race into outer space, thus posing a new threat to the world's peoples.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

The struggle to stop the arms race on earth, as in outer space, is an issue of immediate significance and a priority for all peoples. Any action for peace, the independence and sovereignty of nations, democracy, well-being and social justice is inseparable from the common struggle to prevent a nuclear war. Along with its other constructive peace initiatives, the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests until the end of this year is a clear gesture of goodwill and an important contribution to international peace and security.

In the past four decades Europe has gone through a long and complex process for the preservation of peace and the peaceful coexistence of the two opposing social systems, against all attempts by the imperialist forces to obliterate the socialist system that came into being following the Second World War. The fruit of this struggle was the signing in 1975 of the Helsinki Final Act, which defined the framework of peaceful coexistence. This was reaffirmed at the Madrid Conference in 1983. However, in view of the unalterable nature of imperialism, the struggle to consolidate peaceful coexistence in Europe continues and the problem of how to avert a nuclear conflagration the unavoidable consequence of which would be catastrophic for all mankind remains a burning issue.

In the past four decades, notwithstanding the absence of a world war, the peoples of Asia have never known real peace. They have faced some of the longest and bloodiest wars in history and at the present moment Asia is one of the world's crisis areas owing to the policies of certain imperialist and militarist forces which are trying to turn Asia and the Pacific into an arena of political and military confrontation. Obviously, Asia still lacks a framework for peaceful coexistence but the premises thereof are taking shape; in the course of the past four decades the peoples of the continent have recorded successive victories in the struggle for national independence and social progress. Thus, the emergence of a balance of forces favourable to peace, radically changing the face of the world,

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

irrespective of the intransigence of the imperialist and colonialist forces, has been possible. Long and complex though it may remain, the struggle for peaceful coexistence in Asia and the Pacific which is in keeping with the trend of our time, is bound to carry the day. In this regard, the Soviet Union's proposals on building mutual confidence in the Far East and on convening a body to discuss all questions relating to peace and security in Asia and the Pacific and Mongolia's initiative regarding the signing of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among States of Asia and the Pacific are seen to be truly realistic.

During the past 40 years hundreds of millions of people of the oppressed nations have risen up to throw off the colonial yoke and win back their independence and freedom. In that heady atmosphere and acting in accordance with the general trend, the United Nations adopted, 25 years ago, at its fifteenth session, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Later, many other important resolutions were adopted by the United Nations with the aim of affirming the right of all peoples to live in independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and to adopt the political system of their choice. However, many peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania are still engaged in a fierce struggle to achieve and preserve these inalienable rights.

The peoples of Central America and the Caribbean are struggling against the United States policy of aggression, which is directed especially at Cuba and Nicaragua, at maintaining colonialism in Puerto Rico and at suppressing the revolutionary movement in El Salvador and other progressive national movements. An expeditionary force was even used to invade Grenada. This policy has created tension, endangering the peace and stability of the region and prejudicing the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a negotiated solution of the situation in Central America.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

The Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) are persevering in a long, arduous, and valiant struggle against the brutal domination of colonialism and apartheid and for the exercise of their right to genuine self-determination and independence. The front-line States are still constantly coping with acts and threats of aggression by certain imperialist forces and the racist régime of South Africa in order to defend their independence, sovereignty and security and to assert their right to contribute effectively to the fulfilment of mankind's desire for the elimination of the last stronghold of colonialism in that part of the world.

The peoples of the Middle East are still engaged in a continuing fight against the Israeli Zionists and their masters, who are intensifying their policy of aggression against the Palestinian people and their attempts to undermine the latter's unity ~~deny~~ the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Only a few days ago, in the course of this session of the General Assembly, a bombing raid was carried out by the Israeli Zionists against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters near Tunis and, almost simultaneously, an armed attack was launched against Angola by the South African racists. Both criminal acts stem from the same policy of State terrorism, which Viet Nam vehemently condemns.

In Asia and the Pacific, the right to self-determination of small Territories such as Micronesia, and New Caledonia, has yet to be implemented.

In the face of the attempt to create two Korean States and the continued presence of United States troops in South Korea, the Korean people are forced to continue their struggle to achieve the peaceful and sovereign reunification of their country.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

Despite their tremendous achievements in rehabilitating and developing their country, for some years to come the Kampuchean people will have to exert every effort to eliminate for ever the danger of a repetition of the genocide fostered by Peking.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is still confronting an undeclared war carried out by the agents of the forces of imperialism and big-nation hegemonism.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

As a people which has undergone 30 years of war against foreign aggression, and which for several years has been the target of a multi-faceted war of sabotage on the part of its northern neighbour, Viet Nam reserves its steadfast sympathy and vigorous support for the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Colonialism has been brought down. But the exploitation, oppression and domination of peoples are growing even worse under various forms of neo-colonialism. The struggle of the developing countries on the economic front is at this time a burning issue. Many resolutions adopted by the United Nations remain a dead letter while the national economies of the developing countries, burdened with enormous difficulties and colossal foreign debts, continue to deteriorate. Such a situation only further emphasizes the urgency of the struggle for a new international economic order.

The Non-Aligned Movement evinces the determination and vitality of the peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism and other reactionary forces, for peace, independence and development. The resolutions adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, particularly those adopted at the sixth and seventh summits and at the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Luanda, meet the requirements of the situation and are in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reiterates its endorsement of these resolutions and believes that they will receive the approval and support of the United Nations.

At a time when the international community is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is commemorating its fortieth anniversary as well. Due to stonewalling by forces bent on turning back the clock, the first worker-peasant State in South-East Asia had to wait 32 years before it could become a Member of this Organization.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

However, during the past four decades, in their struggle for peace, independence, national reunification and socialism, the Vietnamese people, at the cost of their blood, and strengthened by the close solidarity of the international community and especially of the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples, have foiled the greatest attempts made by the forces of colonialism, imperialism and international reaction to realize their schemes. Thus the Vietnamese people have powerfully contributed to building up the pressure of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism throughout the world.

For the past six years, by making constant efforts and setting forth constructive peace initiatives which conform to the legitimate interests of the parties concerned, the three peoples of Indo-China have significantly contributed to thwarting the policy of confrontation and tension pursued by imperialist and reactionary forces. Consequently, a real possibility now exists for working out a framework for peaceful coexistence among States in South-East Asia, and between them and countries outside the region, and for building a South-East Asia of peace, stability and co-operation.

