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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 11 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. DE PINIÉS	(Spain)
later:	Mr. MOSELEY (Vice-President)	(Barbados)
later:	Mr. DE PINIÉS (President)	(Spain)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Address by Sir Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands

Statements were made by:

Mr. Mnisi (Swaziland)  
Mrs. Mauala (Samoa)  
Mr. Amega (Togo)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR PETER KENILOREA, PRIME MINISTER OF SOLOMON ISLANDS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, the Right Honourable Sir Peter Kenilorea.

Sir Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, His Excellency Sir Peter Kenilorea, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Sir Peter KENILOREA (Solomon Islands): I extend to the Assembly friendly greetings and felicitations on behalf of the people and Government of Solomon Islands. I also extend to you, Sir, our warm and sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this historic session. I assure you of my delegation's full support and co-operation.

To your predecessor, the representative of Zambia, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, goes our deep gratitude for his exemplary leadership of the Assembly at the last session. We are grateful to him for the hard work he has put into the preparation and organization of the commemorative session.

As it will not be possible for me to attend that important commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, I wish at this stage to pay a tribute to all the former Presidents of the General Assembly and commend their

(Sir Peter Kenilorea, Solomon  
Islands)

work. Their dedication, devotion, courage and integrity, which reflect the basic human quality of humility, contributed much to the enduring spirit in which this noble body has lived and worked during the past four decades. To those distinguished men and women, the leading citizens of the world, we are very grateful.

To the Secretary-General I offer my sincere congratulations on and gratitude for his unfailing pursuit of the promotion and maintenance of peace and security - the noble and worthy ideal for which the United Nations was conceived and constituted and has been nurtured in these past 40 years. Indeed, the persevering spirit in which the United Nations has been working for human betterment, in many trying times and in regions both peaceful and troubled, depends on the guiding hands and wise counselling of the Secretary-General. Thus we are deeply indebted to the Secretary-General and his predecessors.

I associate Solomon Islands with those delegations that have expressed heartfelt sympathy to the people and Government of Mexico over the tragic event that occurred in their good country last month. We were deeply saddened to hear of the loss of so many lives and the extensive damage and widespread suffering there. Therefore I humbly offer our prayers and support to our brothers and sisters in Mexico.

Our world today is vastly different from what it was 40 years ago when the United Nations was founded. Since the fall of the powerful empires the political map has changed very drastically with the emergence of many new nation States. This is clearly demonstrated by the membership of this Organization. Whereas there were only 51 Members originally, today there are 159.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea, Solomon Islands)

As far as economic and social development is concerned, science and technology have advanced the ways and means by which human conditions can be improved. Man has reached the moon and space exploration is no longer fiction. New and sophisticated weaponry is being manufactured constantly and the threat of the total destruction of the world is not unimaginable. In these circumstances, promise and despair loom with equal importance on the horizon. As the Secretary-General rightly points out in his 1985 report, "The choice between these alternatives is ours" (A/40/1, p. 2). This must be our challenge for the future.

The United Nations has been criticized in some quarters for failing to live and work in accordance with its principal aim: the maintenance of international peace and security. It has been said by some critics, for instance, that the General Assembly often gets so bogged down in political bickering that it loses sight of the objective of resolving the problems that come before it.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

Also, it has been claimed that the Organization as a whole has become too politicized. While I cannot challenge such assertions, I venture to say that chief among its many successes is its very survival over the past 40 years and that in pursuing its primary function, the maintenance of international peace and security, we have averted a third world war.

Thus, in reflecting on the past 40 years I do not wish to look at the negative aspects of our Organization; rather I wish to look at where we should go from here, building on our strengths. I believe that we should look at the future with more determination and confidence to make the "United Nations for a better world".

Solomon Islands is a young Member of this august body. We joined in September 1978, but it was not until July 1984 that we were able to have a Permanent Mission here.

This situation was of course not a reflection of the highest regard we had for the United Nations, its Members and agencies. It was simply due to our lack of financial and manpower resources.

Our becoming a Member has been fundamental to our foreign relations policy. As a small island-nation, we see the United Nations as the best forum in which to safeguard our interests in our dealings with the international community, both bilaterally and multilaterally. Our Permanent Mission here is our very first overseas diplomatic mission. Our having given this post top priority reflects two important points. First, by being here we can, through daily contacts with other Member States, have consultations on a host of subjects of interest to our nation and region and to the international community. Where there are divergences we can explain our differences; and where there are conflicting viewpoints we are better able to understand and appreciate the positions of others. Secondly, we attach

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

great importance to the work of the United Nations and its many agencies in all spheres of development - political, economic, social and cultural - for the overall betterment of the global community, especially the developing countries. It is a fact that even before our becoming a Member we were already receiving assistance from a number of United Nations agencies.

But after becoming a Member we have come to realize that there is so much more we can receive to improve our lot in order the better to contribute to the United Nations and the international community. We realize our limitations and shortcomings as a small island-nation, but we do have faith and hope in the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in the future of the world 40 or 80 years or a century hence. The experience of the past 40 years clearly shows this. So much more good could be done if the future role of the United Nations could be clearly defined, understood, appreciated and pursued with positive action.

In this regard I believe it is worth while to reflect on the Secretary-General's proposition that

"A basic role of the United Nations... is to serve as the foundation on which to build the international system of the future, a system fully recognizing national sovereignty but also recognizing that some of our present realities and concerns call urgently for something more" (A/40/1, p. 4) - that is, something more than the present arrangements under which this Organization has been working.

This is a challenging proposition; it deserves that we all give it serious consideration. To a considerable degree it questions the applicability of the Charter of the United Nations and the respect we have for it, both as individual sovereign States and collectively as the international community.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

The most important areas that require consideration are the authority of the General Assembly and the role of the Security Council. It does seem that in many cases decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly can be acted upon only by those Members that support them, but can be ignored by others. Perhaps this is so because of self-centred national interests based on the principle that national sovereignty necessarily is above the authority of the General Assembly. If so, then surely this must be an issue that warrants careful consideration.

The veto provision in the Security Council and the ineffective application of the Council's decisions and resolutions also require thorough assessment. This important organ, well-intentioned as it is, has been handicapped by its caste system - permanent members and non-permanent members - and the undemocratic practice of vetoing important decisions by those who have the potential power to bring total destruction to the world. It is ironical that, while we deplore totalitarian and autocratic practices, the Security Council is given authority to adhere to them by the veto provision.

In the proposed discussion of the membership of the Security Council this veto problem should be reviewed with a view to democratizing the decision-making process of the Council.

There are other areas and aspects of the United Nations system that could be reviewed. For instance, will the informal regional groupings be as relevant in the future? We do not understand, for instance, why Australia and New Zealand, two very good and friendly countries in the South Pacific region, are members of the Group of Western European and other States while their neighbours - Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands - belong to the Group of Asian States. And what about the protocols that require permanent residency here at the seat of the Organization before accredited representatives of Member States can be recognized? Is there not room for flexibility in these ever-changing times?

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

Those are some of the questions I consider worth pondering over, on our road to the twenty-first century, as the only Organization that is capable of bringing all of us together in spite of our great diversity.

