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Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 3 October 1986, 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. MACIEL
(Vice-President)

(Brazil)

later:

Mr. CHOUDHURY
(President)

(Bangladesh)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Saldivar (Paraguay)

Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics)

Mr. Bako (Niger)

Mr. Hilaire (Haiti)

Mr. Bouterse (Suriname)

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Vice President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SALDIVAR (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Paraguay, to offer a cordial greeting to the President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Bangladesh, Humayun Rashid Choudhury, and to express our most sincere hopes that the Assembly's debates will result in fruitful resolutions in the interest of international peace and security.

We also wish to extend greetings to the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to whom we express our whole-hearted gratitude for his commitment to the tasks of the Organization, which he serves faithfully as a man of international stature and the highest official of the United Nations.

Paraguay is present in the Assembly in the spirit it has always shown, in the firm belief that the role which the United Nations is called upon to play in the world should be one of most effective, pragmatic leadership, in the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security, in an environment of order and compliance with international law.

We cannot understand the equivocal conduct of some countries, large and small, which oppose the participation of the United Nations in conflicts, relegating the universal Organization to the position of a passive onlooker in the interplay of world or regional interests.

(Mr. Saldivar, Paraguay)

The Republic of Paraguay notes with growing concern the incorrect position of those that, ignoring the counsels of reason and international practice, are against the direct participation of the United Nations in the various conflicts throughout the world. Paraguay has confidence in the Organization and wants to see it become more active every day for the benefit of man in all regions of the world.

The Paraguayan people are celebrating this International Year of Peace with festivals and other commemorative events. We enjoy peace and live in peace with our neighbours and brother countries. We enjoy peace, and the Government and people work together to achieve economic, social and political development, seeking to ensure the continuous improvement of our democratic institutions and of the living standards of our people.

The Paraguayan people, which freely and democratically elected the constitutional President of the Republic, General of the Army Alfredo Stroessner, know that they have a strong, stable Government which, within a framework of loyalty to the Constitution and the law, is working for peace and the continued development of the country, without allowing any adverse forces to stand in its way. There have been no insurrections or fighting between brothers and fellow countrymen.

The black legend about Paraguay spread in international circles has been laid to rest and even the most fanatical opponents of the Government of President Stroessner have to admit that under his leadership peace is a reality and that the country moves forward every day towards the goal of permanent well-being for the Paraguayan people.

The international press, in the past incorrectly or only partially informed, has now ascertained that there are periodic elections in Paraguay, in accordance

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with the Constitution, and that the legislative branch of Government comprises two houses, which include representatives of three political parties, legally registered, within a system of democratic pluralism and participation. The judiciary acts independently in accordance with the Constitution and within the system of the independence of the branches of Government.

The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization for the current year, apart from being a valuable document outlining the most important aspects of present world problems, is also a rigorous introspective analysis of the Organization itself, its accomplishments, its frustrations and, above all, its prospects for the future, which are viewed with quiet confidence.

The treatment of the various issues that relate to the primary objective of peace in all the regions of our troubled world, which are increasingly interdependent, reflects a valuable effort of objectivity and balance and honesty of purpose and method that puts that effort above all interests that do not coincide with or could prejudice the positive future of mankind.

We commend the important work done by the Secretary-General and enclose his wise comments and conclusions, which carry for all nations a message of faith and hope.

We follow with particular attention the work and negotiations in the sphere of disarmament. We believe that it is an offence against the world to continue with the arms race, which involves many countries - not only those with high levels of economic development, but also those with limited resources.

(Mr. Saldivar, Paraguay)

This is one of the most urgent problems on our agenda, because while hunger and malnutrition cause the death of thousands of innocent children, all over the world multi-million dollar sums are spent to purchase weapons of death and destruction. The Republic of Paraguay devotes a large share of its income from the national budget to development in all areas, with the valuable co-operation of friendly countries and international organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Much has been said, both within and outside the United Nations, on limiting nuclear and conventional weapons and on disarmament in general. We fervently appeal to all the countries represented here to end the arms race so that peace with justice may serve as a basis for international life, in accordance with the hopes of all the people on earth.

There are some questions that seem to have been left completely outside the work programme of our Organization. It is time that the interests of certain countries and the ideologies of certain Governments did not prevent us from determining, for example, a precise definition of what is "aggression" in the field of international law. It seems paradoxical that while we continue to witness armed conflicts in various parts of the world, it has not been possible for United Nations bodies to arrive at an objective definition of the word "aggression".

Paraguay hopes that the United Nations will maintain and increase its effective role in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end we agree that it must strengthen its negotiating capacity in areas where there are disputes. This must be the heart of the Organization's work if there is to be an effective peace in which men of good will can find a haven from war and destruction.

We continue, as in the past, to condemn the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. We also condemn the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam with the help

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of a super-Power. In both cases our country has supported all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops and supporting all the efforts undertaken in a spirit of good will to find a peaceful and rational solution to these contentious disputes.

The Republic of Paraguay is amazed to see that the war between Iraq and Iran, virtually undeclared as far as international law is concerned, is continuing the cruel confrontation between two nations which desire nothing but peace. We hope that the United Nations will be able to find a solution satisfactory to both sides. Similarly, we trust that there will be a just solution of the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the rules of law, a problem which remains on the list of serious unresolved problems. We consider that the problems of the war in the Persian Gulf and the question of Cyprus must be settled through direct negotiations between the parties involved with the help of the Organization.

The question of the Middle East deserves special attention. The existing situation in that region is truly a cause for concern for the peoples of the world. The time has come for the State of Israel to live in peace and harmony with the Arab countries of the region. To that end the United Nations must intervene effectively and to practical effect, first of all eliminating the outside influences involved in this conflict. Resolution 242 (1967) remains the keystone of any solution to the conflict; it represents the only viable, humane and worthy course for all negotiation between the parties. Paraguay desires a harmonious coexistence for all the peoples of the region.

We have faith in the work of decolonization which the United Nations has long been carrying out. Faithful to our stand for freedom and for respect for the self-determination of peoples, we support its policy, always provided that it does not seek any interests other than those of upholding the free expression of the

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will of the communities involved within the framework of respect for international law and the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the integrity of nations. Consequently we maintain that in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, Namibia has a right to self-determination and independence.

The universality of the United Nations is one of its most important attributes. It is hard to see how the work of the Organization could have practical effect outside the context of universality. We therefore believe that the Republic of Korea has every right to be a Member of the Organization. This position is based on the peace-loving and progressive spirit of its people and Government and the respect which the Republic of Korea has always shown for the mandates of the United Nations in a volatile area of the world.

We advocate the reunification of Korea through the peaceful means of dialogue and negotiation, and we regard as constructive steps towards the attainment of this final objective both the continuation of direct talks between both parties and their admission to membership of the United Nations.

This is also the case of the Malvinas Islands, where two friends of ours, the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom are confronting each other. Here we have maintained the urgent need for a negotiated and friendly solution, in accordance with the principles of international law, on the basis of acceptance that this is a dispute about sovereignty. In line with this spirit we support all steps which may be taken to find, through negotiation between the parties, a just and lasting solution to this problem.

(Mr. Saldivar, Paraguay)

The Central American problem is of concern to the Republic of Paraguay and to the American continent as a whole. We must state here that that problem has roots outside the region and that the expansionist interests of a super-Power that has no business in this part of the world are playing a decisive role and provoking a logical reaction on the part of the other super-Power, which cannot allow the defence of the Western and Christian world to be endangered. In that regard we condemn, in the name of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the intrusion of the Soviet Union into the Caribbean and Central America, directly or indirectly.

Meanwhile, time passes by and matters become entangled and confused, resulting in the intrusion into the very heart of Central America, where North and South America are linked, of a country with a strong ideological and logistical commitment to the expansionist interests of a super-Power from another continent.

It is with legitimate concern that we must state that the chapter on the world economic situation is an increasingly disturbing one and portentous of a serious situation capable of leading the world to a collapse of the financial and commercial order.

To the classic dilemma of the problem of North-South relations, rooted in the permanent decline in raw material prices and increase in those of manufactured goods, with the staggering result of a permanent deterioration in the balance-of-payment ratio of the developing countries, we are now faced with the burning question of foreign indebtedness.

That problem is not only economic or financial in nature. The renewal or renegotiation of foreign debt are not the only things at stake. It is not merely a matter of playing with figures, increasing or decreasing interest rates or amortization installments. The over-all problem of foreign debt has political and social implications of such far-reaching consequences for the third world that the

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highly industrialized and rich countries have the unavoidable obligation to solve it as soon as possible in order to avoid a more severe economic recession that could lead us to the brink of the abyss that already yawns in our path.

What can be done by countries whose exports do not enjoy stable prices on the international market, that have contracted debts to develop such exports and that, owing to lack of resources, are unable to amortize those debts? The problem challenges the right of all peoples to their very existence and calls into question the position of the rich and wealthy nations confronted with such poverty, such despair and such real hunger.

As in the past, the Republic of Paraguay continues to be concerned by a scourge that affects every continent and that, instead of gradually abating, is steadily on the increase. We refer to international terrorism, a tragic plague of the modern world, which criminally and without pity strikes at innocent lives anywhere in the world on the most futile pretexts and with goals that cannot be achieved.

We cannot agree that terrorism is justified by some underlying causes, even though we recognize the reality of some of them. It is time, however, that nations represented here unite to condemn the wave of terrorism from wherever it may come, without concessions to anyone, to any group or country. There is no action or phenomenon that can justify terrorism for its own sake, much less allow certain territories serve as training-grounds for terrorists or allow some countries to help such barbarians by selling or donating weapons and explosives.

In this area the prestige of the United Nations is at stake for, if this question is not solved once and for all, the Organization runs the risk of being left without legal or moral grounds for its existence and for the role it is called upon to play in alleviating the problems of the world.

The Republic of Paraguay, a land-locked State, recently ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. It did so in the context of its

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confidence in the just cause of land-locked nations, since the Convention ensures that important group access to and participation in the resources of the oceans. It has also ratified its legitimate right to transit to and from the seas through the territories of neighbouring maritime States.