Should an early political solution be reached, which would guarantee the security and sovereignty of all States and peoples in the region, including Kampuchea, the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces will be completed before the 1990 deadline, unilaterally decided upon by the Governments of Viet Nam and Kampuchea. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, moreover, has declared its readiness to enter talks with the various groups and individuals in the opposition aimed at discussing the bringing about of national reconciliation based on the elimination of the Pol Pot clique, as well as the organization of general elections after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

We should add that the proposal advanced by Malaysia on talks was considered by the recent Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of three Indo-Chinese countries to be an initiative worthy of being taken into consideration. Thus the conditions for a political solution to the problems in South-East Asia and in Kampuchea are steadily developing. In this endeavour to build a peaceful and secure South-East Asia, Viet Nam's national interests and those of the international community coincide. Viet Nam has done and will do its utmost to contribute to the success of this noble cause. At the same time, we welcome all joint efforts on the part of the countries concerned, as well as initiatives to this end wherever they may come from. We are pleased to note that the recent talks between Viet Nam, representing the three countries of Indo-China, and Indonesia, representing the ASEAN countries, have yielded positive results, notwithstanding certain differences. These talks have paved the way for a process of substantive dialogue on an equal footing, in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual concern for each other's legitimate interests, and on a basis of equality, with neither side imposing its views on the other and without interference from Powers external to the region, with a view to reaching an equitable solution to the questions of South-East Asia. We wish to thank friendly countries for their encouragement of a dialogue undertaken in this spirit. At the same time, we deplore the fact that a great Power persists in impeding this policy of dialogue, even though this policy is already proving to be a failure.

We most particularly appreciate the positive contribution of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the search for a political solution in the interests of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. We are equally appreciative of the valuable and effective economic and technical assistance given by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to our work of national construction.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

On the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the Vietnamese delegation warmly salutes the contributions of this Organization to international peace and security and to the independence, freedom and happiness of the peoples of the world. In the future, despite numerous difficulties and complexities which remain, based on the strength of the achievements of the revolutionary movements and of the forces of peace, the United Nations will undoubtedly make an even more important contribution to the interests of the international community.

Mr. BARRE (Somalia): I wish first of all to extend to Ambassador de Piniés, on behalf of the Somali Democratic Republic and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at the fortieth session. It is certainly fitting that a diplomat with his great experience of United Nations affairs and one whose wisdom and learning are well known should guide the deliberations of this historic session.

I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to his predecessor, Ambassador Lusaka, who discharged his responsibilities as President at the thirty-ninth session.

Before I go into the substance of my statement, permit me to express, on behalf of the people and Government of Somalia, our profound sympathy to the people and Government of Mexico on the tragic loss of life and destruction of property that has been suffered as a result of the earthquake.

I feel privileged to be taking part in this session of the General Assembly, at which we are observing the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This occasion must be cause for celebration because the world body, despite its failures and shortcomings, has established itself as an indisputable element of our complex and interdependent world. Whether we wish it or not, we live in an age when the only hope for a sane and peaceful future lies in implementing those purposes and principles which were formulated with prophetic vision by the framers of the Charter. While it cannot be said that their vision has yet been translated into reality, it is certainly true that a firm foundation has been laid for international co-operation in every field of human endeavour.

In promoting the process of decolonization and the self-determination of peoples, the world Organization helped set in motion the creation of a community of sovereign States with universality as its goal. While this essential task is not fully completed, the far-reaching achievements of the United Nations in this area

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

have strongly affirmed human dignity and the aspirations of millions of people throughout the world who have recovered their freedom and now enjoy the right to national identity and statehood.

It is also a towering accomplishment that the world Organization's global overview of political, economic, social, technological and scientific problems is being used each day in practical and effective ways for the benefit not only of small or underdeveloped States but of mankind as a whole. When we consider the wide range of United Nations concerns - a range which includes improving the status of women, halting refugee flows and establishing a law of the sea - it must be acknowledged that the existence and the work of our Organization represent a significant and historic development in human affairs.

If the United Nations often seems ineffective in resolving conflicts or bringing about just solutions to international problems, the fault lies in the failure of States to subordinate narrowly conceived national interests to the demands of world peace and security. The fault is not in the structure of the Organization. Regrettably, our celebration of the Organizations's achievements must be accompanied by a realistic assessment of the world scene - a scene where the principle of collective security receives little attention; where colonial, imperialist and foreign domination are all too apparent; where the persistent denial of the right to self-determination ensures endemic tension and conflict; and where the violation of human rights takes a tragic toll in human misery. The world situation certainly holds out a challenge to all States to bring a renewed sense of responsibility to the discharge of their obligations as members of the world community of nations.

A particularly heavy responsibility for world peace and security lies with the nuclear Powers. The hopes and aspirations of all the people of our planet are

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

overshadowed by their dangerous global rivalry and by the steadily increasing capacity of their nuclear weapons for global disaster.

My Government joins in the universal call to the super-Powers to seize every opportunity to strengthen peaceful coexistence and to reach agreement on the mutual reduction of nuclear stockpiles and on ending the development, testing and deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The world community rightly calls for investment in the quantifiable benefits of development rather than in death-dealing weapons which cannot bring security to anyone.

A challenge of another order is presented to all Member States by the grave situation in South Africa. Over the years the United Nations has rightly kept before the conscience of the world the fact that apartheid is a crime against humanity. It has called on Member States to take action to end a system which is not only morally evil but also a serious threat to regional and international peace and security.

Today we are seeing the inevitable and dangerous confrontation between the black majority - whose frustration and just anger can no longer be contained - and the militarily powerful racist minority, desperate to preserve its unjust privileges.

The time has surely come for all States to respond to the voices of conscience that are being raised in every corner of the world and to co-operate in implementing the measures long promoted by the General Assembly for the establishment of a just society in South Africa. In the view of my Government, it is imperative, in this new and critical phase of the struggle inside and outside South Africa, that the cause of liberation be supported by intensified international pressure directed against the ruling white minority.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

We know from experience the duplicity of the Pretoria régime and the emptiness of its promises of reform. The salient facts today are that black leaders such as Nelson Mandela remain imprisoned, children and adults alike are daily victims of the murderous suppression of legitimate protest, and the régime has clearly indicated that it will not negotiate with the leaders of all groups to ensure the dismantling of apartheid.

We believe that the only peaceful means of preventing the tragedy of a protracted and bloody racial conflict is the isolation of South Africa, particularly through the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions by the Security Council. We hope the Council will not shirk this grave responsibility, which involves regional and world peace and security.

The necessity for imposing economic sanctions on South Africa is heightened by its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council. We welcome the Council's condemnation of the latest attempt to impose a puppet government on the people of Namibia and of the repeated acts of military aggression directed by South Africa against the people and sovereign territories of Angola and Botswana. However, South Africa's murderous terrorism and its gross violations of international law call for stronger action. Effective measures are needed to bring about for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the only legal basis for Namibia's independence. We hope that the political will can be found to end a situation which seriously undermines the credibility of the United Nations.

The strong commitment of African countries to the struggle against apartheid and for Namibian independence demands that we give high priority also to measures to counteract South Africa's attempts to destabilize and undermine the economies of front-line and other African States. We call for the close co-operation of the international community in initiatives in this area.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

Unfortunately, southern Africa is not the only part of the continent threatened by outdated colonial policies and policies of military aggression. My Government is obliged to call the attention of the international community to the continued threat to peace and deterioration in stability in the Horn of Africa as a result of the acts of military aggression repeatedly launched by Ethiopia against the Somali Democratic Republic. These unprovoked attacks take the form of terrorist bombardments of villages and border settlements, large-scale incursions across our borders and military occupation of our territory.