There are still immediate problems: political problems in southern Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Central America; and economic problems the world over, but more pressingly in the third-world countries. We must deal with them, and it is hoped that we shall do so in a new spirit of equal partnership and with a unifying dedication to humanity.



(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

My Government is committed to the total eradication of the evil system of apartheid in South Africa. In terms of sanctions, our record can speak for itself. We have no contacts whatsoever with that racist régime. We see no sense or logic in collaborating with a Government which degrades human dignity. The perpetuation of minority supremacy over democracy must end.

In regard to Namibia, my Government fully supports the granting of independence at the earliest possible opportunity in line with the Namibian people's desire and the international community's overwhelming support.

The search for a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict has become ever more urgent. While Solomon Islands recognizes Israel's right to exist, we also subscribe to the principle of a homeland for the Palestinian people. We again urge the parties concerned to pursue the search for peace in that region as the ultimate goal.

The war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fifth year, with no peaceful settlement in sight. The prolongation of that war has caused much loss of life. It is our earnest hope and prayer that lasting peace can be negotiated as soon as possible.

Today we renew our strong condemnation of the occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces. This is the sixth year and the Soviet Union has demonstrated its unwillingness to allow the return of democracy to that country. Solomon Islands deplores that act of aggression and regards it as a hallmark of tyranny and neo-colonialism.

As a neighbouring country of East Asia, Solomon Islands considers peace and security in that region as most fundamental to its own development and progress. Thus, we are concerned about the occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces which is

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

a real threat to our own peace and security. Again, we call for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces so that democracy can take its proper course as desired by the Kampuchean people. In this respect, we will continue to support the initiative of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to achieve this objective.

The situation in the Korean Peninsula also requires the attention of the United Nations in so far as the admission of those two countries as members is concerned. The reunification process is an important objective, but we genuinely feel that admitting both Koreas into this body is fundamental to facilitating reunification, which should be pursued without outside interference.

In Central and South America, the re-establishment of democratic Governments in some countries is an encouraging development. It is our hope that the conflict in Nicaragua will soon be resolved amicably by the parties involved and not through pressure from outside.

The South Pacific is a very special region: it contains some of the smallest independent States in the world and, most importantly, it is peaceful. We want it to remain peaceful. Our island States are scattered over a very wide area, thus making communication difficult. We have limited resources for industrial development. But we depend heavily on our sea and marine resources. That is why we are concerned about nuclear testing and super-Power rivalry in our region. And that is why we have to turn to the United Nations to safeguard our interests.

We have been expressing, in the strongest possible terms, our condemnation of nuclear testing in the South Pacific region. We have in fact, individually and collectively, through the South Pacific Forum, voiced this to the French Government, but the response from it has always been one of disregard of the views and concerns of the Governments of the South Pacific region.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

It is indeed very sad that a permanent member of the Security Council, the United Nations organ which is given the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should continue in this most inhumane manner to disregard the unanimous call of South Pacific Governments to discontinue its nuclear testing in our region. It has been claimed time and again that this nuclear testing programme poses no danger to our environment and livelihood. If so, why cannot the French Government carry out its tests in France? While France continues to claim sovereignty over Polynesia, it must be reminded that its claim is colonialist in all respects and most unacceptable to the independent States of the South Pacific region.

It is most displeasing that while the universal desire is for disarmament that same permanent member of the Security Council is proceeding with a new military buildup in New Caledonia. Solomon Islands condemns and deplores that action and earnestly calls on the French Government to think more about the peace and security of the people in the South Pacific region instead of its own imperialist interests.

In this connection, it is sad to note that terrorist activities are now infiltrating our region. The first case of this was the sinking of the "Greenpeace" vessel - the "Rainbow Warrior" - in Auckland, New Zealand, earlier this year. One innocent man was killed as a result of that premeditated action. It is now public knowledge, as recently announced by the French Prime Minister, that certain high authorities of the French Government were responsible for ordering the bombing of that vessel.

The South Pacific nuclear-free zone Treaty has already been mentioned by our neighbours in the region. That is an important Treaty for all of us in the South Pacific. Although Solomon Islands has not signed it as yet, we are carefully re-examining certain technicalities in relation to overall policy on nuclear-powered and nuclear-carrying craft,

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

Our policy in this respect is simple and straightforward. Solomon Islands will not allow any vessels and aircraft which are nuclear powered or are capable of carrying nuclear weapons into its waters, airspace and ports, taking into account, of course, the provisions of international law for free and innocent passage. This is consistent with the principle that we do not subscribe to the development and use of devices for human destruction.

We expect other States to respect this policy on the basis of genuine friendship and for the benefit of future generations. In fact, it demonstrates our firm adherence to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter as enshrined in its Preamble and in Article 1. Any nuclear-weapon States which find this position difficult to accommodate will be most welcome for bilateral discussions over our differences.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

Armament and development in this modern nuclear age can never be anything but incompatible. Solomon Islands has been repeatedly calling for realistic disarmament by the super-Powers. We sincerely hope, therefore, that the Geneva talks between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union will set the scene and establish the sign-posts for the pursuit and attainment of this important objective of realistic disarmament.

I feel it is most appropriate, in this context, to reiterate our continuing concern over budgetary allocations for military purposes. It is most disconcerting to note, year after year, that these budgets keep on rising to billions of dollars. This year alone the world will have spent \$US 1,000 billion for military purposes.

As noted in the 1985 Third-World Lecture by the recipient of the Third-World Prize, Willy Brandt, "This amounts to a death sentence for millions of human beings."

To the small islands States, with annual total national budgets which are far less than departmental budgets of the industrialized nations, this type of expenditure is a curse on our human development efforts for agricultural improvements, education, basic health services, clean water supplies and modest economic infrastructures. Obviously, there is a serious imbalance between development, especially in third-world countries, and military build-ups in and by the industrialized States. This is certainly inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations in terms of international co-operation for solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

Decolonization is one field to which the United Nations has contributed so significantly and successfully in the past 40 years, especially since the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

the South Pacific the independent island States came through this transition quite peacefully. The process, however, is still incomplete, especially in areas administered by France.

Some other island groups have special arrangements. These are: Cook Islands and Nuie which have democratically chosen to remain self-governing in free association with New Zealand; in the case of the Tokelau Atoll Territory, the people still wish to remain under New Zealand administration which, in line with United Nations trusteeship requirements, reports regularly on developments there; and American Samoa, of course, by the express wish of the people, still remains a United States possession.

To the north of the equator are the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands. As is well known, they are working out with the United States the best possible arrangements for their future political and constitutional status. In connection with these Territories I wish to express, on behalf of my government and people, our deep sorrow over the assassination of the former President of Palau. The circumstances that surround this unfortunate incident remain unclear, but it is our sincere hope that it will not lead to delaying the appropriate type of progress being sought by the people of Palau and the United States Government.

While the decolonization story in our region during the past two decades could be regarded as a happy and smooth one, the situation now is not the same. Events that occurred in New Caledonia in the very recent past have tarnished the scene with bloodshed and loss of lives.

