



# General Assembly

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A/41/PV.25  
7 October 1986

ENGLISH

Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 6 October 1986, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. CHOUDHURY	(Bangladesh)
later:	Mr. DOS SANTOS (Vice-President)	(Mozambique)
later:	Mr. FERM (Vice-President)	(Sweden)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Psimhis (Central African Republic)  
Mr. Jackson (Guyana)  
Mr. Semedo (Guinea-Bissau)  
Mr. Lassou (Chad)  
Ms. Chiepe (Botswana)  
Mr. Vo Dong Giang (Viet Nam)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. PSIMHIS (Central African Republic) (interpretation from French): On behalf of His Excellency President Andre Kolingba, Head of State and Government of the Republic, who wishes us every success in our work, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-first regular session of the General Assembly of our Organization. Your election is a tribute rightly paid your country, Bangladesh, a member like my own of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose militant commitment to peace and international co-operation are well known. Your experience and mastery of international affairs make you more than qualified to conduct our discussions in this difficult period for the United Nations. I am sure of that, and I should like to assure you of my delegation's full co-operation.

My delegation greatly valued the skill, wisdom and competence with which your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, discharged the mission entrusted to him at the last session.

Lastly, to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General, I should like once again to express the gratitude of the Central African Republic for his profound sense of responsibility and for his unflagging determination to see the cause of the United Nations triumph.

That cause, for which we gather here in this Hall to present an image of a peaceful world, is a cause that we share. Its defence, despite all the problems of our era and the often pronounced opposition to our interests, is also something in which we share, and it calls for constant devotion and faith.

Last year's celebration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization provided us with an opportunity to evaluate its achievements. In particular, that

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anniversary provided the international community with the opportunity to restate its faith and reaffirm its commitment to the United Nations ideals of peace and security, democracy and tolerance, equality and justice.

The general conclusion was that, in spite of the United Nations' limited achievements, its existence is necessary as an irreplaceable instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as for co-operation in an increasingly complex but increasingly interdependent world.

Thus in the final analysis it was recognized that the United Nations plays a preponderant role in the organization and implementation of multilateral co-operation.

And yet, since last year the state of the world has not been that hoped for by those who attended the San Francisco Conference, for they imagined the world practising tolerance, living in peace in a spirit of good-neighbourliness, joining forces to maintain international peace and security, ensuring that armed force would not be used, and promoting the economic and social progress of all peoples.

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Instead of that world of peace and solidarity, we are living in a world marked by a spirit of domination, by expansionism and by the quest for or desire to preserve zones of influence which often give rise to conflicts and tension played out in the countries of the third world. The state of the world is not what the Charter envisaged because the basic and essential principal of the equality of peoples and their right to self-determination is not everywhere respected; I refer in particular to Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The state of the world is not as envisaged by the Charter because poverty, disease and illiteracy continue to be the lot of the majority of peoples.

This state of the world, characterized by a marked recrudescence of selfish policies, one result of which is the serious crisis of the United Nations, demands of us a collective increase in political resolve directed to strengthening multilateralism as the best form of co-operation, capable of providing real solutions to all our problems.

First and foremost we must have real co-operation for real peace in this International Year of Peace. The machinery envisaged by the Charter must be made to work; above all, the principal body of the United Nations, the Security Council, must take action. The Security Council is the custodian of the common interest and bears the weighty responsibility of maintaining international peace and security; it must demonstrate good faith whenever peace is threatened or breached. The essential role of the permanent members - in particular the most powerful of them - requires the calm dialogue necessary for the defence of that common interest. Consequently the weighted vote of the permanent members of the Security Council implies that they must not take an exclusivist view of the world, far less engage in ideological confrontations which can only hinder the settlement of disputes.

The fact that international peace and security are everyone's concern means that the Security Council must not become a mere recording studio where roles are

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played out, where debate follows debate, where vetoes proliferate and where decisions are on rare occasions adopted but are seldom implemented. In the view of the Central African Republic this is a deviation from, a dereliction of the heavy responsibilities of the Security Council, the primary depositary of our hopes for the advent of the world envisaged in the Charter. Thus in the general interests of international peace and security the full exercise by the Security Council of its mandatory powers, binding on all Members, is a fundamental condition for strengthening the authority of the United Nations and enhancing confidence in the Organization. We must also strive all together in good faith to ensure that the values enshrined in the Charter prevail, including the most basic value of freedom.

Freedom is indivisible and universal. It cannot, at one time, mobilize all peoples without distinction when it is threatened in one continent; on other continents, while at another time, the international community is divided, freedom is given conflicting interpretations or subjected to haphazard or self-interested approaches that impede its advent and its full realization.

The right to self-determination and independence, the right of every people to regain or to fight to regain its homeland, the right of every people to be master of its own destiny cannot be honoured and exercised in one place, while it is trampled on and stolen in another, as though some peoples had no freedom other than to choose between annihilation and submission. My country, the Central African Republic, feels impelled to reaffirm here its conviction that freedom and the right of self-determination are unique, universal and inviolable.

That is why freedom, equality and justice must be established in South Africa, where we see the persistence of the iniquitous system of apartheid, based on the false premise of racial superiority, which denies the status of human being to the

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majority of its population, who are deemed to be non-persons. Apartheid divides human beings, separates them off and pens them up according to the colour of their skin. Apartheid is undoubtedly the great moral challenge of our time. We therefore welcome such decisions as those taken at the Paris World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, and the new anti-South Africa stand taken by the countries of the European Economic Community, Canada and the Nordic States, to compel it to show more wisdom and political realism. Apartheid must be abolished, and all the people of South Africa, without distinction, must build a new society.

Legality and right are on our side in the case of Namibia, which South Africa continues to occupy illegally, and whose people have for too long been held hostage. In support of this cause, the front-line States are paying a heavy price in destabilization, interference and blackmail. As the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) said at the recent fourteenth special session of the General Assembly, that special session must be the last on the question of Namibia. The Security Council can no longer desist from implementing its own decisions, thus further postponing the decolonization of that African land and encouraging South Africa's continuous and persistent defiance of the authority of the United Nations. Namibia must regain its freedom and accede forthwith to national sovereignty, without any preconditions.