The latest aggression of this kind took place only three weeks ago, when civilian centres in north-west and central Somalia were attacked by Ethiopian artillery and aircraft. This typically brutal and wanton assault caused numerous deaths and injuries and the destruction of the homes of innocent villagers.

My Government calls for the strongest condemnation from the international community of Ethiopia's persistent violations of international law.

Peace and stability in the Horn of Africa and in the strategically important Indian Ocean area are essential not only for the progress and welfare of the people of the region but also for world peace and security. However, as long as Ethiopia, the empire State of the region, continues to deny the right to self-determination to its colonized peoples in Western Somalia, Eritrea and Tigre, tension and conflict will remain endemic in the area. The presence in the Horn of Africa of a super-Power and its surrogate forces, which were called in to suppress legitimate liberation struggles, also raises the level of conflict and further destabilizes the region by drawing it into the arena of cold-war rivalry.

Unparalleled suffering has been visited on large sections of the population in the Horn of Africa, not only through drought and famine but also through the fear and terror generated by political repression carried out by Ethiopia through

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forced population transfers and the effects of the inevitable military confrontations between national aspirations and colonial domination.

These factors have all contributed to the massive and continuing flow of refugees into neighbouring countries. In Somalia this flow has resulted in the largest political refugee population in Africa. For the past seven years the refugee presence has placed a crippling burden on my country's already fragile economy and constituted a heavy charge on the generosity of the international community. A permanent solution to the catastrophic refugee problem in the Horn of Africa depends to a large extent on the establishment of conditions which would encourage the refugees to return home without fear of political repression. Regrettably, a solution of this kind is still not in sight.

A just and lasting solution of this long-standing problem can be achieved only if it takes into account the legitimate aspirations and inalienable rights of the oppressed and colonized peoples of the Horn of Africa. Unfortunately, our efforts have not met with success. Somalia is prepared to respond to the challenge of peace. We hope that Ethiopia, too, can be persuaded to choose that path.

The Middle East question must still, unfortunately, be numbered among those which have remained unresolved in spite of 40 years of United Nations involvement and concern. Israel persists in its forceful occupation of Arab territory and its denial of the right of the Palestinian people to justice and self-determination, in total disregard of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law. An international consensus of long standing has established that the denial of Palestinian rights is at the heart of the Middle East conflict. The world community has witnessed with grave concern the escalation of violence in Lebanon, carried out with contempt for the accepted norms of international behaviour and with savage ferocity, which has brought widespread death and destruction to Lebanese population centres. The recent attack by Israeli aircraft

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against civilian targets in Tunis and the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization is again typical of the arrogance which characterizes Israeli policies. We wish to state in this forum that Somalia condemns such actions.

States which sow a harvest of injustice, aggression and contempt for the rights of others cannot expect to reap peace and tranquillity. My Government is of the firm belief that there can be no peace in the Middle East without Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and without the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and the establishment of a State of their own. These realities of the Middle East situation must continue to be driven home in this Assembly and in the Security Council so that there may be a concerted international effort to bring about a just and comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

My Government shares the concern of many States that world tension and instability continue to be heightened by a number of political problems, which are becoming unwelcome fixtures on the agenda of the General Assembly.

In this context, my Government once again joins in the universal call for an end to the tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran, a conflict which serves no cause and can benefit neither country.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

We also view with serious concern the continued foreign occupation of Afghanistan and the military operations directed with cruel force against the courageous Afghan people. We highly commend the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a political settlement, including the return home of the Afghan refugees in safety and with honour, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country, and restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status.

In the case of Kampuchea, where the long-suffering people have lost their freedom and have been denied the right to determine their own future, we hope that regional and international efforts will bring about conditions of liberty, justice and peace in Kampuchea and in the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

One of my Government's deepest concerns is of course the critical economic situation in Africa. This situation is certainly grave enough to give rise to the call for a special session of the General Assembly which would consider how the world community might best help the continent overcome its crippling economic, social and ecological problems. The lives of millions of African people and the hopes of millions of others for a tolerable existence in the future are clearly threatened by the combination of natural and man-made disasters which affect a great many African countries. In my own country, the problems of cyclical drought, desertification and a catastrophic refugee influx have been superimposed on the weak economy and fragile infrastructure of underdevelopment. Those problems would have been crippling enough without the additional constraints imposed by adverse terms of trade and intolerable debt burdens caused by high interest rates.

African States are fully committed to the Lagos Plan of Action, which calls on them to take primary responsibility for their development and to make the fullest use of regional co-operation in the solution of common problems. However, without a new and concerted resolve on the part of the international community to mobilize substantial medium-term and long-term, as well as emergency, assistance, our

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

countries will continue to be like swimmers against the tide who cannot go forward in spite of exerting their strongest efforts.

My Government hopes that the necessary international assistance will be forthcoming and that it will be focused on the areas of high priority identified this year by the twenty-first session of the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Improving Africa's food situation, rehabilitating agricultural development across the continent and alleviating Africa's external debt burden are critical areas for immediate attention. It is also clear that support is needed at the same time for efforts to improve transport and communications.

We believe that particular note needs to be taken of the extent to which the African economic crisis is an offshoot of the wider problem of an unbalanced and inequitable world economic system. Unfortunately, the countries of the North have yet to show that they share the developing world's vision of a new and more just economic order to the mutual benefit of both developed and developing countries. We regret that the struggle being waged in international organizations for better terms of trade, effective commodity agreements, reduced protectionism, debt relief and increased development assistance has been for the most part unsuccessful. The trend away from multilateralism and international co-operation in both the economic and political spheres is a disappointing setback to hopes for a world order based on justice, progress and peace.

It can perhaps be hoped that the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will encourage us to take a new and appreciative look at the experience of the past four decades and resolve to build with greater dedication and vigour on the foundations of international co-operation that have been so firmly laid.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

In this connection, I wish to pay a tribute to the dedicated work and effective diplomacy of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar in the search for solutions to the many complex problems of our times.

We must all pay the closest attention to the sober and constructive assessment of the world situation given in the Secretary-General's report to this Assembly. None of us can ignore the opening words of the report which point out that, while we face a world of almost infinite promise, it is also a world of potentially terminal danger. We need the opportunities provided by the United Nations to steer a course by which we can realize the hopes and aspirations enshrined in the Charter.

Mr. SUBBA (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to you, Sir, and to the representatives present here the greetings of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and also his best wishes for the success of the current session of the General Assembly.

I wish to extend to you, Sir, the warm and sincere felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. We are very happy to see a man of your eminence and skill guiding the work of this important session. My delegation feels confident that under your wise leadership the deliberations of this session, which coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, will be memorable.

My delegation also wishes to place on record its deep appreciation to Mr. Paul Lusaka, who guided the previous session of the General Assembly with great dedication and distinction.