My Government fully supports independence for all colonial peoples and Territories. Hence we support independence for all Pacific island Territories, as expressly desired by their peoples.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

In the case of New Caledonia, we applaud the stand that the only sensible road to future peace in this Territory is independence, which in our terms does not mean independence in free association with another political entity. I am, therefore, urging the French Government speedily to develop New Caledonia as an independent, sovereign State. In my view, the first step is to subscribe to the principle and logic of consulting the appropriate organs of the United Nations in the pursuit of the decolonization of this Territory.

I am pleased that recently elections were held and the majority of the indigenous population of New Caledonia was able to take part. The results revealed the Kanaks' genuine determination to decide on their own affairs and future destiny.

These results also dispelled, once and for all, the misleading propaganda that pro-independence groups were not a representative force in New Caledonia. They also showed, overall, that there is a fundamental need for electoral reform which must precede the proposed referendum. I sincerely hope that France, with its resourcefulness, will not fail to ensure an electoral system that will guarantee the inalienable rights of the Kanaks and those others who genuinely wish to make New Caledonia their home.

The United Nations and other multilateral organizations are the springboard for international and regional co-operation. The establishment of our permanent mission here exemplifies this. Hence, we are most grateful to our Commonwealth friends for supporting Australia's financial assistance to establish and maintain the facilities which now house our mission along with those of Maldives, Samoa and Vanuatu.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

In terms of international co-operation, the law of the sea Convention is very important to Solomon Islands as an island nation. Regional co-operation among the South Pacific countries is fundamental to the development of our fisheries and marine resources. The South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency, which is based in Solomon Islands, and the South Pacific Commission with its headquarters in New Caledonia, are assisting considerably in co-ordinating the management and conservation of and research in our fisheries. I note with interest the United States willingness to co-operate with us in the development of our fisheries. This kind gesture was announced in this Assembly by the Honourable George Shultz, the United States Secretary of State, on 23 September 1985 in these words:

"We are joining with them in a dedicated effort to negotiate quickly a regional fisheries agreement that will benefit all". (A/40/PV.4, p. 48)

It is our sincere and earnest hope that these negotiations will not be marred by any domineering attitude for the mere attainment of superiority over our small States. Furthermore, we hope to come up with an agreement which will be fair to all, and that will provide for the recognition and acceptance of our sovereignty over our various 200-mile fisheries and exclusive economic zones.\*

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\* Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.



(Sir Peter Kenilorea,  
Solomon Islands)

When I addressed this Assembly in September 1978 on the admission of Solomon Islands as a Member, I declared our commitment to the United Nations and the principles of our Charter.

Today I reaffirm that commitment. And today I humbly urge that we all, during this International Youth Year, rededicate this worthy Organization to our young generations, whose future happiness is our responsibility.

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

Sir Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. MNISI (Swaziland): On behalf of my delegation, Her Majesty's Government and the people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, I should like to convey our profound gratitude and sincerest congratulations to Mr. Jaime de Piniés on his well-deserved election to the presidency of this historic fortieth session of the General Assembly. My delegation has no doubt whatsoever that his wisdom and rich diplomatic experience will help galvanize this vital session so that it reaches a fruitful and happy conclusion. My delegation, therefore, wishes to pledge its unreserved commitment and fullest co-operation in all the crucial deliberations ahead of this body.

The delegation of Swaziland also wishes to express its warm and heartfelt appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka of Zambia. Indeed, my delegation salutes that fellow African and brother from our part of Africa, who not only demonstrated his skill and prudence but also, in conducting the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, showed excellent leadership abilities.

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

I should like once again to convey our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and the entire staff of the United Nations for the noble service they continue to render the international community. We also commend them for the excellent United Nations reports before us and their untiring zeal in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland wishes at the very outset, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and the people of Swaziland, to convey our heartfelt condolences to the people and Government of Mexico in connection with the recent tragedy, entailing a heavy loss of human life and destruction of property, in the wake of the devastating earthquakes in their beloved country.

It is my delegation's strongest and sincerest conviction and we firmly assert that anniversaries are times for serious reflection and stock taking, particularly in the management of international political statecraft. I therefore consider that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations provides Member States with a rare and excellent opportunity for this. We cannot fail to mention that we in Swaziland have vivid and painful memories of the First and Second World Wars and their historic aftermath. Indeed, it was an era marked by the total destruction of man's achievements on our planet and of gigantic disruption of global diplomacy that laid the foundations of dangerous theses about the proper conduct of international diplomacy. If we do not take advantage of this present opportunity, the present generations will never forgive us for missing this golden opportunity to save mankind from disaster.

It is my honest observation that it is human nature and almost customary for people to make massive charges of failure and criticisms about anything on earth, and the United Nations is no exception. However, on the contrary, we in the

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

Kingdom of Swaziland attach great significance to the existence of the United Nations and to the expanding roles it plays for the sole benefit of mankind. Thus, we continue to cherish our membership of this body.

Above all, we in Swaziland salute the excellent and admirable achievements of the United Nations in matters of decolonization, achievements that have even changed the membership of this Organization from a mere 51 Member States in 1945 to 159 today.

We are also grateful to the United Nations for its efforts and measures towards achieving international economic co-operation and for the role that it plays in encouraging Member States to observe human rights and fundamental freedoms. Indeed, one may well shudder at the idea of a world without the United Nations, even given its fair share of omissions.

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

Today we live in an unstable world, a world threatened by all kinds of conflicts, be they inter-State or global. It is therefore incumbent upon us as Member States of the United Nations, to uphold the Charter and to interpret its sacrosanct provisions with the utmost care. International peace and security seem to be elusive nowadays. Many nations tend to be indifferent to resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We therefore note with grave concern that, should such a trend persist unabated, Armageddon will soon befall the world, and peaceful economic development and good-neighbourliness will be things of the past.

My delegation views socio-economic and political developments in southern Africa with added concern. Indeed, the question of apartheid policies as instituted by the Government of South Africa was first placed upon the agenda of this very august body years and years ago. Ever since, this Assembly has debated the issue and passed numerous resolutions and declarations, condemning apartheid in South Africa. Furthermore, Member States of the United Nations have continued to call strongly on South Africa to move progressively from its racial policies of discrimination based solely upon the colour of one's skin and to give universal suffrage to all its people, but to no avail.

We in Swaziland recognize the urgent need to establish a non-racial society based upon the fundamental norms of democracy, whereby participation by all the people, irrespective of their colour, race, politics or religious creed, is sacrosanct.

Our delegation further asserts that the problems of South Africa must be solved peacefully, for violence has never benefited anybody, but has brought its sinister and pernicious lesson of counter-productivity. We are therefore greatly perturbed at witnessing this blood-bath unprecedented in modern history unleashed by the apartheid policies in that part of our world.

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

However, it is the view of Her Majesty's Government that it is perhaps not too late to effect drastic changes inside South Africa, and that South Africa, as a first step, should release all political prisoners unconditionally and then begin a process of negotiations with all genuine leaders of the black community.

It is exactly 14 years since the Security Council terminated the colonial Mandate of South Africa to administer Namibia. Moreover, resolution after resolution has been unanimously passed by this Assembly, appealing to South Africa to relinquish Namibia. Above all, it is also a sacrosanct principle that the Namibians, like all other people, should enjoy the right to self-determination and national independence.