With regard to Chad, a country which is both a neighbour and a friend, the Central African Republic wishes to pay a well deserved tribute to the Government led by President Hisssein Habré for the remarkable, patient and tenacious efforts it has made to reconcile all Chadians. My country sincerely hopes those efforts will be successful; the results already speak for themselves. We believe that only peace and union can enable the people of that long-suffering country to participate in the enormous task of national reconstruction being undertaken by the Government

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of Chad. Therefore, faithful in its commitment to the principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and particularly to that of the inviolability of borders, the Central African Republic calls for compliance with those principles in the case of Chad, whose territorial integrity must be restored.

The Palestinian people too is entitled to a homeland. The failure to settle the question of Palestine, which is at the core of the Middle East situation, is the main reason for the daily violence in that deeply troubled part of the world. In the Middle East, even more than elsewhere, there must be multilateral support for the efforts and initiatives of the United Nations, including those related to the convening of an international conference to restore to the Palestinian people, united behind the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its national rights. It must exercise those rights in an independent State within secure and recognized boundaries; this must be the case also for the other States of the region.

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Still on the Middle East, Iran and Iraq must heed the voice of reason and put an end to a fratricidal war which has gone on too long and is of deep concern to the international community owing to the enormous loss of life that it has caused. The Central African Republic sincerely hopes that Iraq's constant willingness to find a just, negotiated political solution in keeping with the United Nations Charter will find an appropriate response in the region so that the carnage that engulfs the two countries may end once and for all.

Similarly, we should seek to ensure implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Democratic Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people must be allowed, without any outside interference, freely to choose its future, recover its full sovereignty and build a neutral, non-aligned State. That is the unanimous will constantly reaffirmed by the international community, which at each session reiterates its conviction that the Kampuchean question must be resolved by peaceful means. Accordingly, my delegation supports the eight-point approach formulated by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which has the advantage of proposing, in keeping with United Nations principles, a final solution to this question.

The inviolability of the right of peoples to self-determination and its corollary, the equality of States, which is the basis of the universalist mission of the United Nations, must also prevail in the case of the Korean peninsula, where the Central African Republic hopes that the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people to reunification will be speedily attained. That means that the two parties, on the basis of the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, must use peaceful means, and engage in direct, open dialogue, without any outside interference. Similarly, the efforts that we are making to encourage this peaceful reunification and thus enable the Korean people, which has been divided for so long, to be

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reunited could in the meantime act on the principle of the admission, whether or not simultaneous, of the two Koreas to the United Nations.

The values of freedom and democracy, equality and justice and tolerance, observance of which could have determined the settlement of all the questions that we have just mentioned and which do determine the balance of international peace and security, must, if they are to be better supported at the multilateral level, be profoundly integrated in the juridical and political systems of each of our States, because, we can then claim for them beyond national borders the respect accorded to them nationally.

My country understands this and is now, under the guidance of President Kolingba, trying to establish the structures of a new democracy, based on the political reality in my country, the implementation of which will enable the people of the Central African Republic better to express their aspirations in keeping with these values.

The fact that the Central African Republic has subscribed to the various legal instruments guaranteeing the rights of the individual - in particular the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol - clearly shows my Government's dedication to the protection of man and to the values inherent in man, the denial of which cannot be permitted. If this approach is shared by all the members of the international community, there is no doubt that through multilateralism we shall have made some progress towards democratization of international political relations, which will facilitate progress towards the advent of a new international economic order.

The continuing worsening of the economic situation of the third world countries in general and the African countries in particular owing to the combined effects of the debt burden, persistent inflation and the drop in commodity prices has undoubtedly helped to spur a search for new approaches to allow the United

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Nations once again to play its proper role in the organization of multilateral co-operation. It is in this context that we should place the recent special session on the critical economic situation in Africa, held in New York, because for the first time the United Nations made a special effort to deal with the economic situation of one continent. Disaster was indeed knocking at the door then.

The Programme of Action adopted at that session to support Africa's economic recovery is undoubtedly an expression of a new awareness and solidarity.

It was a specific manifestation of multilateralism, that is, of a common responsibility; an appeal for common efforts to understand and resolve questions relating to development. The widespread economic crisis, which spares no country, highlights complementarity, the close interdependence of the North and the South. It is the whole economy that governs relations between the two entities at that level that is being challenged, and a comprehensive solution must be found. This means that a genuine dialogue must be started so that eventually we can restructure international economic relations on the basis this time of fairness and justice.

Economic solidarity, it is true, can only supplement internal efforts. That is why my country, with the people's support, is making a resolute, intensive effort to reform the national economy. We welcome the fact that this is recognized by the international community, as are the recovery efforts by other African States.

If translated into action, the solemn commitment made at the special session by many States of the northern hemisphere and some international organizations to support in various ways the economic recovery programme for African countries would mean that we could not only firmly establish this solidarity but prepare fertile soil in which could germinate this new kind of North-South co-operation and for which the Central African Republic hopes so sincerely and at the centre of which the United Nations would again play its full multilateralist role.

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Periods of crisis are more likely than periods of relative calm to give rise to changes in institutions or human attitudes; they are also more likely - and this is the danger - to give rise to an often egocentric interpretation of the values enshrined in the Charter, the scope of which might thus be weakened. They are also likely to bring about a unilateral approach, which endangers the advent of a peaceful world.

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A real determination is required, a collective effort and genuine solidarity, from the members of the international community, to ensure a resolute defence of these values whenever, wherever and in whatever circumstances they are challenged. For that purpose there is only one forum, the United Nations, and only one method, multilateral co-operation organized by the United Nations to that end, which must be constantly maintained, cultivated and strengthened. This approach will undoubtedly allow us to take vigorous action to create a climate of trust conducive to the realization of the ideals of freedom and democracy, equality and justice, tolerance and peace.

Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): I speak from this rostrum as the representative of one of the many small countries which constitute the majority of the membership of this Organisation. I speak on behalf of Guyana, whose people jealously guard their independence. The Guyanese people believe in their right to fashion their own society free from outside interference and to order their international conduct in accordance with their own interests. Above all, the Guyanese people recognize that international relations should be based on the rule of law. That is why Guyana is fully committed to the United Nations system, its imperfections notwithstanding.

One year ago we undertook an intense self-examination during the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. The outcome of the deliberations then fell short of the expectations of a majority of us. The occasion none the less provided an opportunity for Member States to recommit themselves to fulfilling the purposes and principles of the Charter and to strengthening the capacity of this Organization to be more effective in today's world.

We should examine at this Assembly the extent to which we have been faithful to the commitments which those ceremonies stimulated and the objectives which they recalled.

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Even as that occasion was being celebrated, the Organization was confronted with a challenge that pertained to its viability and future. I refer to the severe financial crisis which necessitated special consideration by the General Assembly. Its roots are widely recognized and lie essentially in certain attitudes of Member States towards their obligations flowing from the Charter.

Our collective response to that crisis has been a frank examination of the administrative and financial efficiency of the Organization. The Group of High-Level Inter-Governmental Experts has put forward a set of recommendations for administrative and financial reform which merit the most careful study.

Guyana hopes that the decisions on this issue will be fully responsive to the economic and social needs of the developing countries and will preserve the democratic character of decision-making in the Assembly.

But the crisis facing the United Nations goes beyond administrative and financial issues. For the United Nations is, in the words of the Charter, the Organization of the peoples of the world. It represents and embodies their common aspirations no less than their differences; and it is required to function in the context of the constantly growing complexities of international relations.

Differences are inevitable, but they must not be made into impediments. It is therefore only to the extent that our Organization is seen and utilized as a forum for accommodating and harmonizing conflicting viewpoints that its Charter is truly being employed in the service of international understanding and international peace.

Sadly, it has not always been so used in the past. Even now there are veiled attempts to manoeuvre the Organization into the pursuit of narrow national interests.

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In no other area is the need to harmonize differences more urgent and crucial than in that of disarmament, particularly in its nuclear aspect. It is a source of profound concern that on this issue, where the safety of the entire planet is so manifestly at stake, undue pre-eminence is given to ideological considerations, and not enough deference is paid to the heavy responsibilities towards humankind which the awesome nuclear arsenals impose on the nuclear Powers, especially the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. What is worse, screens of one kind or another are erected behind which to pursue the further refinement of nuclear weapons.

Guyana is happy to note, however, that despite these negative tendencies the goal of nuclear disarmament has not been obscured and that initiatives in respect of its attainment are being proposed and pursued.

In this context Guyana considers the moratorium on nuclear testing declared by the Soviet Union - and subsequently renewed - to be a positive indication of a desire to reduce the threat of nuclear war. Likewise, the successful outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a source of some optimism. In addition, Guyana notes with satisfaction that bilateral exchanges between the two super-Powers have intensified during the past year and that negotiations are going on in Geneva.

Member States have made a solemn commitment in our Charter to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

Inspired by these considerations and his deep commitment to global peace, the President of the Republic of Guyana, Comrade Hugh Desmond Hoyte, made a plea on behalf of the entire human race when, at the recently concluded Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, he proposed that a message be sent to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. That message urged, among other things:

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"That they use their best efforts to reduce the prevailing tension and to promote a climate of confidence in the world ..."

Naturally, therefore, Guyana hopes that the Iceland Summit will be a major point of reference on the road to disarmament and that thereafter the momentum will be maintained in a single-minded manner and lead to substantial achievements.

There is no doubt that our efforts in the field of disarmament have engendered a measure of optimism. The international community must bring the same approach to the creation of an environment which would facilitate solutions to problems in various areas of the world.

The main impediments have been the intrusion of external interests into the search for solutions to some of these problems. This is so whether we refer to the continued division imposed on the Korean people, the dispossession of the Palestinians, the attempt to dismember Lebanon, or the violation of the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the frustration of its unity. Guyana's position on all these issues is well known. We call for an end to outside interference, for the full mobilization of the energies of the international community to assist the affected nations and peoples, and for full support to the Secretary-General in his efforts to bring lasting peace to these troubled areas.

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The international community also needs to be vigilant against any erosion of the gains achieved by the Secretary-General in his attempt to bring about a negotiated political solution in respect of Afghanistan. Guyana nourishes the hope that those negotiations will soon reach a conclusive stage based on the sovereign interests of the parties directly concerned. Similarly, all efforts should be intensified to bring an end to the unfortunate war between Iraq and Iran.

My own region - Latin America and the Caribbean - has a long-established tradition of opposition to intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. That does not mean, however, that the region has been free of conflict. Yet, within recent times, there has been a discernible trend in favour of autochthonous development and a movement away from confrontation towards co-operation and integration. We see evidence of that development in the Caribbean, where, despite some negative influences stemming from the external environment, innovative steps are being taken to promote and enhance economic and political co-operation.

Throughout the region, States have been demonstrating their determination to advance the integration process through more intense bilateral and subregional arrangements. The Latin American Economic System (LAES) will later this month hold consultations aimed at strengthening the economic and political relations of its member States. Within the Organization of American States (OAS), the principle of universal membership has recorded a notable advance with the recent proposals for the reform of the organizations's charter. These tendencies demonstrate a political disposition on the part of Latin America and the Caribbean to work collectively for the solution of their manifold problems and for the protection and promotion of their political and economic interests.

Consistent with this attitude, the Governments and peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are desirous of negotiated solutions to the political problems of

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Central America. They have therefore been solidly in support of the Contadora process, which is designed to find a regional solution to a regional problem. Unhappily, appreciation for that approach is not shared by all those who are recognized as having an interest in the resolution of this crisis.

It is all but universally recognized that a solution to the problems of Central America lies in the espousal of negotiation and dialogue and the abandonment of policies of intimidation, coercion and destabilization. The Assembly must give unequivocal support and encouragement to the work of the Contadora States and the Lima Support Group. All States should co-operate actively with the efforts of those countries to ensure the advance of the peace process and should refrain from actions or attitudes that hamper that process.