It is with great pleasure that I pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his efforts and objectivity in promoting the cause of peace, concord and co-operation in these challenging and fast-changing times.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

May I also take this opportunity to express the profound sympathy and sincere condolences of His Majesty's Government and the people of Nepal to the friendly Government and people of Mexico over the heavy losses caused by the recent earthquakes.

As 1985 marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, this session offers us a timely opportunity to take stock of the United Nations achievements and also to reflect over its less than satisfactory record in a number of vital areas of international relations.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

With its near universality of membership, the United Nations General Assembly has become the parliament of nations where the full and rich social, cultural and political panoply of the world is reflected. In this imperfect world where justice is often frustrated, a just cause can always find a voice in the United Nations, as is effectively underlined in the joyous celebration this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

It has been estimated that since the birth of the United Nations in 1945, there have been over 150 local and regional conflicts. Such conflicts have wrought consequences of truly tragic proportions, in terms both of loss of human life and material damage. In the same time-span, however, mediation efforts and peacekeeping operations initiated by the United Nations have been instrumental in resolving, or containing, many international disputes in a number of sensitive areas of the world. A study done a few years ago in fact listed more than 100 instances where the world body was successful in preventing a war or halting a potential conflict. While the United Nations thus has every reason to be proud of its record of peacekeeping operations, its main strength, as the Secretary-General has so rightly pointed out, lies in the will of the international community which it symbolizes. Clearly, without the co-operation of the parties concerned and the necessary political will of the entire membership, peacekeeping operations cannot really get off the ground.

The United Nations and its family of specialized agencies and affiliated bodies have achieved considerable success in a number of sectors, in particular those in the socio-economic and decolonization realms. Indeed, in the economic, social and humanitarian fields the achievements of the operational agencies of the United Nations have been particularly impressive. They have made valuable contributions towards the economic and social development of developing countries.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

International conferences, programmes and declarations on basic issues, such as new and renewable sources of energy, science and technology, population, environment and the role of women in peace and development, have awakened global consciousness on those key issues. These quiet achievements of the United Nations, which are but rarely highlighted, have indeed greatly contributed to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter at the basic level of human endeavour. Its achievements in encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification have been substantial, and include authoritative definitions of fundamental human rights and freedom.

These are just a few of the important achievements of the United Nations in the last 40 years. Unfortunately these successes have been overshadowed by the lack of progress in three fundamental issues of our times. I refer, first, to the inability to evolve an effective system for the maintenance of international peace and security; secondly, to the failure to curb the escalating arms race; and thirdly, to the continued deadlock in the efforts to establish a just international economic order.

The United Nations was established to save mankind from the scourge of war. The Organization arose out of the catastrophic destruction and upheaval of the Second World War. The traumas of war instilled an over-confidence in the capacity of the Organization to build a safe and durable world order. The vision then was to evolve a system for the maintenance of international peace and security based largely on an institution guaranteeing the peaceful settlement of disputes, the main source of insecurity among nations. Such a model régime of international law would institutionalize faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, thereby promoting social progress and better standards of life for all in larger freedom.

The United Nations is an association of States which have decided, in free

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

exercise of their sovereign will, to abide by and uphold the principles and purposes incorporated in the Charter. Co-operation between Member States, and especially between the permanent members of the Security Council who have been assigned special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is the sine qua non for the success of the Organization. There are therefore obvious reasons why the development of a truly effective international order has been extremely difficult and so painfully slow to attain. At one end of the scale we have the great Powers, with their intricate and complex relationship, which are to a large extent prisoners of their mutual fears and suspicions. At the other, we have the majority of nations and peoples, afflicted by varying degrees of instability, economic weaknesses and social backwardness. While the dynamics of time has generated in these peoples aspirations for a better life, economic constraints, the inequities of the international economic order or their own infrastructural problems bind them to an economic system that is not conducive to the attainment of their aroused aspirations.*

The Charter has assigned primary responsibility to the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 99 of the Charter has entrusted to the Secretary-General the responsibility of bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. It is a tribute to the statesmanlike qualities of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations that they have on a number of occasions invoked Article 99 in carrying out their heavy responsibilities. Unfortunately, however, in practice the Council swings into action only when the crisis is imminent or has already occurred. In the last 40 years, the actions of the Council have largely been in the nature of reaction rather than prevention. Very often the

* Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

permanent members of the Council differ in their perception of threats. Even when there is an apparent consensus on the issue before it, extraneous matters all too often block consensus. Resolutions of the Council are side-stepped with impunity and often debates concentrate on the mechanical trading of accusations and counter-accusations. An enduring commitment to the Charter provision that a threat to international peace and security from whatever source and in whatever region must override ideological or other considerations is necessary if the Council is to function in the manner envisaged by the United Nations founding fathers. In other words, the efforts of the United Nations are likely to prove abortive unless Member States themselves evolve working elements of a global civilization and order. This will, of course, require a corresponding growth in mutual trust and respect among nations.

No visible progress was made during the past year in resolving some of the major issues that threaten the fragile structure of international peace and security. A "no war, no peace" situation continues to plague the Middle East. Nepal remains convinced that a just and lasting solution of the problem cannot be achieved unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is recognized in conjunction with the rights of all States in the region, including Israel's, to live in peace within secure and defined boundaries, free from threats or acts of force. Such a reciprocal step would presuppose withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied since 1967. Nepal stands ready to extend its support to any measure designed to lessen tension in the region and to facilitate a just and comprehensive solution to the festering problem of the Middle East.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

The tragic events in Lebanon are another source of serious concern. Nepal has been participating in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and pledges its support to any move to restore legitimate Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon and to honour its territorial integrity. However, unfortunate incidents involving UNIFIL personnel are jeopardizing the very concept and success of the United Nations peace-keeping operations there. Nepal appeals to all parties concerned to co-operate with UNIFIL in carrying out the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council.

The situation in Afghanistan is still at a stand-still in spite of the repeated demand of the overwhelming majority of Member States for a withdrawal of foreign forces and their appeal to respect the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. In this context, my delegation wishes to reiterate its full support for the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to find a political settlement of the Afghan problem.

There has been no progress either in securing withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, a condition which must be fulfilled to enable the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny. Nepal supports the recent initiatives of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to find a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the Kampuchean question.

The tragic war between Iran and Iraq has caused massive casualties in human lives and enormous material damage. We reiterate our appeal to both Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities and to seek a negotiated settlement of their dispute.

The policy of apartheid of the minority racist régime of South Africa constitutes a negation of all norms of human decency as evidenced in Pretoria's latest orgy of violence and repression against black South Africans including women and children. Its blatant aggression against and attempts at destabilizing

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

neighbouring African countries deserve the strongest international censure. South Africa has persisted with the occupation of Namibia in total stubborn defiance of international public opinion and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Recent South African manoeuvres, including those aimed at perpetuating its illegal presence in Namibia, have made it amply clear that only effective steps under Chapter VII of the Charter can force the racist régime to comply with the will of the international community.

My delegation reiterates its strong support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus. We also support the efforts being exerted by the Secretary-General to find a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem.