On the other hand, like many others, my country had higher hopes and expectations when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) unanimously and, for that matter, with the overwhelming support of the leading Western countries. However, my delegation observes with grave concern that such well-intentioned efforts emanating from the solidarity of the international community have been thwarted by certain Member States in utter disregard for the independence and aspirations of the Namibian people.

We therefore continue to assert that the Namibians have suffered for too long and call for the urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in order to save mankind from yet another carnage of war and gross threats to international peace and security.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland further views with a sense of shock and dismay the rapid deterioration of peace and security in our southern African region. We are perturbed by the aggressive policies of destabilization aimed at

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

the disruption of both our economic and political stability, and especially in Mozambique after the signing of the Nkomati accord.

Swaziland has suffered economically as a result of the repeated derailment of railway trucks taking our exports to the port of Maputo in Mozambique.

The disturbances that occur in neighbouring countries have an overspill effect on the Kingdom of Swaziland. Thus we find ourselves having to share the meagre resources available with the uncontrollable influx of refugees from neighbouring States.

We note with concern that whenever the question of destabilization in the region arises, Swaziland is at least partly, if not completely, disregarded, in spite of its contribution towards peace in that region.

I once again reaffirm that Swaziland strongly believes in the policy and philosophy of peaceful negotiations, a philosophy whose firm foundations were laid down by our beloved late King Sobhuza II. Above all, history has taught us time and again that violence has never benefited anybody but has left its sinister legacy of counter-violence.

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

My delegation cannot fail to express its serious concern about the fact that we have witnessed, over the years, gross violations of the United Nations Charter, and particularly of Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, and Article 33, to the detriment of international peace and security. It is therefore the concern of Her Majesty's Government that the explosive situation prevailing in the Middle East, and created by the Persian Gulf war and the protracted occupation of Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Chad, continues to deprive the people of those countries of their inalienable and sacrosanct right to self-determination. We also note with grave concern that such tendencies are a direct cause of tension, and therefore pose a grave threat to both regional peace and international security. My delegation firmly believes that peace in those areas of conflict can be achieved only by the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from and the end of interference in those trouble-spots of our time.

In our pursuit of world peace and security, it is important that we refer to the sensitive political situation that continues to divide North and South Korea. My delegation submits that the reunification of Korea is a matter to be decided by the Koreans themselves in direct inter-Korean negotiations. It remains for the United Nations to continue to encourage the resumption of those talks without pre-conditions or external interference.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland is equally perturbed by developments in Central and Latin America. We therefore urge all the parties concerned to exercise both moral and political constraints and resolve their differences through peaceful contacts; all possible assistance must be given to the Contadora Group for the creation of bridges of peace in that troubled area of the region.

My delegation is also particularly perturbed by the recent trend aimed at dismantling the role of multilateralism in international economic relations.

(Mr. Mnisi, Swaziland)

I also view with the utmost concern the plight of the economies of many developing countries due to unfavourable international economic scenarios. Thus, my delegation wishes further to assert that Swaziland is a small land-locked country whose economic development depends solely on the goodwill of natural forces and external trade. The unprecedented decline in commodity prices and unfavourable international economic scenarios therefore represent a major blow to our fragile economy.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland wishes to reaffirm that Swaziland is a peace-loving country, whose foreign policy is dictated by pragmatism rather than political and ideological realism. Whence our continued concern regarding the unprecedented escalation of the proliferation of dangerous nuclear armaments, whose end result will be the total destruction of mankind.

Above all, the Kingdom of Swaziland is an ardent believer in the norms of international economic co-operation, and in the positive spirit of multilateralism.

Thus, at this fortieth session of the United Nations our country expresses its firm conviction in and continued adherence to the United Nations Charter, and reiterates that the United Nations remains the only appropriate international forum for finding solutions to the major world problems today. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all of us as States Members to renew our dedication and commitment to the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Ms. MAUALA (Samoa): It gives the Samoan delegation the greatest satisfaction, Sir, to see a President of your stature presiding over this session, a session of very special significance to us all - the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Your long years of superlative service have earned you and your country the highest honour and respect, and we welcome your presidency. It is also our pleasure to express our thanks to Ambassador Paul Lusaka for guiding us through



(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

the thirty-ninth session with a combination of warmth and wisdom. His diplomatic skill and generous good humour stood us in good stead throughout the session.

Our thoughts and prayers have been with Mexico and its people since the tragic disaster they suffered so recently, and we join with others who have spoken before us in offering them our sincere condolences. May God be with them in this time of trial.

Over the past 40 years of United Nations history, one of the pleasing developments has been the growth and the expansion of the role of the Secretary-General. The Secretaries-General have made major contributions to international peace and security and to the growth of the United Nations, and we and the world have been fortunate in the quality of the men who have held that office. Though their work of quiet and difficult diplomacy has often been behind the scenes and thus unsung, in this year of reflection those tireless and dedicated efforts should not be forgotten.

It is very appropriate that at this time of reckoning for our Organization, we have a Secretary-General who is not only tireless in his pursuit of the principles we espouse, but whose forceful vision provides us with in-depth analyses of our Organization, in his annual reports and elsewhere, and with careful guidelines, which we will do well to heed if we are to improve on our past performance. In his 1982 report the Secretary-General commented that:

"The United Nations itself has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter ... envisaged for it." (A/37/1, p. 1)

We feel that the main reason for this has been some lack of respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter. To us it is important that this respect be restored.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

These principles - such as the sovereign equality of all Members, the universality of membership, the territorial integrity of States, the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the right of peoples to self-determination - are of profound importance to us and small States like us. Small island developing countries, with their sometimes fragile economies, often take a buffeting from political and economic forces beyond their control and perhaps feel - to quote a Samoan proverb - like birds battling against the wind. Thus we maintain our faith in the United Nations and in the commitment to a strong and secure international order, which is the best guarantee of our security, and we believe that together we can work towards the solution of our problems and the improvement of the lot of our peoples. We increasingly see the importance of the Charter's principles in our region as the threats of a shrinking world seem to be encroaching.

Samoa is compelled to voice in this forum its continuing concern and heightened alarm at the actions and policies of certain nations with regard to certain activities and events under their control within the South Pacific region.

The Pacific peoples have declared unequivocally their opposition to nuclear testing in their region. Whatever reasons are cited to justify or legitimate French authority to conduct these tests, the fact is that it is the people who live in the area that are taking the risks associated with these dangerous experiments. No assurances can assuage us, and no safety precautions can be adequate safeguard against the possibility of damage to the fragile environment on which Pacific peoples depend so heavily, to say nothing of unknown dangers that may become apparent only in years to come.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

Total disregard by France of the expressed opposition of the Pacific peoples continues to be a source of agitation and frustration in the region. Moreover, it is leading directly to the appearance in the region of disturbances and ugly acts of international sabotage and violence, activities that up to now have had no place in the South Pacific during peacetime, in fact since the Second World War. Therefore the area literally is being contaminated physically and morally by the selfish preoccupations of France, thousands of miles from its own shores.