We believe in the moral and legal values of our Organization and its work to achieve codification of international law, a matter that would have seemed Utopian a few years ago. We support the work of the United Nations and its organs, such as the Economic and Social Council, in the field of the advancement of women, the protection of children and all questions to safeguard the dignity of man at all levels, without distinction as to sex, religion or race.

Paraguay has always co-operated with all agencies of the United Nations system, including the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in a spirit of understanding and commitment to the cause of human rights. This year the Government of Paraguay received the visit of an independent expert on human rights, a representative of the aforementioned Commission. That expert worked freely and held talks with persons he wished to see, travelling throughout the country without interference of any kind. He saw with his own eyes the freedom of speech and press that prevail in our country, freedoms that the biased, whose motives are unavowable, try to deny in international forums.

I wish to note our recognition of the co-operation we receive from the United Nations Development Programme. Unfortunately, that co-operation has been curtailed because of budgetary constraints that have their origin in the cuts in contributions made by the wealthiest industrialized countries. We urge the more developed nations to increase their generous contribution to that Programme to enable it to work towards its important objectives, which benefit the less-developed peoples.

(Mr. Saldivar, Paraguay)

Nuclear-weapon-free zones and denuclearized zones continue to be of essential importance for the future. We reaffirm the principles embodied in the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which stipulates that Latin America will be a region free from such dangerous weapons. On the basis of the recent disquieting experience that threatened not only Europe but the entire world, the United Nations must establish standards to regulate the compulsory maintenance of safeguards against the expansion of environmental pollution around thermonuclear stations or nuclear plants. All that can be done in this field will be precautionary and will avoid serious problems in the future.

We view with pleasure the proposal of the Government of Brazil on the setting up of a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic. It is a plausible initiative for all neighbouring countries of the region, which are continuously in search of peace and which view with apprehension the events that took place in the region not too long ago. That initiative deserves comprehensive analysis by the Assembly.

The Republic of Paraguay, which lives in peace and co-operation with its neighbours, as proved by the joint construction with the Federative Republic of Brazil of the Itaipu Dam, the world's largest hydroelectric plant, which is already producing electric energy for development, and the Yacyreta Dam, undertaken jointly with the Argentine Republic and which is currently under construction, hopes that the United Nations will be the most fruitful means of bringing about peace and international security throughout the world and among all peoples of the Earth. We hope that the task of the Organization and of all its system and agencies will bring about the effective solidarity of those nations that can do the most to aid the developing and least developed countries economically.

Only in this way and within that spirit of co-operation, disinterest and altruism for the development of everyone will we be able to conquer the obstacles

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that today still exist on the way to our goal - mankind living in peace, with social and economic justice and without any lasting danger to international peace and security.

Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The United Nations has entered its fifth decade at an extremely troubled time, when mankind is faced with a historic choice - either to accept the inexorable drift to nuclear self-annihilation or to avert the catastrophe through our combined efforts before it is too late and to choose the path leading to a lasting and guaranteed peace.

The refinement of nuclear weapons and the desire to extend the arms race to outer space through the implementation of the adventuristic "star wars" programme being stubbornly pursued by aggressive imperialist circles, first and foremost by the United States, increase the danger of war many times over and pose a genuine threat to destroy civilization and life on Earth.

The world has reached a point where it is imperative fully to realize the disastrous nature of the course of a further build-up of armaments. Governments must demonstrate a heightened sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind.

The authors of the Mexico Declaration were perfectly right to state that saving the world from war by building up ever greater arms arsenals is as impossible as trying to cure a drug addict by giving him ever greater doses of drugs.

The most important of all problems - that of survival - can be resolved only by making a fundamental about-turn towards a truly safe world. It cannot be resolved by way of militarization, by undermining the security of others or by setting international security against national or regional security. In the modern nuclear and space age, no State, however powerful, can ensure its own security through military and technical means alone.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Genuine security can only be universal, mutual and equal for all. To that end, it is essential to rise above narrow national interests and differences in ideology or world outlook. This can only be achieved through combined efforts and through broad and constructive co-operation by all States irrespective of their political or social systems. Such were the incontrovertible conclusions reached by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its twenty-seventh Congress. The foreign policy programme adopted by the Congress represents a fusion of new political thinking with a platform of concrete actions aimed at improving the international situation, eliminating the threat of nuclear war and creating a comprehensive system of security in the world.

The socialist States, including the Ukrainian SSR, have submitted for consideration at this session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security".

There was some speculation that this collective proposal by the socialist countries was a mere repetition of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of other documents previously adopted at the United Nations. Peace and international security are, indeed, the primary goal that this Organization is called upon to pursue. However, the truth and higher meaning of our proposal is the idea that while proclaiming peace and security, we should initiate specific effective actions towards their practical implementation. We believe that our proposal is extremely timely. It is dictated by the imperative need to take immediate and urgent measures to prevent nuclear catastrophe. The socialist countries are ready to co-operate actively with all States to achieve that goal.

We are convinced that the time has come to adopt a new approach to the problem of universal security and to bring both actions and political thinking into line with the realities of the nuclear and space age.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

In his speech in Vladivostok on 28 July of this year, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, emphasized that

"the present generations have inherited numerous difficult and painful problems. In order to advance towards solving those problems it is necessary to jettison the dead weight of the past and to seek new approaches, guided by a sense of responsibility to the present and to the future.... Today more than every before, it is important to mobilize the potential of common sense that exists in the world and the partnership of reason to stop the drift towards disaster."

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

The United Nations must do its utmost to ensure that the peoples of the world enter the third millenium as truly united nations. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR calls on all States Members of the United Nations to join actively in the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security and to mark the International Year of Peace by taking vigorous action in this area.

The comprehensive system of international peace and security that we propose would encompass the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields. It presupposes unconditional renunciation of war, both nuclear and conventional, and of the use or threat of the use of force as a means to resolve political, economic, ideological or other disputes between States.

It was with great satisfaction that we welcomed the agreement on a meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States of America - the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeiyeovich Gorbachev, and the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan - at Reykjavik, Iceland, on 11 and 12 October this year. All those who cherish world peace and tranquillity expect that meeting to yield concrete results that will serve to improve Soviet-United States relations and the international situation as a whole.

It is important for people everywhere in the world to realize that the buildup and refinement of nuclear and conventional arsenals and attempts to extend the arms race to outer space cannot strengthen the security of anyone, but will rather lead directly to the destruction of civilization.

The misfortune we experienced last April - the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power-plant, where only a small portion of the accumulated nuclear power went out of control - served as one more grim warning of the unforeseeable dangers inherent in the nuclear age. This calls for a great sense of responsibility and a new approach to the scientific, technological and political realities of today's world.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

The accident resulted in loss of life and caused enormous material and moral damage. All the necessary resources and the scientific and technical potential of the entire Soviet Union were mobilized to deal with its consequences. That enabled us within a short space of time to limit the scope of the accident and to minimize its severe consequences.

The lessons of Chernobyl compel all of us to treat the problem of nuclear safety with the utmost seriousness and responsibility. We welcome and support the measures and action taken in this respect by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). But security becomes meaningless if the main danger is not eliminated: the possibility of the deliberate, intentional use of the catastrophically destructive power of the atom for nuclear purposes. What happened at Chernobyl is but a pale shadow of the threat posed by thermonuclear weapons. Nuclear safety on earth is inconceivable without a cessation of the concrete preparations for nuclear war and without the total elimination of the means of waging nuclear war.

To that end, the countries of the socialist community have undertaken a number of major principled foreign policy actions. Here, the programme proposed by the Soviet Union for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction everywhere before the end of the century constitutes a real milestone. The noble purpose of that programme is to remove the nuclear threat without shifting the burden of resolving this key issue onto the shoulders of our children.

But the prospect of overcoming the negative, confrontational tendencies which have been on the rise in recent years is not to the liking of certain quarters in the West. The military machine of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alliance, far from showing any signs of slowing down, is actually accelerating in all areas of the arms build-up.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

The "star wars" programme is going full speed ahead. The creation and development of newer and newer systems of weapons for strategic offense is being stepped up. In order to clear the way for those weapons, existing treaty constraints are being brushed aside without hesitation. That is particularly obvious from Washington's attitude towards the second Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT II). The newest United States missiles have reached the Treaty ceilings, and that is why the United States is renouncing both SALT I and SALT II. That kind of political "logic" opens the floodgates for an uncontrolled arms race.

The General Assembly is duty-bound to take a stand of principle on those actions and to affirm unambiguously the importance of preserving and expanding the existing system of agreements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is compelling proof that, given the political will and the desire, it is possible and feasible to conclude military and political agreements between States with differing social systems. That is an example of how détente can and must be restored and how a new, stable structure of international relations can be organized.

There are political decisions that play a decisive role by giving rise to new tendencies which open entirely new ways for the development of the international situation. The Soviet Union's decision concerning the moratorium on nuclear tests is undoubtedly one of these. The Soviet Union's unilateral cessation of nuclear tests, which has been in force for over a year now, is a practical example of a foreign policy of peace and international security. We favour not merely the cessation of tests, but a treaty-controlled ban on nuclear testing; of all steps toward arms limitation now feasible, such a ban would be the most rapid and most radical. The cessation of tests would in fact halt the arms race in its most

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

dangerous area: the development and improvement of new types of nuclear weapons. All that would remain would be to deal with the quantitative arms race, which seems to be a less difficult task.

The cessation of nuclear tests could lead to a radical change in the public and political climate in the world, and could do so more effectively than any one-time measures. An atmosphere of greater confidence among States would be created, which would be of paramount importance for the resolution of other outstanding problems and conflicts, particularly since compliance with an agreement banning nuclear tests can be guaranteed by absolutely reliable means of verification and monitoring. Today even the smallest nuclear explosion can be detected.

The most convincing indication of how seriously each of the nuclear Powers views the question of disarmament, international security and the cause of peace as a whole is their respective attitudes towards halting nuclear tests and towards the early formulation of a treaty banning them completely.

The United States of America categorically opposes the cessation of nuclear tests. Since the introduction of the Soviet moratorium it has set off 21 explosions. Three additional tests - the Bonneville, Budy and Belmont tests - are scheduled for October, and in December the United States intends to carry out a nuclear test code-named "Middle Note". What is the purpose of all this? The answer is clear: the development of a nuclear-pumped laser for the notorious system of the strategic defence initiative requires about 100 nuclear explosions.