Guyana supports the Government and people of Nicaragua in their efforts to protect their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and encourages dialogue between the parties in El Salvador.

In reviewing these situations of conflict and tension, we note that some give ground for sober encouragement. Where will and determination were present, results - however limited - were recorded. In the quest for a world free of apartheid, however, we find some Members of the Organization most equivocal in their support for the radical solutions the situation demands. This attitude is most disturbing, for apartheid is the greatest moral issue ever faced by mankind. It is a situation in which millions of black people are brutalized from birth, corralled in a slave society and wantonly exploited to swell many a coffer.

Let there be no illusion about the dismantling of apartheid. The people of South Africa have long recognized that this is their responsibility to discharge. Nelson Mandela voiced the conviction of his people when he said, more than two decades ago:

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"It is first and foremost by our own struggle and sacrifice inside South Africa itself that victory over white domination and apartheid can be won."

South Africa is a land ruled by the gun - one in which, as Mandela observed, "all opportunities for peaceful agitation and struggle have been closed." It was so then, two decades ago. It is worse now.

White supremacy in South Africa was created by violence and is maintained by violence. The people of South Africa have no option but to rely increasingly on armed struggle in their efforts to recover their freedom. Increased international pressure on the Pretoria régime will, however, help to reduce the cost of that struggle for the masses in South Africa. The same phenomenon is at work in respect of Namibia. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is being stymied by the obstinacy of the South African racists and the introduction of irrelevant and extraneous matters such as linkage into the freedom process.

Turning to the state of the world economy, there is good reason to be apprehensive. While low interest rates and the decline in inflation are hopeful signs that are still with us, the expectation that they would stimulate the world economy has not been fulfilled. Instead, we continue to be confronted with sluggish growth in world trade and the knowledge that the international economy will advance more slowly than predicted at the start of the year because of the disappointing economic performance of major industrial countries. Thus, the promising levels of economic activity achieved in 1984 have not been maintained, and the anticipated recovery is yet to be realized.

The low contributions of the economies of developing countries to the recovery process derives not from a lack of effort on their part but from their incapacity to promote self-sustained growth and development. Little if any regard is paid to that fact, and the prices of primary commodities have been artificially depressed to

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such an extent that they are today lower than at any time previously. The story is very much the same where protectionist and other trade-distorting devices have been applied unceasingly against the exports of developing countries.

The loss in income resulting from the inaccessibility of the markets of developed countries to those exports has badly hurt growth and development. The crisis of debt and development is yet another constraining factor. Co-responsibility in the resolution of the debt problem is widely acknowledged, yet the burden of adjustment still rests heavily on the shoulders of the developing countries.

The present economic system, in ignoring the developing countries, inhibits recovery and is a sore reminder of the unequal relations between the North and the South. With the persistence of such deterrents to economic activity and prosperity, the challenge faced in dealing with the world economic situation is of particularly pressing concern. Without positive action, the prospects for all countries - developed and developing - remain uncertain.

We should refocus attention on the policy initiatives required to attain strong and sustained growth and to create balance and equity between North and South. The reversal of the present trend of net transfers from the developing to the developed world and of a decline in financial flows from the developed to the developing countries would make a positive contribution to the realization of those objectives. There are also other goals to be pursued, including stability in exchange rates and a lowering of real interest rates.

Several opportunities could prove advantageous if grasped. The new round of multilateral trade negotiations recently launched in Uruguay gives the North a chance to make good on its promise to liberalize and extend world trade for the benefit of all countries. There is also the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), scheduled to be held next year.

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For this to be successful, however, there has to be a manifestation of changed attitudes on the part of the developed countries on such issues as commodity and other related problems, including that which affects the revenue of commodity producers. Similarly, the decision of the Assembly to address the issue of the external debt crisis and development specifically can be a critical step towards finding a comprehensive and lasting solution to that problem.

However, in order to be consistent with the objective of fostering concurrent co-operative action to strengthen the relationship between trade and other economic policies, the developed and developing countries should also consider ways to improve the functioning of the international monetary system.

Meanwhile, the countries of the South are determined to strengthen co-operation among themselves. New initiatives have recently been taken, and there is already evidence of the further development of complementarities between their economies. The Assembly should give greater encouragement to that process.

I wish to welcome a development of a not entirely different kind. That is the intensification of international co-operation to eradicate the scourge of drugs. This acknowledges that the interdependence between producers, traffickers and consumers is so real and complex that only a truly international effort can cope effectively with a problem that has assumed global proportions. Laws exist to deal with this problem, but an increase in their severity would not be a sufficient deterrent and cure, for an assault on drug abuse must embrace economic considerations.

Viewed from a certain perspective, some illegal drugs fall into the category of primary commodities produced by developing countries. Peasant farmers certainly see it in that light and, in a general situation of hopelessly depressed primary commodities, the operations of the market place have so far given a comparative advantage to the cultivation of illegal drugs. The attack on dampening production

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must therefore be concerted, but it must also involve correlative international arrangements to enable farmers in developing countries to receive fair and equitable returns for their legitimate primary produce, such as sugar. We must create comprehensive disincentives for the production of illegal drugs and increase the incentives for the cultivation of crops which sustain health.

Similarly, at the other end of the spectrum - consumption - there is need for accelerated national action to reduce demand. The greatest irony would be for the producing developing countries to take firm action within their territories to lower and eliminate levels of production, only to witness an increase in the productive capacity of the greater consuming countries. The drug problem, in all its dimensions, requires resolute and determined international co-operation. In this regard, the countries of the Caribbean Community have for some time now recognized the dangers which this plague holds for the fabric of their societies and the need for concerted action among themselves and for further co-operation within the international community.

Guyana therefore heartily endorses the efforts of the United Nations, especially those of the Secretary-General, to combat drug abuse and illegal trafficking. In particular, we call for maximum support for the convening next year of a world conference to deal with all aspects of the drug question.