Uncertain progress in the decolonization of New Caledonia similarly contains the seeds of disruption and danger for the region. Samoa supports the South Pacific Forum in its call for self-determination and the early transition to an independent New Caledonia in accordance with the innate rights and aspirations of the indigenous people and in such a manner as to guarantee the rights and interests of all committed inhabitants of this multiracial society.

We call on France to take the necessary steps that would confirm beyond doubt its commitment to advancing New Caledonia along a meaningful path to self-determination. Electoral reforms, in our view, would constitute a vital element of such a display of commitment.

We hope that the positive elements that have emerged in French decisions on New Caledonia will be consistently pursued and we call on all parties to refrain from further violence and to engage in a constructive dialogue to bring about a peaceful and lasting resolution of New Caledonia's present problems. We are used to peaceful decolonization in our region and to a pattern of energetic co-operation between Administering Powers and the colonized to achieve the high objectives of the United Nations Charter and those of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We look to France to play a full role in the decolonization of New Caledonia and in initiating meaningful progress.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

A pleasing development in our region is the decision of the United States to negotiate a regional fisheries agreement with the South Pacific island nations. We are hopeful that this agreement will resolve any past differences to our mutual benefit.

The problems of regions close to ours remain of great concern to us. Foreign forces remain in Democratic Kampuchea and in Afghanistan, and must be withdrawn to enable solutions to be found in which the peoples of those strife-torn countries may participate and finally be enabled to return to a normal way of life.

With regard to the Kampuchean situation, we applaud the efforts of the Association of South East Asian Nations to create conditions favourable to negotiations, and the good offices of Indonesia and Malaysia in this regard. We also support the Secretary-General in his efforts in seeking a solution, and our hope is that agreement on negotiations can be reached swiftly.

We are encouraged that the proximity talks on Afghanistan under the Secretary-General's auspices are continuing. We fully support this process and we hope to see it result in the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible.

With respect to the Korean peninsula, we feel that encouragement of the talks between the North and the South is an essential step towards the reduction of tensions, and it is pleasing that there has been movement towards more dialogue. We understand that the Republic of Korea wishes to become a full Member of the United Nations. Indeed, we believe the achievement of universality to be a principle of such cardinal importance to our Organization that we should always be ready to respect the aspirations of those who would join us as members. Thus we would support accession for all those countries that wish it and that are prepared to abide by the principles of the Charter. We feel the Republic of Korea fulfils these requirements.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

Further afield, but also of concern to us, are the conflicts in the Middle East. In the past months we have seen new initiatives and proposals on the Arab-Israeli conflict that seem to present opportunities for negotiation, and we had hoped to see some positive movement. It is disappointing, therefore, that there has been a lack of positive response. We are also dismayed at the understandably heightened tensions in the region resulting from the recent Israeli raid on Tunisian territory. While deploring international terrorism in whatever form and wherever it might occur, we can see absolutely no excuse for Israel's attack on another sovereign country and indeed a country of long and honourable commitment to the principles of this Organization. We deplore it as not only a violation of international law but also extremely detrimental to the peace process in the region.

The situation in Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war continue to sadden us with their tragic fratricidal struggles. We would ask those who continue to fuel these conflicts by interference or arms sales to cease these activities which, as they are well aware, worsen the conflicts and make the easing of tensions that much more difficult.

The iniquitous apartheid system has always contained within it the seeds of its own doom. The alarmingly increased tensions in South Africa, resulting in escalating violence and destruction, portend that this end might be calamitous indeed if the South African Government does not at last heed the multitudinous warnings it has received. South Africa's perversity in refusing to pursue the path of racial partnership in any but the most devious manner is bringing down on it the rightful wrath of the international community. There can be no more delays. Samoa is prepared to endorse all positive measures which will lead to the full participation of all the people of South Africa in its Government.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

Similarly, in Namibia South Africa's delays and prevarications have for too long tried international patience. These must cease.

Unfortunately, these past weeks have seen increasing tensions in many parts of the world that could lead to dark days ahead; but there is a glimmer of hope in one area at least. The summit meeting between the super-Powers presents an opportunity to return to a détente that could lessen world tensions considerably. It is a moment of opportunity that must be grasped, as it may not come again. A breakthrough in arms control must be made now before the technology on both sides becomes too sophisticated to allow for verification procedures. We urge the United States and the Soviet Union to give the world a break. The Secretary-General put it well when he asked, "By what right do they decide the fate of humanity?" In the disarmament and other forums of the United Nations, the rest of humanity, through its Governments, must make it clear that they, the super-Powers, have no right to continue endangering the peoples of the world and that we expect an end to posturing and a genuine and responsible effort to agree on a real reduction of their loathsome arsenals.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

That will lead others to join the process so that it becomes multilateral.

Disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, must be a multilateral process, for the effects of a nuclear holocaust will be felt by the farthest of us - when whales fight, the kraken wakes; and when the nuclear monster is unleashed there will be no stopping it. Not only must existing nuclear armaments be reduced and eventually destroyed, but weapons production must cease and the spread of these weapons be stemmed. To effect this we urge, as did all non-nuclear-weapon States at the recent non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference, the urgent completion of the comprehensive test-ban treaty to prohibit all testing in all environments for all time; and we also stress the absolute necessity of universal and strict adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. We are encouraged by China's decision to join the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and also to participate in work on the comprehensive test-ban treaty when it is begun in the Conference on Disarmament and we would urge others to follow suit.

The deep concern of our region regarding nuclear questions has recently been demonstrated by the unanimous endorsement of the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty by the South Pacific Forum Heads of Government. This Treaty prohibits the manufacture, testing, stationing or use of nuclear explosives in the South Pacific. It was opened for signature, significantly on Hiroshima Day, 6 August, and it is an embodiment of the desire of the South Pacific peoples to live in a Pacific where our sunny skies are not darkened by nuclear winter and our seas not sullied with nuclear sludge. This zone, along with the adjoining zones covered by the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the Antarctic Treaty, demonstrates the wishes of a significant section of the southern hemisphere to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and live free of their threat. We are pleased that there are similar proposals in other parts of the world, in particular that of our ASEAN neighbours. We would hope that in due course the nuclear States will become party to the relevant protocols to the Treaty.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

In conclusion we wish to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations and renew our commitment to the Charter and its principles. In reflecting on the past 40 years, what the cynics and detractors should bear in mind is how the world might have been without the United Nations. It is hard to imagine now a world without a multilateral forum that provides a neutral meeting place for countries with differences where they can meet privately, away from public pressures; a forum not only for discussion of international issues, but where countries with few missions abroad can meet in friendly surroundings with other countries and with international aid officials; a forum where countries have to defend their actions, but also have the opportunity to exchange views and vent frustrations. It is also hard to imagine the world without the quiet diplomacy and good offices of a respected and objective international figure like the Secretary-General and without peacekeeping forces to create conditions for fostering peace. Without these the world could be a lot more menacing place with less freedom and fewer rights for individuals.