The refusal of the United States to stop nuclear-weapon tests despite the resolute demands of the world public convincingly refutes the Administration's assurances that the United States is seeking to save mankind from nuclear weapons,

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which is one of the arguments it also uses in its attempt to justify the implementation of the so-called strategic defence initiative, which is actually aimed at the acquisition of a nuclear first-strike capability.

The time has come to make use of all existing leverage and possibilities, including the tremendous potential of the United Nations, to prevent the introduction of weapons to outer space. A basis for finding a mutually acceptable solution to the problem of preventing an arms race in space exists. The USSR favours a ban on the development, testing and deployment of space strike arms, under effective verification, and it has proposed that important partial steps be taken in that direction, such as agreement not to withdraw during the coming 15 years from the anti-ballistic missile Treaty, the conclusion of an international agreement on the immunity of artificial Earth satellites, agreement not to develop new anti-satellite systems, and the elimination of existing anti-satellite systems. Specific ideas on the subject have been presented both at the bilateral Soviet-United States negotiations and at the Conference on Disarmament.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

In response to the appeal by the General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed in a letter of 12 June 1986 addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General that immediate action be taken to achieve a twofold objective: to stop the preparations for "star wars", which would lead to nuclear suicide, and adopt instead the alternative of exploring outer space through the joint efforts of States for the benefit of mankind. Questions pertaining to the practical implementation of that initiative should be considered at a special international conference and resolved by an international agency to be established for that purpose. In that case appropriations running into trillions of dollars would be put to proper use. We urge the current session to make an important contribution to preventing an arms race in outer space and establishing equitable co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space.

The cause of saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war would be significantly served by resolving such urgent problems as the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all parts of the world. Specific proposals made by socialist, non-aligned and neutral countries on these subjects are well known.

The socialist States believe in a comprehensive approach to the disarmament problem and ensuring that the elimination of weapons of mass destruction is backed up by significant reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments. This question is becoming a matter of increasing urgency for the present and future of the European continent.

Ways of resolving this problem can be found in the large-scale programme for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, put forward in Budapest last June by the Warsaw Treaty member States. Those proposals take into account the position of Western European States which believe

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that nuclear disarmament in Europe should go hand in hand with reduction of conventional armaments.

Making the world safe is inconceivable without chemical disarmament. The Ukrainian SSR takes a favourable view of the efforts of the Conference on Disarmament to work out an international convention on the subject. It is to be hoped that the convention will be completed by 1987. We support proposals for establishing chemical-weapon-free zones in Central Europe and the Balkans, which is the objective of the well-known initiatives of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

It is imperative for the General Assembly to call upon all States to refrain from any action which could impede negotiations on banning chemical weapons.

A substantial contribution to curbing the arms race and to disarmament would be made by implementing the proposals of the socialist countries on the mutual non-increase in military spending, non-use of armed force, and the maintenance of peaceful relations between Warsaw Treaty member States and the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The countries of the socialist community attach great importance to holding in 1987 an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. It is to be regretted that such a conference could not be held this year. The militaristic principle of armaments instead of development should be replaced by the normal state of affairs - disarmament for development. In the current difficult and dangerous situation in the world all the resources of the United Nations should be mobilized to take specific action to defuse conflict situations and settle contentious issues by political means through collective efforts, with unconditional respect for the independence and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Tensions still exist in the Middle East, created by the aggressive designs of Israel and the anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian policies of its protectors. Recent events have amply demonstrated the untenable nature of separatist and defeatist deals towards which the Arabs are being nudged by the United States and Israel.

A just settlement in the area can be achieved only through joint efforts, with equal participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations support the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East. An appropriate preparatory committee within the framework of the Security Council could immediately start work on preparing for such a conference.

We must also note a further exacerbation of the situation in the Mediterranean as a result of militaristic actions designed to implement the doctrine of "neo-globalism". It was manifested in acts of aggression against sovereign Libya, which provoked protests and indignation throughout the world, in the blackmail campaign against Syria, and in the continuing aggression against Lebanon.

The Ukrainian SSR strongly advocates turning the Mediterranean from an area of military and political confrontation into a zone of stable peace and security, and supports the steps that are being taken by peace-loving States to improve the situation in the region.

We want to see a just solution to the Cyprus question, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, without outside interference and with due regard for the legitimate interests of the two communities. We believe that the convening of a representative international conference is a realistic means of achieving that goal. Holding such a conference would help to resolve such aspects of the problem as the establishment of a system of effective international guarantees, withdrawal of foreign troops, and the elimination of all foreign military bases and facilities.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

In the guise of hypocritical arguments about "freedom", "democracy" and "humanism", a policy of State-sponsored terrorism is being pursued against the countries and peoples of Central America, and the material base is being expanded for unleashing a major armed conflict in the area. Subversive activities by the United States have particularly increased in recent times when there have appeared hopes for success in the Contadora process.

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its total solidarity with the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people to defend the independence of their country and strongly condemns the escalation of aggressive actions against Nicaragua. The resolution of the crisis in Central America is possible only within the framework of a peaceful political settlement and on the basis of generally recognized rules of international law. The Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal by Nicaragua to turn Central America into a zone of peace and co-operation, free from foreign military presence.

The representative international conferences held this year have more than ever before focused attention on the need for an immediate political settlement in southern Africa. The racist Pretoria régime is defying the whole world by stepping up repression of the civilian population, refusing to grant independence to Namibia, which it occupies, and committing acts of aggression against its African neighbours. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR shares the conclusion reached at the non-aligned summit at Harare that it is only through the most resolute action, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, that it is possible to eliminate the shameful system of apartheid and implement United Nations decisions concerning independence for Namibia and the establishment of peace and stability in the interests of the peoples of the region. The forty-first session of the United Nation General Assembly should

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become a new phase in mobilizing the efforts of the world community in the struggle for the speedy elimination of apartheid.

Serious concern has been caused by United States actions aimed at annexing the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands - Micronesia - and turning it into one of its military and political strongholds in the Pacific Ocean. By depriving the Micronesian people of their right to genuine freedom and independence, the administering Power has grossly abused the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council and failed to meet the objectives of trusteeship. We strongly support the demand by non-aligned countries for the immediate implementation of the Declaration on decolonization in the case of Micronesia.

The Ukrainian SSR supports the realistic proposals of Viet Nam, Laos, and Kampuchea for the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. We support the peace efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to secure the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea, the development of peaceful dialogue between the two parts of the country, and the turning of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

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Of great importance in improving the international situation is the programme for security and peaceful co-operation in the Asian and Pacific region proposed by the Soviet Union last July. By creating favourable conditions for the solution of a whole range of problems, including the problem of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, that programme is a manifestation of good will and a responsible approach to dealing with the main problems of today.

The series of measures set forth in that programme, including the prevention of the proliferation and build-up of nuclear weapons, the reduction of naval activities and cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons, not only constitutes a basis for regional security in Asia and the Pacific but can also become an integral part of the global system of security for all.

The normalization of international economic relations has become a truly urgent task. The plight of developing nations and the neo-colonialist exploitation of their natural and human resources are fundamental and root causes of the political tensions and conflicts in various parts of the world.

Imperialist Powers, taking advantage of the predicament of the developing countries and their huge foreign debt, interfere high-handedly in the internal affairs of countries and block the process of their economic liberation. In these circumstances the struggle for international economic security as an integral part of a comprehensive system of international security has come to the fore.

The Ukrainian SSR takes an active part in United Nations efforts to encourage and promote basic freedoms and human rights and conscientiously fulfils its obligations under relevant international agreements. We cannot at the same time fail to note the hypocrisy of some Governments, prepared to pay endless lip-service to the sanctity of the rights of the individual while shamelessly violating the rights of entire peoples in the Middle East, in southern Africa, in Central America and in Asia. To that end, they are resorting to undeclared wars, subversive acts,

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acts of State-sponsored terrorism, slanderous propaganda campaigns, economic pressure and blackmail.

In order to increase the effectiveness of the work of protecting the peoples of the world from outside encroachments, the General Assembly should, we believe, begin to work on the concept of the rights of peoples, which constitute the basis for implementing human rights.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has outlined its approaches to the solution of urgent international problems in the sincere hope that progress can be achieved, even at this current session, in defusing some of the existing conflicts. In view of the world situation the work of the United Nations General Assembly must be conducted in a constructive spirit and the businesslike deliberations at this session should contribute to overcoming the barriers of enmity and mistrust and promote the improvement of the international climate.

In the words of Vladimir Shcherbitsky, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine:

"In a nuclear age there is simply no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence."

While calling upon representatives of other States to treat our initiatives with the utmost seriousness, we, for our part, are prepared to lend our support to any proposals that would contribute to the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. The experience of the United Nations in its work of more than 40 years has shown that what is needed to improve the international situation is the combined efforts of States, tolerance and a willingness to adopt compromise decisions. In a nuclear age, mankind can survive only together, moving forward step by step from today's over-armed and exceedingly dangerous world towards a minimally armed and safe world of the twenty-first

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century. We can take the first step along that road here and now, at the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. BAKO (Niger) (interpretation from French): On 24 October 1985, the community of nations celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. In a world suffering from countless problems and frustrations, that event gave rise to comfort and hope because it served as an occasion for all of our countries, through their representatives at the highest levels, to reaffirm unequivocally their commitment to the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter and to renew their commitment to usher in a new era in which today's serious and complex problems can be faced collectively in a new spirit and with a new awareness of our interdependence and our shared responsibility.

That furnished us with a just assessment of the challenges we must face, challenges that, by their very nature, make isolated approaches inoperative and suicidal. In particular, I am thinking of the crucial questions of peace and development. Present and future generations will judge our actions on the basis of what we do today and will do tomorrow, and especially at this forty-first session of the General Assembly, to preserve peace in the world and to find answers to the pressing questions of hunger, poverty and underdevelopment.