In spite of the hopes and expectations which the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations encouraged, hostile criticisms of the Organization have persisted. As the Secretary-General observed, with such customary insight, in his annual report,

Persistent, tendentious criticism of the United Nations by relatively small groups has affected confidence in the effectiveness, if not the goals, of the Organization." (A/41/1, p. 17)

Those of us who wish to optimize the use of the Organization in favour of peace and

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development must work resolutely against those critics whose objective is to diminish the influence of the Organization or, worse still, to work for its destruction.

In this regard, among the most forthright defenders and advocates of a strong family of international organizations has been the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Through its relentless insistence on respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the strengthening of international co-operation on the basis of the sovereign equality of States, an end to relations of domination and exploitation and on the peaceful settlement of disputes, that Movement constitutes a positive factor in international relations. Support for the United Nations and respect for decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have been a cornerstone of our Movement.

Even more heartening to Guyana than the support of Governments and movements for the United Nations is the expression of confidence in the Organization by ordinary peoples and groups around the world. A recently published survey reached the following interesting conclusions: first, among those who expressed an opinion, more than 55 per cent in the United Kingdom and the United States, and almost two thirds in France and Germany, said that the United Nations was doing a good job or a very good job. Secondly, 58 per cent of the French, 73 per cent of the Germans, 79 per cent of the British, 86 per cent of the Americans and Japanese clearly said "No" to the provocative question: "Would the world be better off without the United Nations?" Thirdly, women are more favourable to the United Nations than men and, lastly, Americans below the age of 40 appreciate the United Nations more than the older generation.

One of the clear conclusions that emerged is that, among the countries polled, whatever may be the views of their media and their Governments, the majority of their peoples believe in the efficacy of the United Nations.

(Mr. Jackson, Guyana)

The tasks facing the Organization are not easy, but their fulfilment is compelling. In this respect, we praise the work done by Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. Your own unanimous election, Mr. President, and our knowledge of your wide experience and consummate skills instil us with the confidence that you will be equal to the enormous demands of your office.

Mr. SEMEDO (Guinea-Bissau) (spoke in Portuguese; interpretation from French text furnished by delegation): First of all, I should like to tell you, Sir, how pleased my delegation is to see you presiding over the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly and to congratulate you most warmly on your unanimous election to that important post.

In choosing you, the international community paid a well-deserved tribute to your country, Bangladesh, and demonstrated its great appreciation for your outstanding qualities as a seasoned diplomat and as a defender of the principles and purposes of our Organization. You may be assured of the support and total co-operation of my country in your discharge of your difficult and lofty task.

We also extend our congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, who guided the work of the fortieth session of the General Assembly with a competence equalled only by his rich experience in the United Nations and his perfect knowledge of international affairs.

(Mr. Samedo, Guinea-Bissau)

In the past year the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, has admirably discharged his many responsibilities. We congratulate him warmly and urge him to continue the courageous, bold action to which we have become accustomed since the beginning of his term of office. His report on the work of the Organization clearly reflects his determination to work towards solving the serious problems facing the world, through universal respect for the values which underpin the work of the United Nations and through observance for the principles and norms that govern relations among States.

The danger of widespread confrontation that could bring about the extinction of mankind long ago left the realm of fiction. It is rather a tragic aspect of our daily lives. In fact, never in the history of mankind and of international relations has the question of the maintenance of international peace and security been so urgent and vital as it is today. The declaration by the United Nations of the International Year of Peace bears witness to the special urgency of this question on the threshold of the twenty-first century. This situation is diverting the attention of the international community from the true stakes: development and international co-operation.

At a time when the world economy is in turmoil and the majority of countries are engulfed in an unprecedented economic recession which hampers any true possibility for economic and social progress, the arms race continues to break alarming new records both in terms of the enormous quantities of material and technological resources it absorbs and in terms of the increased quantity and destructive capability of the highly sophisticated weapons to which it gives rise.

In this context the urgent implementation of meaningful disarmament measures cannot be considered a purely moral issue, but rather as a necessity on which the future of mankind depends. A new summit conference between the United States of

(Mr. Semedo, Guinea-Bissau)

America and the Soviet Union could contribute to true international détente and to conditions conducive to a climate of trust and dialogue between the two super-Powers; this could foster the process of general and complete disarmament.

The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations gave us the opportunity to consider the Organization's accomplishments, difficulties and operations and to make a critical evaluation of them. It demonstrated the readiness of all Member States to work towards the continued strengthening of the role of the United Nations and of its efforts for peace, security and development.

The present delicate and decisive stage in the life of the United Nations gives rise to grave concern because of the threat to the very existence of the Organization. Joint measures must be taken as a matter of urgency to reverse the negative trends and give new momentum to the activities of the United Nations. If such measures are correctly applied, they can only strengthen the vitality of the Organization and better equip it to overcome the present crisis.

Yet that approach does not absolve us from the need to assess the situation and act prudently and objectively. We must avoid initiatives which could weaken the Organization's capacity to act and its role as an exemplary instrument of multilateralism and international co-operation.

The financial situation must be improved, and we must make the necessary changes and adaptations both in the structure and operations of the United Nations machine. We must rationalize procedures in order to make the best of the human, material and technical potential available to the Organization, for the Organization's ability to adapt and adjust itself to the realities of the day is among its prime attributes, which explains the Organization's ability to have withstood the tribulations of history during its forty years of existence while preserving the very essence of its universal and universalist vocation. The United Nations has thus been able to withstand the vicissitudes of its history.

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The General Assembly is once again to consider the same gamut of questions, of conflicts and of crises it has considered in past sessions. Very little progress has been made in the settlement of the main problems facing the international community.

The world economic situation shows no sign of recovery, and the gap between developed and developing countries continues to widen, to the great detriment of the latter group. The real chances for economic growth by developing countries - particularly the least developed countries - are growing worse. As their indebtedness increases, their purchasing power decreases and their exports are declining both in quantity and in value.

The countries of the third world are faced with a growing disparity between their socio-economic development and their ability to respond satisfactorily to its needs. This exacerbates the already difficult conditions in which development efforts are undertaken, often at the cost of enormous sacrifices on the part of their peoples.