We have only to imagine how different every-day life would be if the United Nations had never existed to see how its effects have reached down to the roots of our societies, however remote they are. There would have been no institutions to sponsor the international meetings that have so raised global consciousness and had far-reaching practical effects; conferences like, for instance, the recent successful women's conference in Nairobi; and many more. There is hardly a country on this globe that has not benefited from United Nations sponsored programmes in the field of air safety, public health, drug abuse control and environmental protection, to list but a few. Imagine the world without the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with its technical assistance partnership; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) with its agricultural



(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

assistance; the World Health Organization (WHO) with its world-wide early warning system, its inoculation teams and its elimination of smallpox; the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) with its family-planning and census assistance; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with its cultural and educational programmes; the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) with its hope-giving children's survival revolution; and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with his aid to the homeless and displaced. Also the parallel activities of the finance institutions - the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which promote economic stability, orderly development and long-term growth. Without all these, the world could be a great deal more miserable with more pollution, disease and disaster.

Much has had to be omitted from this summary, but it is worth reminding ourselves how much of positive worth has been achieved by the United Nations and how much is now taken for granted. Therefore, let us move forward to the future, not brooding over the past, but building on those achievements of which the United Nations can be justly proud.

Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (interpretation from French): First and foremost, I should like to join those personalities and representatives who have addressed the Assembly before me to express once again the very strong sympathy and firm solidarity of the people and Government of Togo with the people and Government of Mexico following the devastating earthquake that recently saddened their capital and country. The toll in human lives and material damage have deeply moved us. We therefore firmly support the General Assembly's response and actively encourage the action taken by the international community to come to Mexico's aid.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

One of the major lessons that emerged from the Second World War was the need to transcend political, ideological and socio-cultural barriers with a view to consolidating international peace and security and promoting the economic and social progress of humanity. Towards this end, indeed, the United Nations was created 40 years ago.

As a symbol of the determination of mankind once and for all to guard against new temptations of conquest and domination, the United Nations figures among the most noble ambitions ever conceived by human genius.

This ambition, sustained by the powerful joint determination of the founding nations and since then jealously nurtured by the whole international community, has withstood the test of time, thus retaining its full legitimacy.

The present session of the General Assembly is being held in the course of a year to the credit of which history will, in its glorious annals, record events of far-reaching significance, such as the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the fortieth anniversary of the inception of the United Nations itself, and the proclamation of the International Year of Peace. As an important milestone, the fortieth session must bear the stamp of our loyal attachment to having these noble ideals that gather us here endure, along with having us hold high the banner of our firm commitment to strive for the strengthening of the efficacy of our common endeavour.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Carrying out essential missions assigned to our Organization thus calls for and is worth our casting a twofold look, back to the past and forward to the future. In this connection, what is reassuring is to note that, in view of the scope of its activities and the multiplicity of the functions it carries out, the United Nations has proved to be itself as an indispensable tool for maintaining world-wide comprehensive balance.

That overall balance has benefited largely from the growing awareness and recognition by all States Members and peoples of the validity of the principles and objectives of our Organization, particularly in terms of the importance of peace, security, human dignity and international co-operation. As we know, strengthening this balance will depend on the political willingness of all Member States to abide by United Nations decisions.

It is equally reassuring to note that, thanks to the continued growth in the ranks of States Members, which today number more than three times those at the inception of the Organization, the United Nations has clearly confirmed not only its universalist worth but also the irresistible power of its ideals. Thus we see a whole range of reasons that give us cause for pride and satisfaction - reasons which are the underpinning of our assessment of the role and proper place of the United Nations in a constantly changing world.

At the same time, however, a single tree cannot cover the entire forest, because 40 years without a generalized holocaust, 40 years without a new world war, is not synonymous with 40 years of the absolute peace, serenity and profound harmony of which the founders of our Organization dreamed. Indeed, growing awareness of the dangers of a third world war and the need to ward it off has engendered scientific research coupled with the use of more subtle types of confrontation.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

How can anyone be astonished if, in view of this fact, the international community has gone through 40 years of such proliferation of arms and increasing sophistication of threats to peace, the continued existence of the policy of domination in economic, financial and military terms, and a widening of the gap separating the rich from the poor countries? Do we not herein find a whole range of gaps undermining the effectiveness of the United Nations system and much evidence that multilateralism is in crisis?

Guided by the considerations linked to the historical context within which this gathering is being held, I am fully aware of the considerable weight of responsibility that has been placed on the shoulders of Ambassador de Piniés in a spirit of admirable unanimity as he presides over this fortieth session. Chance has seen to it that, one of the permanent representatives invested with the greatest authority should hold this lofty office.

Aware of his rich and vast diplomatic experience marked by insight, level-headedness and wisdom, I am deeply convinced that this session will be crowned with exceptional success commensurate with the fortieth anniversary. He comes from a country - Spain - with which Togo maintains ties of profound friendship and with which geography and history have linked us, providing the best guarantees for better understanding of different civilizations and peoples.

In wholeheartedly congratulating him on his resounding election, I assure him of my delegation's fullest co-operation for the successful accomplishment of his lofty mission.

We still recall the climate of serenity, courtesy and dialogue that marked the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. That state of affairs, which without a doubt marked a positive trend we hope will continue, can be explained by a

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

certain degree of maturity our Assembly seems to have gained, particularly in terms of a certain clear-sightedness, pragmatism and sense of balance infused into the Assembly by Mr. Paul Lusaka as he led the thirty-ninth session.

His presidency of that session and indeed of the United Nations Council for Namibia are offices in which Mr. Lusaka has displayed an enthusiasm and dedication bearing witness to his profound faith in the noble ideals of the United Nations. Such willingness to make himself fully available to the Organization has also done honour to his country and all of Africa. We pay him a ringing tribute. Such willingness to work for the Organization deserves from this entire Assembly the most heartfelt congratulations.

To ensure sustained efficacy, what we do here in our joint undertaking must - and we are fully aware of this - be based on timely initiatives from one of the key players in the Organization, the Secretary-General. In this connection, it seems to me only right to pay a tribute to and congratulate Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on the originality and exactness of his way of viewing his lofty functions which permeate his work style. At the risk of affronting his singular modesty, my delegation fully appreciates the manifold efforts he has exerted in his tireless search for solutions to the painful problems that continue to arise throughout the third world, such as fratricidal conflicts in Asia and the Middle East, and natural disasters in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere.

While the world has not known a generalized holocaust in the past 40 years, the fact is that war has changed in scope and sought other theatres of operation. Hence confrontation of a direct and generalized kind has yielded to a mushrooming of conflicts throughout the third world. Genuine local wars by proxy, these conflicts for the most part the rivalries and antagonisms pitting the major Powers without breaking their devotion to safeguarding the peace existing between them.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

The fact is that peace cannot be the subject of any kind of monopoly, because it is indivisible, the precious possession of mankind and the primary aim of the United Nations. It is therefore important for us to see to it that conflict situations still persisting here and there throughout the world are the object of an in-depth assessment by all States Members leading to solutions acceptable to all parties - in other words, solutions founded on tolerance, mutual understanding and a sincere determination to co-operate.