I wish to stress the importance of the task the Assembly has unanimously entrusted to you its President. His talents as a skilful and experienced diplomat, a representative of a country, Bangladesh, whose commitment to the ideals of our Organization is well known, will certainly contribute to the success of our work. I should like, therefore, to convey to him the pleasure felt by my country, which shares with him a community of Islamic culture and destiny, at his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation will fully support him in the accomplishment of his task.

(Mr. Bako, Niger)

His predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés of Spain, was a deserving President of our Assembly. To him, we extend the compliments and highest esteem of the delegation of the Niger for the important contribution he made to the work of our Organization.

Our preceding session laid the groundwork for a solid platform of collective action for the common good, thereby arousing hopes with regard to man's determination to face adversity, to master and control his own baser nature and to work resolutely towards the building of the safer and more united world for which we all long.

The proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace is a further mark of our Organization's determination to harmonize the efforts of the international community in establishing an atmosphere that can ensure the maintenance of universal peace. More than 40 years after the end of the last world conflict, that universal peace continues to exist, notwithstanding the breaches and threatened breaches that still occur in many places in the world.

If we truly want to succeed in this work of peace for the benefit of the whole of the world community, we must ensure the strict implementation of the fundamental principles of our Organization. In this connection, refraining from the use or threat of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, are moral and cultural values to which each of our nations is committed. At the same time, they are imperative norms of international law to which our Governments have fully subscribed. As the lasting expression of the deep and legitimate aspirations of mankind, such values and norms embody our common fate. More than a code of conduct, they are a solid foundation upon which relations between peoples and nations must be based.

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It would appear that all the conflicts and dangerous situations in the world today arise from deliberate violations of those principles, but also from the serious and dangerous decline in the duty to co-operate and work together for the establishment of a new international economic order that would guarantee every people more harmonious and lasting development, as set forth in the United Nations Charter.

We must therefore work together to adopt the measures needed to deal with the many situations the persistence of which seriously threatens international peace and security and reflects badly upon the credibility of our Organization.

The policy of apartheid of the minority régime in Pretoria, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States have created an explosive environment in the southern part of the African continent thus endangering peace and security not only in the region but in the world as well.

In occupied Namibia, we see a continuation of delaying tactics intended to thwart the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of that Territory. This allows for the continuation, among other things, of the systematic plundering of that country's vast natural resources, which are then sold cheaply on the world market by the South African régime.

In regard to its neighbours, South Africa is also pursuing, and has long done so, a policy of aggression, destabilization and intimidation. Never before have arrests, torture, mass murder and systematic violations of the law and morality that govern the external conduct of States been practised with such cynicism and on such a vast scale as has been done by the South African régime.

In the face of the infernal cycle of violence that today characterizes the situation in that part of the African continent and in the face of the serious dangers this poses to international peace and security, the time has come to go

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beyond the usual jeremiads, verbal condemnations and resolutions that are not in fact resolutions.

The minority racist régime of Pretoria has today finally provided the community of nations with proof of its blindness, its intransigence and its total disregard for law and universal morality.

More effective means of pressure must necessarily be adopted urgently to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, as well as the front-line States. Niger's position is perfectly clear on this matter. His Excellency General Seyni Kountche, President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State of Niger, reaffirmed this at the last summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU):

"We must lend effective, appropriate and constant assistance to the liberation movements, as well as to the front-line States, in their struggle against oppression and aggression. Indeed, the time has come for the adoption of concrete and immediate measures to make the apartheid régime consider the situation and give way. Those measures must undoubtedly include economic sanctions, which the international community and, particularly, the industrialized countries, must issue and apply in order finally to isolate those men who would deny man."

The immediate and effective application of the recommendations of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris in June 1986 and of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence to Namibia held in Vienna the following month, as well as those of the eighth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Harare in September and the recent special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, would no doubt compel the Pretoria régime to respect the decisions and resolutions of our Organization and finally to grant independence to Namibia and to promote within South Africa a democratic

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multiracial society where the freedom, equality, dignity and well-being of all would be recognized and guaranteed.

The great tragedy of our time that is taking place in southern Africa has not, however, made us forget other situations of conflict that still prevail on our continent.

As neighbours of Chad, a country with which we have ties of all sorts, we cannot remain indifferent to the situation of prolonged war and instability that has affected that country for several years now. As neighbours, we have come to know Chad, its people and its problems. The people of Chad has deep aspirations to peace. Like all other African peoples, it hopes to build a viable State and to set down the basis for its economic and social development. Rich in history, proud of its past, it is today fighting with the strength of despair against the demons of disunity and dislocation. These are legitimate aspirations. From its neighbours, with which it has cultivated friendship, from Africa, to which it firmly belongs, and from the international community, usually so ready to help, Chad expects understanding, support and assistance. It expects to be understood in its fierce will to remain itself and to be supported and assisted in its fervent hope to live in peace and to advance its development.

Peace and development are also relevant matters in North-West Africa and, more generally, in the Maghreb, that rich and promising part of our continent, the natural evolution, course towards unity and progress of which have been slowed down, impeded and even handicapped by the conflict arising from the decolonization of the former Spanish Sahara.

Closely tied to the peoples of the Maghreb by history, geography and culture, Niger cherishes the profound hope that the joint efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the current President of the Organization of African Unity to organize a referendum on the question of self-determination will succeed in the near future.

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Africa, already facing the challenge of racism and besieged by so many problems inherent in its level of development, can only hope for the establishment of a climate of peace in its midst and of an atmosphere of confidence, tolerance and good neighbourliness among all - a condition without which it cannot victoriously confront the pressing needs of building a better future.

Other hotbeds of tension are giving rise to anguish and distress elsewhere and are also rightly of concern to the Assembly. The Middle East, that region near the African continent whose stability undeniably has a strong effect on world peace, has for several decades been the theatre of ceaseless confrontation arising from a situation of injustice that has been created and maintained and for which the United Nations has a responsibility to which it remains fully committed.

In this region of the world, so already battered by several conflicts, Israel has established a permanent climate of instability by developing a sustained policy of expansion, the major objective of which is to prevent the realization of the fundamental and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and to finalize the illegal annexation of the Golan and the occupation of Al Quds Al Sharif.

Loyal to its consistent policy in that regard, Niger for its part will continue to support the just cause of the Palestinian people and to militate for the total withdrawal of Israel from all of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem. In that connection, Niger is pleased to see that chances for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East are beginning to appear and are increasing.

The continuation of the fratricidal conflict that has set Iran and Iraq against each other for six years now is a source of serious concern. The United Nations, through its Secretary-General, has repeatedly taken action to end that devastating and deadly conflict. Those efforts deserve to be continued and supported by us all.

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The brutal intrusion of foreign forces into Democratic Kampuchea and Afghanistan and the continued occupation of the territories of those two non-aligned countries have consistently been found reprehensible and condemned by the General Assembly as serious challenges to the principles governing friendly relations between States.

We continue to support that point of view, to call for the total evacuation of occupation troops from the territories of those two countries and to call for scrupulous respect for their sovereignty, territorial integrity and status as non-aligned States.

We similarly remain vigilant with regard to the tension in the Korean peninsula. We encourage continued efforts to bring about the reunification of this prestigious nation through peaceful means.

Whether it be in Africa, Asia or Latin America - that other region of the world subject to serious upheavals - the true peace that we seek cannot be fully attained as long as division and discord exist among nations and as long as the profound aspirations of peoples to justice and to social progress continue to be disregarded and flouted.

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In addition to these numerous conflicts which bring suffering and grief all over the world, there are other challenges to the future of mankind. If we do not decisively meet those challenges there can be no genuine lasting peace on earth.

Among those challenges is the serious, deep-seated and long-standing crisis in the world economy. Its root causes lie in the persistence of an unjust and inequitable international economic system marked by a continuous fall in commodity prices, by protectionism and restrictive trading practices, by monetary and financial instability and by the growing indebtedness of third-world countries.

The situation is particularly critical for the African countries whose economies, already structurally fragile and vulnerable, have been further shaken and dislocated. In recent years some of these countries have experienced considerable slowing of their already low growth rates. The critical economic situation in Africa reflects both the scope and the effects of the crisis: the inability of the continent which was the cradle of mankind to achieve self-sufficiency in feeding its peoples, a situation inherent in the difficulty of rebuilding our agriculture; to build the infrastructure needed to irrigate our dry regions; to make our regions more accessible in order to permit a better flow of products; and to establish a true African policy of complementarity and co-operation among States in such areas as the fight against desertification and the important field of water management. To all those difficulties we add others no less burdensome, concerning the education, health and housing of our peoples, whom we wish to enable to lead healthy lives in order to participate more actively and with greater honour in the development of our continent and of the world.

Africa is in the pitiless clutches of a drought, which has greatly reduced available water and arable land, destroying plant and animal life in vast areas, and killing thousands of men, women and children by hunger and thirst.

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In connection with agriculture, the most recent report on Africa of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) states that per capita production has fallen nearly 20 per cent since 1960, while the rate of growth of the population has increased by 3 per cent per year. That report states also that if things remain as they are, per capita production will fall another 30 per cent in the coming 25 years. The report further predicts that eventually the African States will, with few exceptions, will be forever condemned to dependency in satisfying their food requirements.

That situation is of grave concern to African Governments, which have attempted to deal with the situation at the national, sub-regional and continental levels. At the national level, African leaders are redefining agricultural strategies and are working to maintain, diversity and rebuild vegetation, to protect the soil, to develop water resources, and to provide security in crop by promoting and developing crop production and animal husbandry.

Considerable efforts to co-ordinate these national initiatives are being undertaken at the sub-regional and continental levels. In the Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, nine countries have formulated a concerted rehabilitation programme which gives priority to water management, to the campaign against desertification by means of reafforestation, to the development of agriculture and livestock raising, and to building up of buffer stocks of grain.

At the continental level, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has devoted much consideration to ways and means of dealing with the situation. This has led to the establishment of the Special Emergency Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Drought and Famine in Africa, which is in operation now, and to the adoption of the Priority Programme for Economic Recovery in Africa.