The situation in Central America continues to be tense, with the already heated atmosphere charged with violence, fear or threat of destabilization by outside forces. Nepal reiterates its support for Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and endorses the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful settlement of the problem of safeguarding the sovereignty, independence and dignity of all nations in that region.

We reiterate our conviction that the aspiration of the Korean people for national reunification must be fulfilled peacefully without outside interference.

The item on measures to prevent terrorism was inscribed on the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the initiative of the then Secretary-General. The Assembly set up an Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism and the subject was discussed at subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. Terrorism has of late taken a particularly vicious form. It destroys innocent lives, causes great damage and traumas, leaves scars of deep distrust and uncertainty creating an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. This has inexorably led to a sequence of events culminating in great human tragedies. As this scourge of

(Mr. Subba, Nepal) :

contemporary life contemptuously tramples underfoot fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person, my delegation urges the Assembly to take urgent measures to mobilize international co-operation effectively to prevent and combat terrorism.

The Charter of the United Nations has set out the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples as one of its fundamental objectives. However, far from making any progress towards that lofty goal, it is presently faced with the challenge of a critical economic situation. The prolonged economic difficulties facing developing countries have seriously jeopardized the pace of their development for years to come. The sombre economic situation in Africa will be merely a symptom of the impending global catastrophe if present trends are allowed to continue unchecked. The adverse forces at work in the world economy call for strong, sustained and co-ordinated action by the international community to overcome the structural causes of the present difficulties. The continued deadlock in the North-South dialogue has reinforced the imperative need for the political will to accept the full implications of the growing interdependence in the world economy and to take bold and imaginative steps to reverse the present trend. It is a matter of high urgency, because widespread poverty and destitution contain the seeds of a threat to international peace and security.

The United Nations has played a crucial role in the evolution of the concept of international co-operation for development and in the development of multilateral co-operation. The operational activities of the United Nations system have made valuable contributions towards the socio-economic development of developing countries. In recent years, unfortunately, there has been a steady erosion in multilateralism. States have been unwilling to develop a global strategy to combat the effects of the present economic malaise. The United Nations has the capacity to support global intergovernmental consultations and negotiations

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

and there is broad scope for further extending its operational activities if Member States are prepared to use it with determination to find solutions to the problems in the international economic order.

The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries represents a firm commitment of the international community to help the least developed countries develop their infrastructure and to launch development programmes on a sustained basis. However, the international effort to implement the Programme in the first half of the 1980s has been disappointing, to put it mildly. We once again appeal to the international community to live up to its pledge to fulfil the objectives set out in the Programme. Moreover, as a country facing additional handicaps in our developmental efforts due to our landlocked character, we also appeal for effective implementation of the special measures adopted by the United Nations in favour of landlocked developing countries.

Nepal believes that increased co-operation among developing countries is an essential ingredient of international co-operation and development. The prolonged crisis in the international economic order has had a serious impact on the efforts of the countries of the South Asian Region to accelerate the pace of their development. The present trend threatens us with the prospect of a rapid increase in the number of people living in absolute poverty. The complexity and scope of the problems facing South Asia have led us to envisage and gradually implement a programme of South Asian regional co-operation. The progress achieved thus far has made us optimistic about the viability of regional co-operation not only as an exercise in the direction of collective self-reliance but also as a means of meaningfully promoting mutual understanding, friendship and goodwill among the seven participating countries of South Asia.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

The ever-escalating arms race, especially the competition in nuclear weapons, has become one of the most disquieting challenges to the human race today. The resources consumed by the competition in accumulating weapons of destruction, whose potential for death and destruction is virtually limitless, stand out in stark contrast to the pressing socio-economic problems facing the nations of the world. Nepal welcomed the resumption earlier this year of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on nuclear arms control. Like other Members of this Organization, we look forward to an early and meaningful breakthrough in those negotiations.

The past few years have been particularly frustrating for disarmament efforts. Contrary to early expectations, a comprehensive nuclear test ban has yet to become a reality. In fact, the failure of the nuclear-weapon States to provide any concrete example of a serious effort to ease the nuclear arms race is gradually eroding the efficacy of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. There does not seem to be much hope for an early and concrete outcome of the negotiations on prohibiting chemical weapons. Contrary to all efforts, disarmament in conventional forces and weapons is a distant objective. On top of all these, we are now confronted with the threat of the arms race spreading into outer space.

There are issues which transcend narrow national interests for they are tied to the question of the very survival of the human race. While we welcome the United States-Soviet negotiations, we feel that it is imperative to utilize the maximum potential of both bilateral and multilateral negotiations in the context of arms control and disarmament. The Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament offers a multilateral forum for serious dialogue and negotiations. It will indeed be unfortunate if this United Nations forum is not utilized except for public presentation of rigid positions and vocalization of tired rhetoric.

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

Nepal shares the fervent hope that the year 1985 - the year of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations - will mark an era where goodwill replaces antagonism and distrust in international relations. In that hope, we welcome the proposed summit meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union in November this year. Such meetings are of fundamental importance and are beneficial to the cause of peace, in view of the great responsibility these countries bear for the maintenance of international peace and security. When relations between these Powers develop on the basis of mutual accommodation and co-operation, they exert a favourable influence on the overall international situation.

I have outlined some of the preoccupations and perceptions of Nepal on issues facing the international community today. Our commitment to the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and our high regard for international justice and human values have led us to base our policy of non-alignment on the purposes of the United Nations. We look upon the United Nations as the guardian of the freedom, integrity and sovereignty of small nations. It is the only universal organization committed to the maintenance of international peace and promotion of international co-operation for the betterment of the entire human race. The harmony between our national policy, perception and vision and the values upheld by this Organization have led us to incorporate the principles underlying the Charter in our Constitution as guiding beacons of our state policy.

Our faith in the United Nations and everything that it stands for flows from our national perception of the indivisibility of peace and development. As a least developed country, socio-economic development is naturally our highest priority. We are however fully aware that we can concentrate on tackling the developmental

(Mr. Subba, Nepal)

challenges facing us only in an atmosphere of undisturbed peace. Our preoccupation with peace also reflects our earnest desire and continuous efforts to maintain the best relations with all countries of the world. While working for the progress and prosperity of our country, we wish for the stability, progress and prosperity of all friendly countries. Our national values, tradition and perception of international events have led His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev to propose that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. I take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all friendly countries that have so far extended support to our proposal.

I warmly welcome the decision of thirteen South Pacific nations to declare the South Pacific as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

To conclude, Nepal will continue to support unreservedly the efforts to strengthen the United Nations and work together with all peace-loving nations to enhance the sphere of its activities and the degree of its effectiveness. A stronger organization does not justify apprehensions in any quarter, for it is through this world body today that small States can ensure their security and respect for their independence and territorial integrity, as well as promote their economic and social progress. It is also in this Organization that the true and long-term interests of the great Powers lie. Such a commitment alone will make the United Nations what mankind intended it to be: an effective instrument for securing peace and progress, and not merely a spectator of hopeful signs of easing of tensions, brought about by bilateral initiatives and agreements. Nepal hopes that this fortieth session of the Assembly will be the session of transition from antagonism to world co-operation and will herald the dawn of a new era of positive human endeavour.