Given that perspective and the proclamation of the International Year of Peace, respect for the right of peoples to peace now requires that Asia be freed of invasion forces and fratricidal conflicts and that Africa be totally liberated from colonialism, apartheid and outside interference. Respect for the right of peoples to peace also demands that the Middle East reach peaceful coexistence among all peoples, without distinction as to race, religion and political conviction, within the framework of independent and sovereign States; and, finally, that South America be freed of the last vestiges of colonialism.

Situations of fait accompli noted today in Asia run the risk of tarnishing the image and prestige of our Organization by challenging its credibility and moral authority. The fact that massive military forces have been deployed by foreign forces in Afghanistan to break the people's resistance clearly shows a determination to subjugate that full-fledged member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

However, the indifference of the Power concerned to the relevant General Assembly resolutions calling for the unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan must in no way undermine our near unanimity of purpose to fight by all legal ways and means fully to implement those General Assembly resolutions.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Pursuing the resistance struggle under the courageous leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk against the foreign occupation troops, the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has shown that no sacrifice is too great in its attempt to regain freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity for Kampuchea. This heroic resistance on the part of the freedom fighters is thus deserving of the entire international community's increased support until Democratic Kampuchea regains its total independence. As far as my country is concerned, it resolutely supports the struggle and will join in every initiative aimed at resolving the Kampuchean question. This is why Togo has made it a point to be a sponsor of the resolution on Kampuchea.

The failure of numerous attempts at settling the Iran-Iraqi conflict reflects the dangerous escalation of hostilities there. It is highly detrimental to international peace and security for excessive nationalism and geo-political calculations to turn this conflict into a kind of total war encompassing without distinction nor consideration civilian and military targets, cities and rural areas. Moreover, it is extremely disquieting to note that five years of bloody conflict, having taken a heavy toll in human lives and material damage, in no way seems to have weakened the determination of either side to achieve a military victory which seems an illusory goal. It is high time for the leaders of Iran and Iraq to put an end to the hostilities, to agree to start negotiations and acknowledge that this is the only realistic way for an equitable settlement of their dispute.

It is also high time for the United Nations to consider measures with a view to discouraging the purveyors of weapons who continue to fuel this focal point of tension. Having followed with interest the mediation efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General, my country feels that pursuing this initiative is likely to contribute to a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Safeguarding and strengthening peace on the Asian continent also demands that the Korean people, after 40 years of division, distrust and confrontation, regain harmony peacefully and independently within the context of a reunified State. To that end, it is highly desirable that the North Korean leadership's willingness to open a dialogue, rapidly finds a favourable echo on the part of the South Korean authorities. In this connection, the Government of Togo supports the three-point plan proposed by the North Korean side for reunification of the country.

The areas of turmoil in Africa are still the result of greed, external interference and cunning geo-political calculations. For the sake of stability in Africa itself and of a more balanced world, reducing and eliminating these tensions is an imperative and urgent task which the African States and the international community must tackle.

As to the Western Sahara, Togo supports the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations and appeals to the parties concerned to join in the negotiations with a view to settling this conflict peacefully.

As for the crisis in Chad, this is still of extreme concern to the Government of Togo, and my country thus invites the international community to support the efforts of the Brazzaville Conference aimed at direct negotiations between the legal Government of Chad and all opposition factions.

Under pressure from the fierce resistance of the freedom-fighters and the condemnation of the international community and world public opinion, major breaches have been made in the apartheid system. Thus, following the obvious failure of the policy of bantustanization and institutional reforms, eminent leaders of the party in power have acknowledged the serious internal contradictions in the white régime and the aberration of the apartheid doctrine. Given such a background, the pursuit of this ferocious repression against the black majority and



(Mr. Amega, Togo)

the destabilizing manoeuvres aimed at neighbouring countries in southern Africa bear witness to the panic of the racists in power, with their backs against the wall, facing despair, and aware of the fact that they have reached a turning point in their history. Either apartheid is gradually dismantled from within or it will be swept away in violence and under the impact of external factors. Facing such a dilemma, the South African régime, indeed struck to its very core, is proliferating its acts of aggression, notably its most recent interventions in Angola as if to defy the United Nations and the international community.

My country stands side by side with the Government and people of Angola, supports their struggle and firmly condemns the racist South African régime for its policy of oppression, social repression and aggression. The time is thus ripe for increasing various forms of pressure on South Africa, including the use of economic sanctions. In this connection, we welcome the initiatives taken by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States in adopting a bill that envisages such sanctions, and we hope that it will be voted upon and become law, thus serving as an example to other countries.

The trade restrictions decided upon against the apartheid régime by the Scandinavian countries and Canada, followed by other countries, may prove useful, and the decision taken by France to freeze its investments in South Africa is encouraging. Those measures serve as a serious warning to the racist Government. We hail the courage and determination of the Governments concerned for the series of measures that they have launched against this régime which is a blot on mankind. We are obliged to France for its positive initiatives taken in the Security Council. We are also grateful to the other Security Council members for the support they have lent the French initiatives.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

In terms of the measures taken to isolate the apartheid régime, economic sanctions are all the more timely, inasmuch as they are likely to unfreeze the decolonization process for Namibia. To be sure, the Security Council unanimously condemns the setting up in Namibia of an interim government by South Africa and recommends voluntary economic sanctions against the apartheid régime. It remains essential, however, to ensure that direct pressure is brought to bear on the Pretoria Government to compel it to give up this new neo-colonialist manoeuvre and to recognize that the only valid approach is to grant independence under Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without any linkage to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The Middle East has now gained the alarming reputation of being an area in a quasi-permanent state of upheaval. We have a situation here which poses one of the most serious threats to our Organization and it must take up this challenge forthwith.

The civil war in Lebanon is so fraught with horror, harassment and genocide that we must do more than merely raise our voices in despair. At a time when a people is dying and a country falling into ruins, it is essential that our wall of hypocritical indifference and guilty silence tumble and that we reconsider the mandate entrusted to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) with a view to increasing its ability to maintain peace. For this operation to have any chance at success it should receive the dynamic co-operation of those Powers which are directly or covertly involved in the civil war in Lebanon, along with the support of the Lebanese leadership. The growing antagonism of the opposing factions makes the question of Palestine even more delicate and distressing.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

The recent bombing of the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Tunisia by the Israeli Air Force, in defiance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of our Organization, and in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, may well extend the conflict to other States in the area. My Government lends its firm support and solidarity to the Government and people of Tunisia. In the context of an equitable settlement of the Palestinian question, my delegation supports the idea of convening an international conference attended by all the parties concerned, including the major Powers.

Benefiting from scientific innovations and modern technology, the arms industry has expanded to such an extent that today we are witnessing the production and stockpiling of a whole panoplie of weapons. This is an alarming fact, indeed. The destructive capacity of these weapons is unprecedented and is far beyond that of the weapons used in the two world wars, including notably the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

In this context, the forthcoming proclamation of the International Year of Peace must incite the international community, and, in particular the major arms producers, to face up to their responsibilities. Even if the defence of territorial integrity and national sovereignty justifies the existence, equipment and maintenance of a national army in each country, the arms trade must cease to depend exclusively on the logic of profit motivations and political-ideological motivations, and be subordinated to a socio-humanitarian ethic instead. The control to be exercised over that trade implies the use of selective criteria that are likely in the future to obviate the risk of conflict in centres of tension or in areas of potential hostility.