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Clearly, Africa should not rely solely on outside assistance, but must make use of its own resources and intelligence, which will be its weapons in a victorious war to secure freedom from hunger. Only a pragmatic strategy based on basic requirements and the political will to undertake the needed reorientation of social and economic systems through revised agrarian methods and policies can lead to a solution to the problem of food.

But Africa, which contains the majority of the world's poorest countries, cannot by itself meet this enormous, serious challenge posed by Nature. In that connection, Niger welcomes the great step forward taken at the special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa. It was possible at that special session to formulate and adopt a Programme of Action giving high priority to agriculture and related sectors. Its implementation will promote the rapid recovery of the African economy. Africa has conveyed its great appreciation for that initiative and for the solidarity of the international community in committing itself to stand by Africa and support it in its search for development by Africans and for Africans.

As an expression of our joint political will, the United Nations Programme of Action for the Economic Recovery of Africa, 1986-1990, is a contract of solidarity. Meeting the terms of that contract requires the same political will, fostered by a clear awareness that the future of Africa is indissolubly linked with the progress of the world.

I wish now to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his effective and diligent work towards the success of that special session and towards its positive result. His interest in Africa and its problems and the attention he has devoted to them are nothing new. We of the Sahel know of his commitment, because on his own initiative he

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undertook a campaign to mobilize the assistance of the international community during the terrible drought of 1984. We are grateful to him for having always worked in favour of a just and peaceful world, and for his vision of a future based on mutual assistance and interdependence.

We must pursue this action for Africa and broaden it to encompass other priority areas. I think here especially of the worrying problem of indebtedness. Niger joins the many other anguished voices calling for a joint solution to this problem, the ruinous effects of which are jeopardizing economic and social achievement in many countries.

Through his intelligence and thanks to extraordinary scientific and technological progress, mankind has moved somewhat further into areas of the universe. But we must recognize today that there is one technology the development of which can only lead to the downfall of mankind: the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, which become more sophisticated every year.

We cannot but be shocked that the two super-Powers alone possess a nuclear arsenal sufficient to destroy our world several times over. Even more inadmissible is the fact that every year colossal sums are devoted to the development of nuclear weapons. Once that sum was \$800 billion; today more than \$1 trillion is devoted to the production of these deadly machines, at a time when so many people languish in horrific poverty and destitution.

It cannot be over-emphasized that the arms race can never serve the interests of stability, peace and security. On the contrary, it is a source of tension between the super-Powers and even of confrontation which would be fatal for mankind.

The nuclear-weapon Powers, especially the two super-Powers, therefore bear an important responsibility in this regard, and must do everything possible to avert the risk of nuclear confrontation. The only way to do this is to engage in sincere

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dialogue with a view to formulating urgent disarmament measures leading to a gradual reduction in nuclear weapons until their complete elimination.

In this connection, the Government and the people of Niger welcome the initiation in March 1985 of negotiations between the two super-Powers on intermediate-range and strategic nuclear and space weapons. A seal of approval was affixed to that dialogue at the meeting between the leaders of the two countries, held at Geneva in November 1985. We hope that dialogue will continue shortly at Reykjavik, and that it will lead to effective agreements aimed at general and complete disarmament.

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Those, in our view, are the major challenges of our time, daunting challenges in view of their nature and scope, but their solutions are vital for the future of mankind, and for international peace and security. The United Nations must deal with those challenges if it is not to founder and bring the whole world down with it. This is a categorical imperative.

Millions of people throughout the world are increasingly expressing their firm opposition to the arms race and their unfailing abhorrence of apartheid and racial discrimination. Millions of voices are continuously heard denouncing the continuation of sources of tension and calling for a more stable and fraternal world.

In view of all those situations, and in view of the tidal wave of the brutal, savage and vile force of terrorism, the noble attitude of millions of men and women who voice every day their love of peace, justice and freedom, constitutes for our Governments and for our Organization, a source of inspiration and an encouraging reassurance of the value of our work here.

We are convinced that we must not resign ourselves to the many serious difficulties that are endangering universal peace. This is our world and we, together, bear the responsibility to preserve and improve it, for present and future generations.

Mr. HILAIRE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): I would first like to express my delegation's warm congratulations to Ambassador Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. This great honour paid to him is undoubtedly also a well-deserved tribute to the Republic of Bangladesh, which has constantly endorsed and actively promoted the United Nations aims of peace and co-operation.

I also wish to convey to Mr. Jaime de Piniés, his predecessor, our congratulations on his brilliant performance as President of the last session.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

It is a great honour for me to speak in this august Assembly on behalf of a people which, with exemplary courage and at enormous sacrifice, has just brought to an end the long night of oppression that descended upon Haiti almost 30 years ago.

Today, the freedom won by rebellion is being consolidated through dialogue. The people, too long overlooked, fully intends to take charge of its destiny and, under the leadership of the National Governing Council, which wishes to act as the executor of the will of the people, the normalization of life is continuing. We have undertaken a coherent, realistic programme of action, aimed primarily at establishing democracy on a solid foundation that will preclude any attempt to bring back tyranny. It provides for reforms to promote and guarantee the functioning of authentic democracy based on the participation and consent of the governed and strict respect for their fundamental rights in full accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

In pursuit of this programme, a political time-table has been drawn up with specific dates for the different stages that should lead, in November 1987, to free and fair elections and, in February 1988, to the establishment of a democratic Government in keeping with the aspirations of the Haitian people.

Political prisoners, without exception, have been freed; there has been a mass return of exiles of all political persuasions; and the many decrees which in the past had unjustly robbed many of our countrymen of their nationality and goods have been repealed.

At the same time, new legislation has been enacted on the formation of political parties, freedom of the press, and the establishment of a Constituent Assembly with the task of preparing a new, fundamentally democratic constitution by the end of 1986.

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Also, an election, for the first time, of rural administrative councils has provided an essential stage in the programme of action designed to encourage the rural masses to participate actively in the nation's life from henceforth.

Furthermore, the Haitian Government is keenly aware of the need for large-scale action to deal with the grave economic and social problems inherited from the former régime and to promote the structural changes that will make it possible to meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the President of the National Governing Council, Lieutenant-General Henri Namphy, recently made the following statement:

"What we must do is lay the foundations of healthy political democracy and bring about a significant and lasting transformation of the living conditions of 6 million Haitians, 75 per cent of whom live below the absolute poverty threshold."

Thus, the Government has resolutely embarked on the task of bringing about the necessary changes for the sound and effective management of the national economy and public finances and to create the conditions needed for sustained development. Of course the main effort must be a national effort, although we must not underestimate the assistance that the international community is giving us in one form or another.

Indeed, we attach the greatest possible importance to the praiseworthy and persevering efforts of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General, in terms of the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly to mobilize and co-ordinate for the benefit of the Republic of Haiti a substantial flow of aid which will make it possible for Haiti to overcome the structural obstacles and adverse conditions that stand in the way of its social and economic development. My delegation wishes to take this occasion to pay him a special tribute for those efforts.

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The Haitian Government is also pleased to note the understanding that has been shown in various organs and institutions of the United Nations system and the constructive attitude of Member States, which have spontaneously come forward to co-operate with us in a spirit of solidarity with Haiti and its people.

This co-operation will certainly hasten the advent of the just and democratic society we so earnestly desire.*

*The President returned to the Chair.

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It is in a context of violence and disturbing decline in the level of international relations that the forty-first session of the General Assembly is meeting. The Organization's repeated appeals to Member States to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations have gone largely unheeded. Today, no part of the world is untouched by the crisis situation created by evermore numerous sources of conflict. Reaffirming its faith in our Organization, the Republic of Haiti, in the light of the ideals and principles of the Charter, wishes to clarify its position on the principal problems of international peace and security.

The situation in southern Africa is marked by the persistence of two major challenges: the sorry question of apartheid and the 20-year-long illegal occupation of Namibia.

Resorting to unprecedented oppression that has already caused more than 2,000 deaths over the past 18 months, the white majority persists in imposing its will on the black majority, the Coloureds and front-line countries; in addition, it refuses to leave Namibia, notwithstanding the demands of the United Nations.

Nothing, therefore, could be more natural than for our Organization to take the lead and in using law, logic and common sense to oppose brute force in the service of blind passion, selfish interests and unwholesome prejudice. If, in the case of this conflict as in the case of so many others, its efforts have not yet met with success, that is due in large part to the collusion between South Africa and certain Governments that claim to oppose apartheid but at the same time refuse to match their words by deeds. The magnitude of that undisguised complicity is evidenced by their actions in the Security Council, which have resulted in protecting Pretoria so far from comprehensive mandatory sanctions, which are the only means of facilitating a peaceful negotiated solution.

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None the less, we have been encouraged by the determination of the Namibian and South African peoples, which, under the leadership, respectively, of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the South African liberation movements, are struggling by all possible means to put an end to what could be described as the scandal of this last part of the century.

Nearer home, in Central America, the situation remains critical. For Haiti, which has made non-intervention, non-interference and the right of peoples to self-determination the bases of its foreign policy, the efforts of the Contadora Group provide the best chance of a comprehensive peaceful solution. They deserve our whole-hearted support.

With regard to the conflict over the Malvinas, as we call them, we remain concerned at the absence of practical results. Our position is that reflected in resolution 40/21, adopted at the last session of the General Assembly, of which we were a sponsor. In essence, that resolution called for the resumption of negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom, without pre-conditions.

Equally alarming for the international community are the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the presence of foreign forces of occupation poses a threat to regional peace and stability, damages efforts towards co-operation and compromises opportunities for development. Notwithstanding the opinion of the vast majority of the international community and the unflagging efforts of the Secretary-General, no progress has been made towards political settlements that would end the indescribable sufferings of the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples.

Jealous of its independence, Haiti has always opposed and will continue to oppose foreign intervention and occupation of any kind. We reaffirm our opposition to the presence of occupation forces, the withdrawal of which is the essential factor in creating conditions conducive to negotiated solutions that recognize the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

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Still with regard to Asia, the Government of the Republic of Haiti is following with attention the moves towards the reunification of the Korean nation. It is pleased at the results already achieved and we unreservedly support the idea of the admission of the two Koreas as Members of the United Nations, in the hope that that integration would not only make it possible to hear at last the voice of the Korean people, but, further, facilitate the effective rapprochement of those two States by leading to a relaxation of the tensions in that part of the world.