Prince Mohamed BOLKIAH (Brunei Darussalam): Mr. President, I should like on behalf of the delegation of Brunei Darussalam to express my warmest congratulations to Mr. Jaime de Pinies on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. With his vast experience in the activities of the United Nations and his undoubted diplomatic skill, I am confident that he will ably manage the proceedings and affairs of this Assembly.

At this point, allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the outgoing President, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, for the competent and able manner in which he presided over the work of the last session.

On this occasion of commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I wish to reaffirm the commitment of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations and the principles of its Charter. The United Nations and its Charter have stood the test of time. There are many who have criticized the United Nations as being ineffective. Some have even suggested that its days are numbered, and some others say that it has become irrelevant. We agree that it has not always been effective, but what international body of the size of the United Nations is really effective? And who is ultimately responsible for making this body effective? True, the United Nations record in the performance of its primary function to maintain international peace and security has been deficient. But can we really blame the United Nations for this?

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

We do not belong to the rank of the pessimists. We do not judge the United Nations as a failure. We like to look at its records of successes; its peace-keeping efforts in Cyprus, the Congo and elsewhere is a pride and a light of hope to many of us. The United Nations has also done well in other areas: in humanitarian efforts helping the refugees, in the eradication of smallpox, its work in child welfare and many others. Surely these stand out as success stories.

The ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the performance of its primary function can be attributed to the lack of political will of its Member States to act positively in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations. It is this positive attitude which the Members must adopt. The United Nations can do no more than what the Members are prepared to do. Therefore we, the Members, must recognize that it is our solemn duty to deliver what we all promised when we joined this august body.

Even though its performance does not meet the highest expectations of many, yet due largely to its existence the world has not been struck by another disastrous global war. It is still a relatively safe world. It is true, the situation in the world today is far from perfect. But has it ever been perfect? There have always been conflicts and there will always be conflicts, so long as people do not respect the legitimate rights of others. The United Nations provides in its Charter principles for the development of friendly relations among nations based on the sovereign equality of States. If leaders of this world are fully committed to those principles, we can be spared from the misery and sufferings that are brought about by regional conflicts which most unfortunately still persist: the Iran-Iraq war, the problems in Lebanon, foreign intervention in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Despite all these we recognize that the United Nations has done a good deal of work in easing international tension. Is this not the aim of the United

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

Nations Charter? The preservation of world peace is the common responsibility of all nations, big and small alike. It requires them to refrain from the threat or use of force. It requires a commitment that States resort solely to peaceful means in the settlement of disputes. This is our responsibility as Members of the United Nations and as leaders of our respective countries.

In a world where peace is precarious, it has been shown that our destiny is interdependent. What happens in one corner of the world will affect everyone. It is therefore vital that on this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, all Members reaffirm their commitments to the United Nations and its Charter principles and ensure that the United Nations must work for what it is created for: to save humanity from the scourge of war, ensure freedom and justice and above all to ensure that the United Nations will continue to be relevant when we reach the twenty-first century.

It is sad for me to say that continued conflicts are still present in several parts of the globe. In South-East Asia, the problem in Kampuchea remains unresolved. Vietnamese forces continue to occupy Kampuchea and Viet Nam continues to show no flexibility. Despite all these, Viet Nam repeatedly claims that it sincerely desires to live in peace with its neighbours. But it appears that its words are different from its deeds. Indeed, if Viet Nam is genuinely serious, then it should act in accordance with the spirit and the principles of this body. It should immediately take steps to implement the various United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea.

Many who have spoken before me said that the creators of the United Nations have created a set of goals and ideals far too high for it to be achieved. But the men and women who set up this Organization 40 years ago this month are among the great statesmen of the century. They have set the goals knowing full well that the

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

world's nations probably would fall short of those high ideals. They must also have known and realized that the setting of the high goals is a necessary pre-condition in order that their pursuit and attainment is worthwhile. It remains a challenge to us all. The Charter speaks of freedom and sovereign equality. It speaks of fundamental human rights and it also speaks of tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

Speaking of freedom, we know that this is where we fall far short of our objectives. We need to put pressure on those who refuse to respect this fundamental aspect of the principles of the Charter. Speaking of freedom and equality, we immediately focus our attention on South Africa. The aspirations of the majority for freedom, equality and democracy cannot be suppressed. The racist South African régime must realize that the whole international community is against it. South Africa must see, and be made to see, that it cannot suppress those legitimate aspirations by force for ever. The international community condemns the practice of apartheid. Change is inevitable. Apartheid has no place in the world anymore. It has to go.

Talking of freedom and democracy also brings our attention to the struggle for independence of the Namibian people. We have always supported the people of Namibia in their struggle for liberation. The occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces which enters its sixth year is also a matter which is always attracting attention. Brunei Darussalam always believes in the principle that foreign intervention of a sovereign country cannot be condoned. Nor can we tolerate foreign aggression. We support the call of the international community for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. The war has caused untold misery and suffering to the people of Afghanistan. Millions of them have been forced to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries. This in turn causes immense problems for the countries concerned.

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

Closely associated with the problem in Afghanistan, is the repeated incursions of foreign forces into Pakistani territory. Those violations are in direct contravention of the very principles we all value and cherish, the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations. Brunei Darussalam therefore joins other nations in calling for an immediate halt to those incursions.

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

I should fail in my duty today if I did not mention the question of the Palestinians. We have always supported the principle of the inalienable right of a people to have a home. We therefore continue to lend our support to the call for recognition of the Palestinians' right to establish their own independent and sovereign State in their own territory. The Palestinians problem, we believe, can be solved only by the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem.

In spite of all these gloomy situations, there are some encouraging signs in other parts of the globe. Brunei Darussalam welcomes the recent developments and the many contacts between North and South Korea. We believe that the direct contacts could lead to a reduction of tension in the peninsular and hence contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. The people of North and South Korea must be allowed to resolve their own problems in their own way. In keeping with the principle of universality, they could, if they so desired, become Members of the United Nations, without prejudice to reunification.

The world is also beset by problems of a non-political nature. Drug abuse and illicit trafficking is one such problem; indeed, it has become a global problem. The security implications are serious. It causes suffering to individuals, particularly the young. It weakens the social fabric of nations. It represents direct and indirect economic costs to Governments. It entails criminal activities which could threaten the stability of States. It is now becoming more urgent for concerted international action to combat the threat that drug abuse and illicit trafficking pose to the international community. We welcome the proposal of the Secretary-General before the plenary meeting of the Economic and Social Council that a world conference on narcotic drugs be convened at ministerial level in 1987.

(Prince Mohamed Bolkiah,
Brunei Darussalam)

Such a conference would provide the added impetus and necessary political mandate for accelerated action in combating the international drug problem.