The problem of indebtedness - particularly the level of debt servicing - is an unbearable burden for the economies of the developing countries. If it is not lightened, that burden will without doubt crush those economies, which, in the long term, would have repercussions for the developed countries themselves.

It is clear that under such circumstances the perpetuation of certain factors - such as deteriorating terms of trade, protectionism, declining multilateralism, decreasing commodity prices, high interest rates, and increased insolvency of debtor countries - cannot serve to promote a new trend in international economic relations, especially since global negotiations on development issues remain a pious wish.

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It is important in this context that special attention be given in the framework of the United Nations to the related matters of currency, finance, trade, indebtedness and development. We hope that the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) will provide a suitable forum for promoting joint action to launch a programme of world recovery.

The special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa was undoubtedly a milestone in the history of North-South relations. It will prove to have demonstrated the advantages of regional dialogue in the quest for solutions to common problems of development.

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In addition, that special session was the best opportunity for the international community to demonstrate its genuine solidarity. None the less, the measures adopted there require appropriate follow up so that the endogenous efforts of the African countries can be given the needed international support for the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the conclusion of that important session.

As I have said, the same range of questions remains of concern to the international community. The agenda of this session in fact reflects the repetitive nature of the deliberations in the General Assembly at the same time as it indicates how little progress has been achieved in eliminating the tension and conflicts that jeopardize world peace and stability.

Many reasons or pretexts are often adduced to justify the perpetuation of certain crises or the emergence of new conflicts. The real cause of the existence of these crises is non-respect for the principles contained in the Charter and rules of conduct that are internationally accepted and stem from the status of membership in the United Nations.

As representatives know, no problem can be resolved in a lasting way by following automatic responses. The will of all the parties concerned to find an equitable solution to a given problem is always necessary and constitutes an essential element in the planning and development of adequate responses. That is why neither declarations of intent devoid of practical content, nor radical stands based on dogmatism and open confrontation, can make it easier to find the desired solutions in a world where reason must prevail over force.

We believe that if every Member of the United Nations were to respect fully the principles and norms solemnly undertaken and if all Members were firmly committed to defending the Charter objectives there would be no insoluble problems,

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permanent tension or inevitable conflicts. There would be neither interference in matters within the sovereign jurisdiction of States nor attempts at domination, destabilization, aggression and occupation. The South African people would not be suffering from the odious system of apartheid, and Namibia would be independent. The States neighbouring on South Africa would not be victims of constant acts of aggression and destabilization and, above all, those acts would not go unpunished, as is now the case.

Chad would be free from foreign interference and national reconciliation would already be a reality.

The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), would have recovered its inalienable rights to independence and the establishment of its own State. Israel's policy of aggression and occupation against the Arab States of the region would have already received a well-deserved response from the international community.

If the principles of the Charter and international legality were respected, as I was saying, Lebanon and Cyprus would not see their national independence and territorial integrity threatened. The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq could have been avoided and peace in the Mediterranean and Gulf regions could have been strengthened.

In Central America every State, in sovereignty and without foreign interference, would be exercising its right to choose its own political and economic systems, and the commendable efforts and initiatives of the Contadora Group would today have the support of all the States of the region, thus contributing to the establishment of a lasting peace in that part of the world.

South Asia would not be an arena of the dangerous conflicts and tension that exist there at present, and the Khmer and Afghan peoples would be living in peace.

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The Korean people would be able, in harmony and independence, to meet its aspirations for the peaceful reunification of its homeland and fully play its role within the international community.

The peoples of the Western Sahara and East Timor would at last take their rightful place in the community of free and independent nations; and the peoples of other territories still under foreign domination would also be masters of their own destiny.

The mission of peace and good-offices undertaken by the Secretary-General in the quest for peaceful and negotiated solutions to the many problems of the present day would also be given real and sincere support by the parties concerned and the rest of the international community.

In that connection, as concerns Western Sahara, the action undertaken by the United Nations Secretary-General, together with the President of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, seems to have provided some encouragement in the process of finding a definitive solution to the conflict prevailing in that part of Africa. We encourage the continuation of that action and are convinced that the present Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Denis Sassou N'Guesso, will spare no effort in that direction.

The convening this year of the International Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa, the International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the fourteenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Namibia demonstrate how concerned the international community is at the explosive situation in southern Africa.

There is undoubtedly some unanimity in recognizing in apartheid the fundamental cause of the tension, instability and conflicts in that tormented region of the African continent. None the less, it is regrettable that the same is not the case in respect of compelling, by the application of vigorous measures, the

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racist South African régime to put an end to its policy of apartheid. The hesitant attitude of certain countries, towards that policy, together with the absence of concerted and effective action at the international level, has in fact given reassurances to the South African Government in its bellicose behaviour.

Constant incursions by South African forces into front-line States, in particular Angola and Mozambique, and Pretoria's obstinate refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions and decisions on the independence of Namibia - Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in particular - are the clearest demonstration of the lack of will on the part of the South African régime to accept a peaceful settlement to the problems that it has itself created in southern Africa.

We are pleased to note the progress registered in the struggle of the patriotic forces against apartheid and the occupation of Namibia, the struggle of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in particular. The international community is duty bound to intensify its moral, political, diplomatic and material support needed in order to achieve the complete liberation of southern Africa from racism and colonial domination.

The complex problems of an increasingly interdependent world can be resolved only through effective multilateral action. This assertion by the Secretary-General, contained in his most recent report, indicates in our view the priority task incumbent upon the international community in the period before the next millennium; in other words, to strengthen the basis of multilateralism, through the strengthening of the United Nations in particular, and to found co-operation among States on universal respect for the norms of international law. The Non-Aligned Movement firmly underscored that need and in the important documents adopted at Harare indicated ways and means of meeting it.

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The precarious nature of the international political and economic situation impels us to adopt an approach in keeping with the imperatives of the growing interdependence and interaction of the contemporary world.