In the case of Cyprus, the Republic of Haiti, which has always recognized the virtues of dialogue and working together to solve problems, believes that that country's situation is not irremediable. While reaffirming our full support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, we appeal to the parties concerned to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a constructive dialogue aiming at a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus.

As for the conflict between Iran and Iraq, we remain greatly concerned by the enormous loss of human life, the squandering of tremendous economic resources and the threats to regional peace and security involved. In this connection, all parties in a position to exert any positive influence on the belligerents should pool their efforts to prevail upon them to end the hostilities.

Those and other confrontations, in addition to acts of terrorism, are only prolonging the sufferings of the peoples of the region. We reaffirm our solidarity with martyred Lebanon, the innocent victim of a situation that appears to be beyond its control.

In the same context, there is the question of Palestine, which remains at the core of the Middle East conflict. We reaffirm our support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which recognizes as an essential element for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East the withdrawal of

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

Israel from the occupied territories and acknowledgement of the right of every State in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. We also support the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people, which, like all other peoples in the world, is entitled to its homeland.

The picture would be incomplete were it confined solely to situations of armed confrontation without taking into account potential sources of tension or friction that could degenerate into conflict. As we know, the economic noose that is tightening around so many peoples is creating a flow of large numbers of emigrants to other shores and countries in search of a better life. Haiti has not escaped that situation.

We are well aware of the difficulties created by this flood of emigrants without resources and of the problems it can cause the host countries. We are determined to continue to take steps to stop it. However, we vigorously protest against their maltreatment, harsh exploitation of their labour and the utter contempt with which they are all too often treated wherever they happen to end up.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

We appeal to the humanitarian sentiments of the peoples of the United Nations to respect the dignity of those starving castaways. Here, again, we should like to be able to count on the experience and assistance of the competent agencies of the United Nations.

Alongside those focal points of tension and conflict that it is possible to localize geographically, there exists another form of violence, which strikes all parts of the planet just when it is the least expected and the victims of which can be women, children, the elderly and the ailing. The Republic of Haiti vigorously condemns that unrestrained and blind violence which constitutes international terrorism and we call upon the international community to co-operate in fighting it and eliminating the causes likely to engender it.

As we consider terrorism here, surely we should also consider the folly of the arms race. The world's arsenals are daily filling with terrifying weapons - chemical, biological and nuclear, as if conventional weapons were not enough. Mankind has imperceptibly become accustomed to the idea of an armed peace, of the balance of terror - there is even talk of invulnerable security - without realizing that the human race is being forced daily to live alongside means that are more than sufficient to wipe it off the face of the Earth.

Space as well seems to be scheduled to become a theatre for that operation of extermination, for terror must henceforth affect the whole world. We urgently appeal to the super-Powers to renounce this nuclear madness and to heed the voice of reason in order to stop this slide of the point of no return that they are approaching at dizzying speed.

We are gratified by the overtures recently made on both sides and we view with satisfaction and hope the manifestation of that willingness to talk which is undoubtedly the first step towards concerted action and solidarity. What is at stake is vital for humanity, for it is nothing less than the survival of us all.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

We call upon the super-Powers, under the aegis of the Organization, to come up with a realistic plan for balanced disarmament in order to make peace possible.

The world needs to devote all its resources - both human and material - to solving the economic crisis which also is world wide. It affects all nations, the most highly developed as well as the least developed. But for the latter, its effects are devastating.

In a market which they do not control, the prices of the developing countries' exports have been steadily falling. At the same time, those of their imports have steadily increased. Despite a significant drop, the oil bill remains prohibitive for the developing countries that do not produce oil. The result of this situation can be seen in an increasing balance of trade deficit which alone is capable of upsetting the fragile economy of the least advanced countries.

If, with the sustained and non-inflationary growth recorded over the past four years in most of the industrialized countries, the risk of an aggravation of the crisis may seem to have been averted, the present situation none the less proves that it would be illusory to hope that the recovery in the North would alone be enough to create the fundamental conditions for accelerated development for the third world.

Despite the undoubted improvements that can be seen notably in the perceptible progress in world trade and the drop in interest rates and inflation rates, statistics clearly show that apart from certain rare successes, there has in fact been no serious reduction in the degree of the crisis affecting the developing nations. Moreover, real per capita income remains at a standstill or has dropped, as is the case on the African continent, where it remains on the average at its 1970 level. In regard to Latin America, a recent report put out by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in April 1986 notes that the per capita gross domestic product in 1985 was no higher than in 1977.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

At the same time, with an average of 3 per cent of gross domestic product devoted to annual interest payments on its external debt, the third world has gradually entered into a true vicious circle, against which the weak measures adopted so far have proved ineffective. In brief, the development of scores of countries throughout the world has slowed down for the past 10 years, as is stressed in the 1985 Report on World Development put out by the World Bank.

In this regard, the Haitian delegation must refer to the particularly alarming situation of the least developed countries which, because of their structural handicaps, remain the most vulnerable and are ultimately the most seriously affected by this state of affairs. The recent Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s has, at the halfway stage, drawn up a report of bitter failure - two thirds of the least developed countries today have an income lower than that at the beginning of the decade. That Programme clearly demonstrated that if the international community did not urgently adopt the necessary measures to put the Programme fully into effect, that tendency towards decline in the economic situation of the least developed countries would become even worse and would have the most serious consequences for their people.

It is time to call into question the structures of inequality, the failures of the machinery of international solidarity and the lack of political will, sometimes verging on indifference, as the result of which such setbacks have become possible. This leads us to wonder what the final record of the Third United Nations Development Decade will be if fundamental changes and the appropriate and essential transfers of resources capable of infusing the third world countries with a new growth dynamic are not rapidly effected.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

In what measure will the international community be able to respond to these expectations? That is the crucial question we must answer in the conviction that any true solution lies in a new vision of interdependence, which would bring the developing countries into full association with the economic expansion and prosperity of the affluent countries and would in that regard promote a better balance at all levels of the North-South relationship.

Finally, we cannot fail to mention the growing ravages of the international drug trade, to which there should be a rapid and effective response. The Government of the Republic of Haiti, for its part, is taking the necessary measures to combat this problem and is ready to take an active part in any international action aimed at eradicating it.

These are all questions which the United Nations is working tirelessly to solve and which would themselves alone justify an increase in its resources and the unreserved support of its Members.

(Mr. Hilaire, Haiti)

Of course, the limitation of its means can result only in the limitation of its action. For us, the small countries that benefit most from the Organization's assistance programmes, the budgetary constraints imposed upon it are a source of grave concern, even alarm. The United Nations makes up for so many deficiencies - those that come from us ourselves and those that come from outside - and its role as an agent of progress and international co-operation is so well known that there is no need for me to dwell on it.

In the final analysis, the Organization cannot respond effectively if we in the community of States lower the prestige of its organs by failures, by making excuses, by simply ignoring their recommendations and decisions, and by encroaching on their powers and competence, or if procedural subtleties or cleverness reduce the Organization's budget and thus its role in world affairs. None of us, large or small, stand to gain from that. Without a strong and effective United Nations, the situation in the world can only get worse. Let us rally round and revitalize the United Nations and restore to it the means to act so that it may realize its ideals of peace, justice, solidarity and progress.

That is the challenge we must all help it to meet. That is the wish of my delegation.

ADDRESS BY MR. DESIRE D. BOUTERSE, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SURINAME

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname, His Excellency Commander Désiré D. Bouterse.

Mr. Désiré D. Bouterse, Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname, His Excellency Commander Désiré D. Bouterse, and in inviting him to address the Assembly.

Mr. BOUTERSE (Suriname): Allow me to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Suriname, our warm congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. Your diplomatic skill and experience will undoubtedly contribute to a successful session.

I am pleased also to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a much deserved tribute to His Excellency Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, who so ably presided over the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

I take this opportunity also to express the appreciation of my Government to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his untiring efforts in the interest of world peace, security and international co-operation.

Approximately a year ago, we, the Member States of the United Nations, commemorated the fortieth anniversary of this world Organization. The anniversary provided us with an opportunity to review the Organization's performance over the past four decades and to rededicate ourselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter. We for our part re-committed ourselves on that occasion to endorsing any constructive proposal aimed at restructuring and streamlining the United Nations to bring the Organization more into line with current world realities in order to improve its effectiveness in the interest of peace and security.

My main reason for addressing the Assembly again this year is that since the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations last year, important developments have taken place in my country. From the start of our revolution, in February 1980, the representatives of my country, myself included, have tried painstakingly to keep the Assembly abreast of developments in Suriname.

We consider it appropriate before discussing those national developments to focus our attention on some international issues, both global and regional, since many of those issues have a direct bearing on our national political, economic,

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

social and military situation. The representatives of Suriname have spoken on those issues on several occasions in this Assembly. Allow me to summarize our viewpoint on those problems as briefly as possible.

The unabated arms race continues to poison and pervade the whole international community. It prolongs and even widens the gap between the rich and the poorer nations, as it leads the former to spend much more on arms than on development aid. Furthermore, the arms race wreaks havoc on the life of developing countries, since it induces them from time to time to engage in hostilities against their brother States. This ever growing madness must therefore be brought to an end.

We firmly believe that the promotion of international peace and security requires continuing action by States aimed at the prevention of war, the removal of various threats to peace including the nuclear threat, respect for the principle of non-use of force, disarmament, development, the elimination of racial discrimination and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Consequently, the Government of Suriname has on many occasions expressed its grave concern at the continuing escalation of the arms race, in particular the race in nuclear weapon and other weapons of mass destruction. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming summit conference between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will generate progress in the disarmament negotiations.

In our opinion, the early convening of an international conference on disarmament and development is of great importance. In this connection, I might point out that we in Suriname commemorated the United Nations International Year of Peace in a fitting manner. Amongst the activities undertaken by our Government I should like to mention only the holding of a competition for our students on the meaning of the International Year of Peace.