I cannot end this statement without mentioning the greatest peril facing the world today, that of the threat to the survival of mankind from nuclear war. The escalation of the nuclear arms race, both in amount and in type, has heightened the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war. It has led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations. As a small nation mindful of our responsibility and conscious of our vulnerability, we welcome the continuation of bilateral negotiations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We are concerned over the outcome of the negotiations and we hope that those negotiations will produce concrete and effective agreements to prevent an escalation of the arms race and the beginning of an arms race in outer space.

I wish to conclude by reaffirming that Brunei Darussalam will always support this Organization. The United Nations is the forum in which all States, big and small, can make their contribution to fostering peace, security and well-being in the world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes for the first statement and five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their places.

Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): This morning the Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to our surprise, referred in a polemical context to, as he said, "revanchist forces" in my country.

(Mr. Lautenschlager, Federal
Republic of Germany)

In refuting his unfounded allegations I should like to reiterate what our Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said from the rostrum of this General Assembly only last week:

"The Federal Republic of Germany will do everything in its power to help improve relations between West and East. The treaties concluded during the 1970s by the Federal Republic of Germany with its neighbours continue to be a solid basis for such improvement. The starting point was the 1970 Treaty of Moscow, which put relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union on a new footing. Through the Treaty of Moscow and the treaties with the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as well as the Treaty on the Basis of Relations with the German Democratic Republic, we opened up, out of national and historical responsibility for peace, new long-term prospects for relations between West and East. We stand by these treaties. Our contractual policy is not inconsistent with the political aim of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination. That is the wording of the 'Letter on German Unity' handed over by the Federal Government to the Soviet side on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Moscow." (A/40/PV.10, pp. 22, 23)

On the same question, Foreign Minister Genscher, in last year's statement before the General Assembly, pointed out:

"The Federal Republic of Germany respects the territorial integrity of all States within their present boundaries. It proceeds from the existing situation in Europe. It makes no territorial claims on anyone and will not do so in the future either. The Federal Republic of Germany considers the borders of all States to be inviolable and will continue to do so."

(A/39/PV.8, p. 19-20)

(Mr. Lautenschlager, Federal
Republic of Germany)

May I add that Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has on various occasions taken exactly the same position, which is the official position of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is, as distinct from the language of the Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the position and language of dialogue, co-operation and the building of confidence and peace.

Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): In his statement during this afternoon's meeting the Foreign Minister of Somalia said many things that were not exactly complimentary to Ethiopia and its people. What he said today has been said by the same gentleman, from this same rostrum, year in and year out, for perhaps the last decade. As a result, we were far from surprised by what he had to say.

Naturally, we had hoped that the régime in Somalia would once and for all give up its bankrupt policy of seeking territorial expansion at the expense of its neighbours and allow the brother peoples of the Horn of Africa to live together in peace and harmony. Having listened to the statement of the Somali Minister this afternoon, we are certainly disappointed.

(Mr. Dinka, Ethiopia)

As territorial aggrandizement is not palatable to today's enlightened world public, Somalia disclaims any territorial ambitions while reaffirming its support for the self-determination of what its representatives refer to as the "oppressed peoples in the Horn of Africa". I submit that this reaffirmation of support is nothing but a too-clever-by-half version of Somalia's well-known irredentist policy.

Be that as it may, the delegation of Ethiopia would like to stress once again the fact that the true source of the problem in the Horn of Africa is Somalia, the problem child of that region. As long as Somalia's régime pursues its expansionist policy, peace and co-operation between the peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia will remain a dream. Therefore we strongly urge the régime of Somalia to give up its unrealizable ambitions.

The malicious accusation made this afternoon against my country by the Foreign Minister of Somalia to the effect that Ethiopia had occupied parts of Somalia has no basis in fact. As for the equally baseless allegation of aggression by Ethiopia against Somalia, I wish simply to reaffirm what I stated in my letter to the Secretary-General dated 25 September 1985, issued as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council under the symbols A/40/680 and S/17495 respectively.

I should like the members of the Assembly to know that, as a self-respecting nation, Ethiopia has no desire to indulge in futile acrimony with Somalia in this forum. We have too much respect for the Assembly and we value its precious time. We also believe that this is a forum for the search for solutions and not for the extension and aggravation of conflicts. It is out of this conviction that my delegation has refrained during the past three consecutive sessions of the General Assembly from exercising its right of reply in the face of repeated vilifications on the part of the representatives of the Mogadishu régime. If today we choose to

(Mr. Dinka, Ethiopia)

exercise our right of reply, it is for the single purpose of setting the record straight - at least once every three years - and not because the delegation of Somalia has said anything different from or more serious than their oft-repeated and preposterous lies.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): In his statement in this Assembly the Foreign Minister of Algeria has reaffirmed the position of my country with regard to the persistent conflict in the Western Sahara. Our assessment of the situation is very clearly expressed in that statement, as are our views on a just and definitive settlement of the conflict. The Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco saw fit to base an argument on a press conference and by a very original reading sought to support his own arguments. We should observe, first of all, that it is odd - to say the least - for anyone to base arguments upon extracts from statements made at a press conference, whereas the official position of Algeria had just been expressed in the Assembly. Indeed, it was precisely in the Assembly that the Foreign Minister of Algeria stated that it was well known that there were

"... attempts to pervert the consensus and distort the settlement process which is the subject of that consensus". (A/40/PV.16, p.86)

The statement by the Kingdom of Morocco yesterday gave expression to these attempts. We would have preferred to spare the Assembly recourse to such an interpretation of that press conference, just as we would have liked - guided by a constant and resolute desire - to avoid giving rise to any polemics. But now that an interpretation distorting both the spirit and the letter of the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Algeria has been made, some clarification becomes necessary.

The Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-aligned Countries or the United Nations are familiar with the Moroccan practices of changing the

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

substance of resolutions, declarations or decisions so as to have them say what they do not say, for a purpose they do not have. The Moroccan reading of the press conference in question leads us to point out three elements: first, the reason why Algeria has recourse to the Maghreb framework and to the Algerian-Moroccan dialogue; secondly, what was said of the attitude taken by the Organization of African Unity; and, thirdly, the so-called deadlock in the Organization of African Unity on the settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

Firstly, Algeria's recourse to the Maghreb framework and to the Algerian-Moroccan dialogue, it has been based simply on the desire to use every possible channel and available means to achieve a peaceful solution. In this connection there was and is no desire to replace one framework with another or to have one framework prevail over another. On the contrary, in considering all frameworks as being complementary, what is necessary is to use them as much as possible in combination with a view to invigorating the process.