We are confident that mankind, united for better or for worse in the dialectic of human existence and inspired by the valuable lessons of an era rich in sublime moments but also in tragic events, will cross the threshold of the twenty-first century with wisdom and assurance.

Mr. LASSOU (Chad) (interpretation from French): First, Sir, I wish, like previous speakers, to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Chad on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. Your well-known qualities, particularly your knowledge and experience of international affairs, are, I am convinced, a guarantee of the success of our work. I can assure you of the full support and co-operation of my delegation in the performance of your duties.

I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. de Piniés, who conducted the work of the fortieth session with wisdom and effectiveness.

I express our gratitude once again to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts in the cause of peace and to arouse international awareness of the economic crisis in the countries of the third world in general and the tragic situation of the African States in particular.

It was with the assistance of the United Nations that our country was able to organize two conferences on assistance to Chad in November 1982 and December 1985 in Geneva. We reiterate our thanks to the countries and organizations that participated in those meetings and renew our appeal to them to fulfil their commitments so that the outstanding endeavour that we have begun together may be

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made effective. To the same end, Chad hopes to organize very soon a conference of donors. My delegation would be grateful if the Secretary-General would appeal to Member States and financial organizations to participate in that conference.

We take this opportunity to say once again how grateful our Government is to friendly and brotherly countries and to international governmental and non-governmental organizations for the very valuable assistance they gave our country at a time of drought and serious famine.

Today, strictly from the point of view of rainfall, the peasants of Chad are again hopeful. Despite the fact that vast areas still suffer from bad rainfall distribution, greenery is reappearing, but greenery does not automatically mean that there will be a harvest, for the rats that dig up the seedlings and the locusts and birds that eat the plants and ears of corn are rapacious scourges. Hope is thus still fragile, and that is why the Government of Chad has called for the assistance of the international community in the struggle against predators.

Another handicap is that cotton, which is the main cash crop of the country, in no way compensates for losses in the food sector. The drop in the price of that commodity on the international market has caused an alarming reduction in the income of the peasants and increased the financial deficit of the State. For the 1985-1986 season alone, the deficit in the cotton sector was higher than our State budget. The Government is thus compelled to incur debts to avoid the bankruptcy of our peasantry. The Assembly will appreciate how the deterioration in the world market jeopardizes progress in the economy of my country.\*

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\*Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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As a result of the financial weakness of national economic operators, it is the State that bears the burden of rebuilding the country, where almost everything must be reconstructed, beginning with the roads and railways, the deplorable state of which, or even total lack of which in some regions, made it difficult to transport food to the victims of drought. This situation, which is made worse by the absence of an outlet to the sea, the immensity of the country and the fact that housing is scattered, has reduced domestic trade and is a serious handicap to development.

This year, many Chadians who left the country because of the lack of security or moved away following natural disasters have returned to their homes. Despite the commendable efforts of the international community, wide areas of activity have not recovered from the shock of drought and desertification. This is the case with regard to stock rearing, which provides the livelihood of one in five Chadians. The cattle have been decimated and the environment has worsened to such a point that thousands of families have neither the means to build up their herds nor the possibility of switching to some other type of activity. Chad appreciates the support of the international community and will continue to need that assistance to rehabilitate displaced persons and revive the sectors that have been stricken by disaster.

The disorganization of our economy has naturally had an effect on the social infrastructure. Our overcrowded schools and clinics are dilapidated and in need of both equipment and qualified staff.

There is, however, an even greater obstacle to the recovery of Chad's economy. That obstacle is the Libyan aggression, which puts a heavy burden on Chad's budget, impeding all development efforts and imperilling the very existence of our State.

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The Libyan army entered Chad in 1972 and since 1983 has extended its occupation over 550,000 square kilometres of our territory. That army is equipped with the most sophisticated arsenals and has built landing strips for heavy aircraft and fighter planes in Faya, Fada, Wadi Doum and Aouzou. It is from these strongholds that Libya has been launching increasingly violent attacks with the aim of conquering the rest of Chad's territory. The most recent attacks, in February, March and April of this year, resulted in hundreds of deaths, and many Libyan soldiers were taken prisoner by the Chad army.

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Furthermore, every day the national armed forces of Chad receive their compatriots, who are fleeing the zone occupied by Libya. These escapees go through unimaginable danger, crossing the desert, generally on foot, pursued by Libyan patrols. Great indeed are the perils of this march, but the life of the Chadians in the Libyan-occupied zone is even worse. The invaders mistreat the defenceless people, destroy the marks of Chadian culture and impose their own. It is indeed a policy of colonization that Libya is practising in the north of Chad.

Fortunately, the international community has not been taken in by Libya's intentions in Chad. My Government welcomes the courageous attitude adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which, at its recent summit meeting, reassessed the problem and reactivated the ad hoc committee on the conflict between Chad and Libya. We are convinced that the United Nations will also give its full support to this initiative, especially since it has been considering the complaint of Chad since March 1983.

Once again my delegation draws the General Assembly's attention to the genocide to which the whole population of the occupied zone is exposed. We call upon the international community to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Libyan troops from the whole of Chad's territory.

Like all peace- and justice-loving countries, Chad is committed to a peaceful solution to the differences among States. It is on the strength of this principle that we have increased our efforts to resolve the conflict between Chad and Libya through dialogue; unfortunately, Libya has chosen force. Faithful to the basic principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations - respect for the sovereignty of States, independence, territorial integrity and the right to self-defence - my country appeals to France to help it repel the Libyan aggression. We thank the peoples and Governments of friendly, fraternal countries for their material and moral support.

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Chad's situation has not prevented it from considering other serious problems that beset various parts of the world. As regards terrorism, which is now of concern to all continents, the Government of Chad submitted to the Security Council, in January 1985, irrefutable proof of the ongoing conspiracy of Libya to destabilize our country and sow desolation. The same criminal procedures have been used since then against the peaceful, innocent people of several countries. The most recent example was the attack on the capital of Togo by a commando sent from abroad. Through me the Government of Chad again expresses to the fraternal people of Togo and to their Government its feelings of solidarity and compassion in the face of this trial.