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

Another disquieting issue of the 1980s is the systematic weakening of multilateral co-operation. Some of the countries which in the past initiated and provided substantial support for multilateral efforts for creating an open, democratic and equitable world order now seem to be having second thoughts and even question the validity of the United Nations system. A retreat from our multilateral system at a time when actual developments, both in relation to world peace and to the world economy, seem to demand its strengthening is regrettable.

My Government expresses its deep concern at the stresses and strains which face multilateral co-operation and the danger of drifting away from order, stability, predictability and rules, and towards arbitrariness, uncertainty and the exercise of raw power. This poses a great threat to the weaker members of the international community. It is our conviction that nothing could be more valuable for world peace than a firm recommitment of Member States to the obligations under the Charter, and to its principles and purposes.

For these reasons my Government welcomes the report of the United Nations High-Level Experts Group of 18 which will be dealt with during this session.

We still believe that coexistence between States should be based on the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States. A violation of those principles, be it active or passive, inexorably leads to the disturbance of friendly relations between nations. The use of economic coercive measures against a State, if not ratified by the world Organization or a regional legal system, is considered illegal interference in the internal affairs of that State.

For those reasons, we have voiced our protest on many occasions against the unilateral suspension by the Kingdom of the Netherlands of the international Treaty

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

on Development Co-operation concluded between our countries. We hope that the Government of the Netherlands will change its position on this matter in the near future, as this constitutes a serious obstacle for guiding our bilateral relations back to normalcy.

Before turning to some specific country issues, I feel the necessity to mention briefly a worldwide scourge. The problem of illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and drug addiction is assuming world proportions and we share the growing concern of nations over this question. The serious and damaging impact on our societies deserves the special attention of the international community. Suriname is a party to various conventions dealing with the problems of drug trafficking. A special Narcotic Drugs Council was recently instituted in order to deal with this matter. Our authorities co-operate with their colleagues from other countries who are charged with combating illicit drug activities.

During the Eighth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare we restated our position on the issues of Namibia and apartheid. The Government of Suriname has consistently stated its position on the question of Namibia by condemning the dilatory tactics of the Government of South Africa on that issue.

Once again my Government wishes to pledge its solidarity with those countries and organizations, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC), which are continuing their valiant struggle to achieve freedom for the Namibian and South African peoples.

The reign of terror waged by the Pretoria régime has led to turmoil and more bloodshed in southern Africa. We, the Members of the United Nations, cannot sit idly by while this tragedy is deepening day by day. As a Member of this Organization, we are obliged to do whatever is possible to put an end to that terror and to force the Pretoria régime to change its cruel attitude towards the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

We also express the hope that in the Korean question reason will prevail over distrust and conflicting ideologies and that the Korean Peninsula may be reunified through negotiations between the parties concerned.

Our positions on the Middle East problem and the war between Iraq and Iran are well known. We call upon all the parties concerned to spare no efforts aimed at finding a rapid and peaceful solution to those questions, because they gravely endanger world peace and security.

It would be a shortcoming not to mention in this context the debt issue specifically, it being one of the most acute problems of our time. We disagree with those who would like to limit the discussion of that problem to the international financial institutions in Washington. We believe that the United Nations is still the most viable forum to deal with this matter and that our world Organization can play a role of vital importance in this field. For that reason my delegation fully endorses the decision of the developing countries, through the Group of 77, to include an item on this issue in the Assembly's agenda.

On several occasions we have expressed the hope that the Contadora process would bring an end to the suffering of the peoples of Central America. While some of us now seem to question the possibility of reaching a regional agreement through the Contadora process, we in Suriname still believe that Contadora presents the best opportunity to achieve a comprehensive peaceful solution. We therefore urge the international community not to despair and lose hope, but to continue to endorse and support that praiseworthy initiative.

I would be remiss if I did not briefly focus the attention of the members of the General Assembly on the question of the demilitarization of the Caribbean region.

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

The Caribbean region, as representatives know, is mainly composed of small States which are highly vulnerable to economic and military threats. Bearing in mind that those States are an integral part of our international political system, there can be no doubt that they are entitled to protection by the world community against those economic and military threats.

Recent studies have made us aware of the growing danger that those States may be victimized by well-financed terrorist groups belonging to a growing sinister international underworld. Though this may sound like a bad novel, there are strong indications - and, indeed, sufficient proof - of the existence of such terrorist groups bent on overpowering such small and vulnerable States in order to find a safe haven for large amounts of money acquired by illegal means in other countries.

I should now like to explain the principal reason for my returning to address the Assembly. As I said at the outset, developments of major political importance have taken place in my country. We thought it appropriate to inform the members of our world Organization about those developments, since we are well aware of the efforts made by others to distort world opinion with regard to our country. Those efforts are aimed mainly at establishing the image that Suriname is governed by a military dictatorship wielding its power indiscriminately, without regard for the rule of law and without respect for the fundamental rights of man. Some of our adversaries, moreover, have tried to link us to certain Power centres, notwithstanding our sincere adherence to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The continuous flow of false and mendacious information has undoubtedly had some negative effect, particularly since we are a small country which lacks adequate means and manpower to counter that malicious publicity. But we are fortunate in being able to note that Suriname and its Government have many friends and that the overwhelming majority of observers of our national scene have maintained excellent relations with us. We are grateful to those that continue to

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appreciate us as we really are. We are also most grateful to our many friends who recognize that we are a country in which the military and civilians are working together to establish a real democracy based on the freedom of our citizens and the respect for the rule of law, in particular regarding the fundamental freedoms of man.

We are well aware that our adversaries continue to question our good intentions and seem to be blind to the fact that we are not a military dictatorship, but are governed by law and respect for the fundamental rights of man. However, the military in the Republic of Suriname has succeeded in establishing a sincere partnership. These are the simple facts, and we in Suriname submit them to the judgement of the international community.

As I said earlier, our representatives have in the past regularly informed the Assembly on developments in Suriname. One of the main things that has taken place since I last addressed this body is undoubtedly the conclusion of an agreement with the major political parties. The agreement is based on the four renovations pledged to the people of the Republic of Suriname when we started our revolution in February 1980. At that time, we committed ourselves to renewing the socio-economic, social, political and administrative, and educational order of our society. That agreement, signed by me in my capacity as Leader of the Revolutionary Movement and Chief of the Armed Forces on the one hand and the leaders of those political parties on the other, provides also for the preparation of a draft constitution.

That draft constitution will outline the authority of the main organs of State as well as the fundamental human rights of our citizens. The draft constitution must be completed by our National Assembly before 1 April next year and subsequently submitted to our citizens through a referendum.

I should like to point out that the political parties are now participating in

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

both the supreme Policy Council and the Council of Ministers. There can therefore be no doubt that the representatives of those political parties, who, together with the representatives of the labour movement, the business community and the revolutionary movement, constitute the two Councils, are fully involved in the process aimed at establishing a real democracy in Suriname.

I should also like to emphasize that a main task of the new Council of Ministers is to see to it that the pledges we made to our people to establish a real democracy will be duly and faithfully implemented. We in Suriname believe that this process will proceed according to plan. However, as a pragmatic person, I should like to inform the Assembly that our adversaries will spare no effort to disturb and undermine that process.

In recent years those adversaries have, for example, consistently tried to send mercenaries to our country with the intention of causing chaos, disruption and death. As recently as July of this year a heavily armed group of mercenaries, which had most probably been organized by persons residing in the Netherlands, was arrested by the police authorities in the United States of America. Those mercenaries, for the most part, common criminals, are now on trial by that country's judicial authorities. Terrorist groups, generally established in the Netherlands, are now supporting a group of bandits engaged in terrorist activities in the eastern part of our country.

When I speak of terrorism I mean those acts condemned by clear and specific resolutions adopted by the Assembly. The Government of the Republic of Suriname has requested the Government of the Netherlands to take a more active stand against those terrorist groups, particularly since those terrorists are largely recruited and financed in the territory of that country.

(Mr. Bouterse, Suriname)

I can assure the Assembly that our Government will overcome these troublesome events, and in this context I should like to express our sincere gratitude to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, at its recent summit conference in Harare, vigorously condemned those terrorist activities.

I should like to quote from the final document of that conference:

"The Heads of State or Government reiterated their support for and solidarity with the people and the Government of the Republic of Suriname in their efforts aimed at preserving their independence and sovereignty. They welcomed the latest developments in Suriname with regard to the process of democratization through national dialogue which resulted in the formation of an interim Government based on the widest representation ever brought together in the country's history.

"The Heads of State or Government observed that foreign interventionist circles aided by contracted foreign mercenaries and local criminal elements were putting dangerous obstacles in Suriname's way through counter-revolutionary activities and that mercenary activities had taken place in the eastern border area, resulting in the loss of life of Surinamese civilians and soldiers. They condemned these acts and appealed to the Governments concerned to take all steps to avoid their territory being used for the activities of mercenary groups which hindered development, stability and peace in the country and which promoted unrest in the region.

"The Heads of State or Government also expressed their deep concern at measures taken and continuing attempts by certain Governments to exert pressures which had an adverse effect on the political, economic and social development of Suriname.

"They urged them to stop these measures and expressed the hope that the Governments concerned would engage in a frank, fair and meaningful dialogue

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without coercion or any other form of interference in order to arrive at a solution on the basis of mutual respect and in the interest and well-being of the people of Suriname."

The policy of the integration of Suriname into our own Latin American and Caribbean region is one of the leading principles of our Government. We are therefore intensifying our relationship with the fraternal nations in the region, particularly with neighbouring countries, as we are determined to fortify our links with the Latin American economic system as well as with the regional Caribbean system, CARICOM.

The guiding principle of our revolution in 1980 was, and continues to be, the establishment of one nation from the various ethnic groups in Suriname - a truly independent nation that would be able to chart its course and determine its own destiny. In trying to realize that objective of a new and unified nation, we have suffered many set-backs, but we have weathered the storms that have faced us.

During those difficult times, we had to deal with adversaries, but we also met many friends on the path. I should like to thank those friends who supported our Government and people and who continue to show them friendship.

In conclusion, I should like to assure the Assembly that on our way to a real and true democracy and on the path leading to a new and viable nation, we will continue to abide by the principles on which our Organization is based.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname for the important statement that he has just made.