Next, what was called the lethargy of the Organization of African Unity leads us to give the following clarification. The Organization of African Unity did manifest a certain lethargy only inasmuch as it became weary of the procrastinations of Morocco, and it was only because the OAU became aware of the fact that Morocco was only playing for time that it reached the appropriate conclusion. Thus the Organization of African Unity admitted to membership the Sahraoui Democratic Republic and entrusted it at its last summit meeting with the vice-chairmanship of the meeting. The African plan in resolution 104 - which subsequently became universal with General Assembly resolutions 38/40 and 39/40, and, more recently, the declaration of the non-aligned countries at Luanda - calls for direct negotiations between the POLISARIO Front and Morocco and proclaims the need for a free referendum without administrative or military constraints, in

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

which the two duly identified parties would negotiate the conditions and modalities. Within the Organization of African Unity Morocco refused to assume the responsibility incumbent upon it for the implementation of this plan. The OAU has assessed all the implications and taken decisions that are known to all. The report of the Acting Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to the Twentieth Summit Meeting of that Organization refers to it. The letter from the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to the Secretary-General of the United Nations does also. All these documents show that Morocco is responsible for the fact that the overall African settlement plan has not been implemented. Those are the reasons for the so-called lethargy of the Organization of African Unity and why it took the decision it believed it had to take.

With regard to the so-called African deadlock, that is also Morocco's entire responsibility. Even from the viewpoint of Moroccan logic, we cannot see how this deadlock can be overcome by exclusive recourse to the United Nations, since the African plan is also that of the United Nations. It is a fact that Morocco refuses to join in the efforts for the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 38/40 and 39/40.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

All this shows only one thing: placing the United Nations in the forefront to the detriment of the OAU would be clearly seen to be a manoeuvre further to gain time and to do a disservice to the cause of peace and justice. The efforts made in this regard by the OAU and the United Nations are and must remain supplementary. We can only conclude from this that a framework for a settlement exists, and it is that made available by the OAU and by the United Nations. Means exist too, namely, those offered by resolution 104 of the OAU and resolutions 38/40 and 39/40 of the General Assembly. But what is still missing is the political will on the part of Morocco to join responsibly and faithfully in the implementation of these provisions.

Regarding the United Nations and the action of its Secretary-General I would repeat the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria on this subject:

"Now that the path to peace has been clearly indicated, we congratulate the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement on what they have achieved. We would encourage the United Nations Secretary-General to collaborate with the authorities of the African organization to ensure strict application of the settlement plan, on which there is a universal consensus." (A/40/PV.16, p.87)

Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): We have just heard a statement in exercise of his right of reply by the representative of Ethiopia. It is typical of the Ethiopian delegation to make certain remarks in a desperate attempt to distort the facts and the realities of the situation in the Horn of Africa. This is a distortion which this Assembly has witnessed time and again, year after year, and it is in any way a surprise to my delegation.

In the statement which he has just made the representative of Ethiopia makes certain allegations against my country. He accused Somalia of seeking territorial expansion and aggrandizement. He accused Somalia of threatening the peace in

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

the region. He also labelled Somalia as "the true source of the conflict in the Horn of Africa". My delegation rejects these allegations in the most categorical terms. The realities of the situation in the Horn of Africa can neither be hidden by untrue remarks which have no foundation whatsoever, however eloquently they may have been made before this Assembly or any other forum; nor can this in any way be distorted. The truth of the matter is that the Horn of Africa has seen for the past one hundred years aggression by one empire State, persistent destabilization of the region and persistent violation of human rights. And who is the cause of all of this? There is only one State in the region that is the cause and that is Ethiopia.

This afternoon my Minister for Foreign Affairs explained to this Assembly the recent armed aggression that has been carried out by Ethiopian aircraft and artillery against certain parts of Somalia. In this aggression, civilian populations have been aeriually bombarded and great loss of life and property has resulted from this aggression.

It is always characteristic of an aggressor to deny the facts. Therefore the statement that has been made by the representative of Ethiopia denying the truth of the situation has come as no surprise to my delegation. As in the past, Ethiopia is really attempting to hide its aggressive acts, sabotage and subversion carried out in active collusion with the interventionist forces of a super-Power in the area and their surrogates and mercenaries, who are really destabilizing the whole region and constituting a serious threat to regional and international peace and security.

As far as the facts of this aggression are concerned, my delegation has made them quite clear in a letter to the Secretary-General issued as document A/40/617-S/17484. It is therefore not my intention to elaborate on the facts and background of this case. All that I want to say, by way of conclusion, is that the conflict and the threat to the peace in the Horn of Africa is the result of the

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

persistent violation of the human rights, in particular the right to self-determination, of the people in the area, the people of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Tegre and Borama, and the rigorous policies that have been brutally applied to these colonized peoples: forced and large-scale population transfers, which are carried out for imperialistic motives; and repeated military aggression, which continues to be the preferred approach by the régime in Addis Ababa to regional problems in the area.

The ongoing liberation struggle in Ethiopia is the result of the colonial policies of the régime in Addis Ababa. This is coupled with internal repression, which takes many forms in Ethiopia itself. What has been the consequence of such policies, apart from the repeated acts of aggression carried out against my country, which are substantiated by facts? What have been the consequences? People are fleeing in their thousands from their homeland in order to seek refuge not only in neighbouring countries but throughout the world. Refugees are being hosted in the millions by my country and by other neighbouring countries surrounding the Ethiopian empire State. Who is the source of the problem? Who is the source of the conflict?

The problem in the Horn of Africa is not a bilateral problem. It is the direct consequence of the persistent violation of fundamental human rights. The problem in the Horn of Africa is the result of the military intervention of a super-Power and its surrogate forces. The problem in the Horn of Africa is a problem of internal repression of innocent peoples.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

That rigorous policy has resulted in a situation that can no longer be tolerated by the international community.

Somalia has time and again called for regional peace and tranquillity in the area. Peace and tranquillity in the Horn of Africa can come only if there is a change of policy and attitude on the part of the Ethiopian régime. We have called time and again, at the highest level, for regional peace and co-operation. But as long as the régime in Ethiopia continues its policy of aggression against a neighbouring State - namely, Somalia - and as long as it engages in internal repression and persistent violation of human rights, thus creating floods of refugees, peace and stability in the Horn of Africa cannot be achieved.

As my Minister pointed out this afternoon, we are pursuing our chosen course of action in the search for peace and we call on the oppressive régime in Addis Ababa to follow that same path.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In connection with the statement of the representative of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany in exercise of the right of reply, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to state the following.

In his statement in the general debate at this morning's plenary meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR stated, inter alia, the following:

"In the NATO countries, and above all in the Federal Republic of Germany, revanchist forces, trying to cast doubt on the results of the Second World War and the post-war structure, have become more active. They are openly and provocatively calling for a return to the frontiers of 1937..." (A/40/PV.22, p. 22)

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukrainian SSR)

In response to that statement a member of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany has stated his Government's position on this question. We take due account of that official statement.

At the same time, I should like once again to draw the attention of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the fact that, in the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, he spoke of the activities of "revanchist forces".

Our delegation has available to it an abundance of facts, information and mass information media reports of statements of leaders of public and other institutions which provide convincing evidence of the activities of revanchist forces. When we take up in the Third Committee the appropriate items of the agenda of this session we shall present those facts in our statements for the consideration of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.