The strengthening of international security imposes on the super-Powers the duty to pursue their dialogue with perseverance with a view to concluding agreements on nuclear disarmament in order to reduce the climate of distrust that continues to prevail between them. The world-wide disarmament campaign must be intensified so as to make world public opinion more aware of the dangers of the balance of terror.

As all peoples are entitled to live in peace, each State must contribute effectively to the achievement of the objectives of that campaign.

It was for this reason that, in August 1984, my country organized a national seminar on peace and disarmament, that it was host to the International Conference on Peace and Human Rights in January 1985, and finally to the Regional Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development, which has just been held from 13 to 16 August 1985 in Lomé. In this connection, it is appropriate to note that this latter Conference adopted the so-called Lomé Declaration and Programme of Action with a view to attaining the objectives of security, disarmament and development.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

The resumption of economic growth noted in the past two years in certain developed countries has not had the anticipated beneficial effect on the international economic situation. Quite the contrary, the international economic crisis has become worse throughout the world, and particularly in the developing countries. Indeed, the economic situation of those countries continues to deteriorate sharply as a result of the combined impact of the 1980 recession and the restrictive policies applied by the developed countries in respect of trade, money and finance. In the field of international trade, and in violation of the Declaration adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) held in 1982, certain developed countries continue to pursue protectionist policies marked by a proliferation of tariff and non-tariff barriers to free trade.

As a result, the markets in which the developing countries can sell their products are becoming scarcer, while at the same time the prices of the raw materials they export have dropped on the whole by over 10 per cent in two years, reflecting the desire of the developed countries to allow the scandalous deterioration of terms of trade and the widening gap separating the rich countries from the poor to continue. In this connection, my delegation supports the proposal to hold a new round of GATT negotiations with a view to solving the problems encountered in the field of international trade, taking into account the special situation of the developing countries.

With reference to the generalized system of preferences for the benefit of the developing countries, my delegation feels it is necessary to reconfirm and reinforce those preferences without reference to any reciprocity clause.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

In the field of money and finance, the international monetary system remains incapable of correcting the major financial imbalances confronting the developing countries. Interest rates are still excessively high, and the debt burden has become unbearable. Trends in debt servicing have resulted in one of the most striking paradoxes of our time. For the developing countries, which are precisely those that are most in need of financial resources for their economic and social development, in 1984 became net exporters of capital to the developed countries. Our country supports the solution to the problems of external indebtedness that was adopted by the Twenty-first Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. If the principle of repayment is acceptable, it must be recognized that such repayment must not have repercussions on the very precarious socio-economic situation of the developing countries. Repayment of debt is, moreover, linked to an improvement of the economic situation in the third world countries in general, and in Africa in particular.\*

At the same time the financial resources of international development institutions continue to decline, thus accentuating the multilateral co-operation crisis.

Trade, monetary, financial and development problems are closely interconnected. That is why six years ago the developing countries took the initiative in calling for global negotiations on economic co-operation for development. Notwithstanding the efforts and concessions made by the developing countries, the question of launching global negotiations remains deadlocked for lack of the necessary political will on the part of the developed countries or,

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\* The President returned to the chair.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

more accurately, because of their determination to continue to cling to the privileges conferred upon them by an anachronistic international economic order.

This year in Luanda, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries addressed an appeal to the developed countries for them finally to agree jointly with the developing countries to join in global negotiations on the basis of the two-stage approach proposed at the Seventh Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi. My delegation hopes that the developed countries will seize the opportunity afforded by the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of our Organization to reply favourably to that appeal and at this session begin these long-awaited negotiations.

Pending the start of the global negotiations and their ultimate conclusion, it is important that immediate and urgent steps be taken in the interest of the developing countries. That is why Togo also supports the earliest possible convening of an international conference on monetary and financial questions, with a view to resolving, among other things, the problems of indebtedness and development financing.

Within the context of the gloomy picture marking the economies of the developing countries in general, the situation in Africa is particularly glaring. In Africa the alarming manifestations and symptoms of the world-wide economic crisis have grown considerably worse under the twofold impact of drought and desertification and of declining prices of raw materials exported by the continent. In this regard, the international community has displayed reassuring solidarity in providing many kinds of aid to the people affected. My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the countries that are friends of Africa, along with all those individuals whose generosity, creative genius and hard work have made it possible to alleviate the plight of the victims of natural disasters in

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Africa. But it is not enough, however, to come to grips with emergency situations. What matters also is for the international community to adopt appropriate measures with a view to supporting African countries in their medium and long-term development efforts. For their part, the Heads of African States gathered in Addis Ababa at the Twenty-first Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity shouldered their responsibility. It remains for the international community to assume its own responsibilities. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the critical economic situation in Africa. That special session of the General Assembly could be held at the beginning of next year.

The forty-second session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa from 10 to 17 July 1985, adopted a resolution declaring that the Antarctic must be the common heritage of mankind. That resolution seeks to extend international co-operation to the Antarctic region in the best interests of all mankind. We appeal to all States to study this issue at the current session of the General Assembly with the full attention it deserves.

The men and women who survived the unspeakable horrors of war doubtless appreciate much more than we do the incalculable value of freedom, human dignity and peace. These men and women who have seen their countries reborn out of the ashes and regain economic momentum benefiting from aid provided by friendly countries hardly need academic exercises to profess their faith in solidarity among peoples and the interdependence of nations. Above and beyond any other consideration, the witness those men and women bear confirms how right and just are the ideals that inspired the founding of our Organization.



(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Better than any theory, that witness borne by those men and women who learned from the lessons taught by history is conducive to consolidating our conviction of the need to strive tirelessly to safeguard and give tangible expression to the noble principles and objectives of the United Nations.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

In the 40 years of existence of our community we have learned that the most influential voices belong to those who, supported by their economic, financial and military advantages, know how to accommodate themselves to the search for appropriate solutions to the multiple and complex problems of our time.

If world equilibrium, at present so fragile and precarious, is to be stabilized once and for all it must depend essentially no longer on the goodwill of the great Powers but rather on the concerted efforts of all countries, large or small, that cherish peace and particularly on the efforts of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, as an essential instrument in strengthening international peace and security.

If the Movement is to play a greater role in resolving the burning questions of concern to our Organization and to be able to uphold and defend the noble ideals of the United Nations, it is urgently necessary for us to close our ranks and strengthen our cohesion and solidarity.

Thus, on behalf of my country, Togo, I invite all non-aligned countries to promote the consolidation of the structures of the Movement, an end to internecine wrangling and the intensification and diversification of South-South co-operation.

If the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations can give birth to new hope for the strengthening of peace and trust among nations and the advent of more just and equitable co-operation, our Organization will give stronger proof than ever of the reason for its existence.

If we honour the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations by some signs heralding the progressive elimination of existing hotbeds of tension, the effective resumption of negotiations on nuclear disarmament and the partial recasting of international economic relations, we shall have proved that men and women on this earth, which for everyone's sake we want to be a peaceful one, are far more keenly aware than might be thought of our common destiny.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.