Mr. Désiré D. Bouterse, Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

(The President)

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, I highly appreciate and thank you for your consideration in allowing me to exercise my right of reply. Yesterday, in her statement in exercise of the right of reply, the United States representative made certain incorrect and fallacious remarks regarding the statement by my Foreign Minister.

In response to her, I should like to make the following observations. First, we still believe that the United States is responsible for the problems of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Actions taken by the United States, its present foreign policy - or, let us say, lack of foreign policy, to which some American newspapers have referred as ad hoc-ism - and the documents of the international body support our belief.

In the case of Africa, the policies and practices of the United States in regard to Namibia and South Africa are very well known, not only to the Members of the United Nations but to the people of the United States and its legislative bodies as well. It was only yesterday that President Reagan's veto on the decision by the House of Representatives to impose partial sanctions against South Africa was defeated by the Senate. Numerous American vetoes in support of South Africa, of which the people of the United States are ashamed, are clearly registered in the documents of the Security Council.

Worse than those votes is the hypocrisy of the United States Administration, which actually supports and helps the racist policies of South Africa while paying lip-service to the position that lays blame on the racist policies of that régime. That hypocrisy is also clearly registered in the documents of the Security Council.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani,
Islamic Republic of Iran)

That hypocrisy was as a matter of fact adopted by the United States in order to justify its inhumane support for the racist régime of South Africa and also to preserve American imperialist interests in the entire southern region of Africa. The United States has exploited the natural disaster of the drought that has afflicted Africa for its political ambitions, even in this General Assembly.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

Had it not been for brutal intimidation from the United States, the General Assembly's voting record would have been different.

Further evidence is provided by United States policy and practices vis-à-vis the Zionist occupiers of Palestine. It is well known that Camp David was supported by the United States. All this clearly reveals the responsibility of the United States for the problems of all the peoples of the Middle East.

The policies of the United States in Latin America - the support and loyalty of the United States for the contras - also show the responsibility of the United States Administration for the problems of South America and Latin America in general.

As for the terrorist policies and practices of the United States, I simply wish to substantiate our position on the United States military attack against our country through Tabas, and on the blatant invasion of Libya. The United States Administration has no legal or moral ground for attacking innocent civilians - including women and children - on its baseless charges of Libyan support for terrorism. We believe that Libya is innocent, and is only a victim of United States State terrorism. The United States invasion of Libya was and remains an exemplar of State terrorism. As a matter of fact, State terrorism is part and parcel of the iron-fist foreign policy of the United States.

Everybody knows that the United States has been paying for the Zionist occupation of Palestine and Lebanon. The United States Administration has openly and blatantly played into the hands of the Zionist occupiers of Palestine. It is sad that a gigantic political entity such as the United States should have such a small brain in its head. We wish the United States Administration were able to distinguish between the interests of the Zionists occupying Palestine and the genuine interests of the United States, both within the United States and,

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

particularly, in the Middle East. United States officials do not understand that the régime occupying Palestine is leading them, just as a young boy leads a camel behind him. If the United States Administration had any wisdom, it would make a clear distinction between its own real interests and the interests of the Zionist base occupying Palestine.

The envoy of the Zionists also made some irrelevant remarks with regard to the statement of my Foreign Minister. I consider them irrelevant simply because the representation in the General Assembly of the terrorist base is absolutely illegal. For that too we must blame the United States.

Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish to reply to remarks concerning my country made by the representative of the United States of America in her statement of 2 October, when she responded to remarks by other representatives who had condemned the policies of the United States Administration, which had committed aggression against the Libyan people. Representatives had described that policy as State terrorism.

The United States Administration is continuing its aggression, provocation and psychological warfare against the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the pretext that the Jamahiriya supports terrorism. That is a lame excuse; the United States Administration has put forward no hard evidence to prove its claims. The Jamahiriya has challenged the United States to submit its evidence to the International Court of Justice for consideration and verification, but the United States officials know that those claims are false and are merely an excuse to commit further aggression against all those who stand up to the policy of hegemony, domination and exploitation and who wish to employ a political and social system which differs from that of the United States. They are seeking to make those peoples the butt of the unjust United States policy all over the world.

(Mr. Burwin, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stands on the side of liberation movements; it supports the liberation struggle; it condemns and rejects terrorism, which endangers innocent lives; and it pursues an independent non-aligned policy. Because of that honest policy, my country has been the victim of direct military aggression aimed at killing innocent people and destroying residential districts. Such is the State terrorism practised by the United States Administration against smaller nations that reject United States policy and adhere to the principles of non-alignment.

In the face of that aggression the Jamahiriya has enjoyed the support of many delegations that have spoken here. Moreover, the Libyan people enjoys the support of the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as the support of the vast majority of the members of the Security Council.

I wish to quote from the Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which met at Harare from 28 to 30 July 1986:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government wishes to convey to the present United States Administration that the April 1986 premeditated attack against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not only a threat to peace but constitutes an attack on the Organization of African Unity. In this regard the Assembly of Heads of State strongly condemns this act of aggression which has further exacerbated tension in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

" ...

"The deliberate attempt to kill Libyan nationals in a plan of destruction that included the killing of the leader of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Brother Mu'Ammar Al-Qaddafi, is not only a dangerous precedent but

(Mr. Burwin, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

constitutes a contemptuous and condemnable act in violation of the principles of international law." (A/41/241, p. 2)

The 101-nation Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has also on several occasions condemned the United States aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, most recently at the eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, Zimbabwe, from 1 to 7 September 1986. The following was included in the Political Declaration adopted at that Conference:

"The Heads of State or Government strongly condemned this unprovoked aggression, which constitutes an act of State terrorism and a violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and called on the United States to desist forthwith from undertaking such aggressive acts, including military manoeuvres in the Gulf of Sidra, which are considered a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and which endangered peace and security in the Mediterranean region and hindered the efforts designed to make that region a zone of peace, security and co-operation and called on the United States of America to provide full and immediate compensation to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the human and material losses it has suffered.

"The Heads of State or Government reiterated their full support for and solidarity with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its defence of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"The Heads of State or Government declared that the air attack on the house of the leader of the Libyan revolution with the purpose of eliminating him and his family is considered a grave precedent in international relations and a crime that is devoid of any political or moral value." (A/41/617, p. 2)

(Mr. Burwin, Libyan
Arab Jamahiriya)

It also condemned the United States economic measures against the Jamahiriya as a form of economic coercion and pressure, and called on all countries to make appropriate practical arrangements to assist the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The support we enjoy has not been limited to this. It has become evident, even from American sources yesterday and today - and this has been seen by everyone - that the United States Administration has been engaged in the dissemination of misinformation concerning the Jamahiriya to international and regional opinions. This proves that the pretext that the Jamahiriya is helping terrorism is nothing but a figment of United States imagination, to be used as justification for committing acts of aggression against the Jamahiriya. Thus we know who is lying about terrorism.

Mr. JACOBVITS de SZEGED (Netherlands): I have asked to be allowed to speak to reply briefly to the statement made by the Head of Government of the Republic of Suriname. In that statement Mr. Bouterse said, inter alia:

"Terrorist groups, generally established in the Netherlands, are now supporting a group of bandits engaged in terrorist activities in the eastern part of our country ... those terrorists are largely recruited and financed in the territory of [the Netherlands]." (supra, p. 73-75)

I wish to make it perfectly clear that the Netherlands Government does not in any way support the activities being carried out by a group of armed Surinamese former servicemen in Suriname. The Government of the Netherlands has stated so publicly on various occasions and the Government of Suriname is well aware of this position, which has been communicated to it repeatedly - the most recent occasion being during the meeting that the Prime Minister of Suriname, Mr. Radhakesun, had with the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs in The Hague on 14 September last.

(Mr. Jacobvits de Szeged,
the Netherlands)

The Netherlands Government fully respects Suriname's sovereignty and strictly adheres to the principle of non-intervention. Penal laws and regulations in this respect are scrupulously enforced in my country. There is no evidence whatsoever that these laws have been violated, nor is there any proof that mercenaries have been recruited and financed in the Netherlands for operations in Suriname.

It is not without a certain reluctance that I have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. This is not because I have any difficulty in refuting the Surinamese accusations; as I have already outlined, those accusations are baseless. The reason for my reluctance lies in my Government's wish to engage in a fruitful dialogue with the Surinamese Government, a dialogue that should ultimately lead to the normalization of all the relations between our two countries. In this connection, we very much hope that the Surinamese authorities will make progress with the implementation of their programme providing for the drawing up of a constitution and the establishment of permanent democratic structures before April 1987.

Mr. BENAR (Suriname): We have listened with great interest to what the representative of the Netherlands has said in exercise of the right of reply concerning our Head of Government's statement with regard to mercenaries and terrorists who are most probably organized by persons residing in the Netherlands.

We have never accused the Dutch Government of being involved in any organization of terrorist groups. We have said that, apart from the slander in the Dutch press to which we are regularly exposed, we have rather strong indications that persons living in the Netherlands have been and still are conspiring against the legitimate Government of Suriname. For those reasons, we have requested the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to take a more active stand against

(Mr. Benar, Suriname)

those groups that are recruited and financed in that country's territory. If the Netherlands Government takes the trouble to investigate our allegations seriously, it will come to the conclusion that they are well founded.

We too want to live on friendly terms with all States and I should therefore like to repeat, on behalf of my delegation, that the Government of Suriname persists in its statement and repeats its request to the Government of the Netherlands to take a somewhat more active stand against those mercenaries and terrorists who are still being recruited and financed in this country.

The PRESIDENT: I call again on the representative of the Netherlands in exercise of the right of reply, I remind him that his second statement is limited to five minutes.

Mr. JACOBVITS de SZEGED (The Netherlands): I listened carefully to what Mr. Bouterse said, and indeed he has not directly accused the Government of the Netherlands. Nor, in my statement, did I say that he had accused the Government of the Netherlands. What I did was quote statements from Mr. Bouterse's statement, such as that there are terrorists largely recruited and financed in the territory of the Netherlands and that groups generally established in the Netherlands are now supporting a group of bandits engaged in terrorist activities in the eastern part of the country. Those are general accusations, and I have reacted to those general accusations, which, as I have said, are totally baseless.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.