It is alarming to note that, confronted with the danger of terrorism, the organizers and the sanctuaries of which are known, the international community has been a long time in taking preventive action. This tolerance and impunity give the terrorists and the countries that use them added confidence to strike with increasing frequency against innocent people.

It is high time the United Nations condemned the countries that arm, protect and use terrorists, for remaining silent about these odious, unjustifiable practices could subject the world to the law of terror and blackmail.

In the Middle East the problem of Palestine, which has been going on for several decades, is a real powder-keg, threatening peace and stability in the subregion. Chad has always supported the struggle of the Palestinian people and hopes that they may be able to regain their rights and dignity in accordance with the relevant provisions of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council. My delegation too voices the hope for a speedy end to the state of war, the tragic results of which have affected the peoples of the entire region and, in particular, the Lebanese people. In order to resolve this difficult problem, we believe that the parties to the conflict should implement a process

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designed, first, to restore peace, and then to open the way to dialogue, and, finally, to bring about a just and lasting solution.

We note with regret that the Iran-Iraq conflict between two fraternal countries is still going on despite the mediation efforts being made by friendly countries and, in particular, international bodies. The Government of Chad supports the peace initiatives of Iraq and calls upon the antagonists to co-operate with the international organizations to put an end to the state of war.

The situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea is another source of concern for my delegation. Indeed the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea are courageously fighting to free themselves from the foreign occupying forces, the presence of which imperils not only the future of these two countries, but also the entire balance in Asia. We call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Afghanistan and Kampuchea of the occupation forces, the presence of which threatens peace and stability.

In regard to Central America, we encourage the initiatives of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems in the region to restore peace and co-operation to that part of the world.

In southern Africa the racist régime of Pretoria continues to deprive the black people of their most elementary rights, despite the repeated appeals of international bodies, including the Security Council. The presence of South Africa in Namibia is unjustifiable and in defiance of the international community, in defiance of the United Nations and of the Security Council. Apart from the systematic plundering of the resources of Namibia, the illegal occupation of this territory by the minority régime of Pretoria is a threat to peace and stability in this part of Africa. It is from the territory of Namibia that South Africa has been stepping up its acts of aggression against the front-line countries. My Government appeals to the international community and in particular the

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United Nations to take fresh initiatives to make South Africa put an end to its attacks on the front-line countries and to implement resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council for the independence of Namibia.

In the opinion of my delegation, economic problems have the same priority as political problems. For more than a decade the developing countries have been calling for a more just and equitable new international economic order. The chances of development in the third world depend basically on the prospects for North-South co-operation and on the efforts of the industrialized countries to revive dialogue among partners.

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Unfortunately, the difficulties are legion: a chronic deficit in the balance of payments, a dramatic drop in commodity prices and reduction in official development assistance. Given that highly unfavourable situation, the foreign debt of those countries has attained such a level as to negate all the efforts and sacrifices that have been made. The African continent has suffered a deep economic recession, one aggravated by natural disasters. In recent years several countries have recorded negative performances, and the medium-term prospects do not look bright.

That is why, four months ago, Africa was honoured by having a special session of the General Assembly devoted to it to consider the critical economic situation prevailing there. That session was entrusted with a very important task - that of strengthening international co-operation to resolve the continent's long-range problems in keeping with the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990.

We remain convinced that the impetus of solidarity will not abate, thus making it possible for a continent that has been thrust into marginality to participate as an active partner in international economic life.

Ms. CHIEPE (Botswana): Botswana joins the chorus of congratulations that have been extended to Mr. Choudhury, upon his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. My delegation has no doubt that in him we have an able and experienced helmsman who will steer the deliberations of the session to a fruitful conclusion. In offering his services to our Organization, Bangladesh has demonstrated its unwavering support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. He is joining the alumni of sons and daughters of third-world countries who have served and continue to serve our Organization with honour and distinction. He will have my delegation's unflinching support in the performance of his onerous task.

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His predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, also deserves our commendation. His skillful stewardship of the historic celebrations that marked the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is recalled with enduring admiration and nostalgia.

Our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, has continued to serve our Organization with great skill and dedication. How grateful my delegation is to see him looking much recovered from his recent indisposition and back at the helm. We salute him and the international staff that work under him. They have come from all corners of the globe to serve their fellow men, wherever they may be, to the best of their abilities. We recognize their sacrifice; we thank them for their dedication and devotion to their noble calling.

The Secretary-General's report, which my delegation has read with great interest, will, as in the past, enhance and guide our work. With the candour that has become his trademark he has again highlighted a number of issues that need our Organization's urgent attention. At the top of those issues is the financial crisis that threatens to disrupt not only many activities of the Organization but even its very existence. The Secretariat itself has already embarked upon several steps designed to curb waste and reduce costs as well as improve efficiency and effectiveness. Botswana will go along with any carefully designed corrective measures aimed at the optimum use of resources, whether they be financial, human or otherwise. We hope the work undertaken by the Group of 18 experts will assist our Organization finally to put its house in order.

My delegation would like to appeal to those who have done so not to withhold their contributions at a time when the United Nations needs more, not less, financial resources. The great importance we attach to the survival of the Organization impels us to caution against the erroneous thinking popular in certain quarters that the Organization has too much money to spend or waste, the corollary

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to that fallacy being that, if you deny it more money, then the problem will disappear. The fact is that the United Nations needs more money, not less, to finance the many humanitarian projects all of us expect it to carry out.

The rest of our agenda is a full one, loaded as it is with familiar issues solutions to which are crucial to the survival of the world as we know it. I should now like to turn to some of these burning issues.

This past May the General Assembly met in a special session in this Hall to consider the economic crisis facing the African continent. Participation in that session was, in itself, a moving experience for me, for it was the culmination of perhaps the longest sustained international relief effort ever recorded in recent memory, one aimed at saving hundreds of thousands of lives in sub-Saharan Africa caught in a long spell of drought and other natural calamities. The momentous decision to convene the special session taken by the fortieth session of the General Assembly, raised the hopes of the African people. We all hoped that, at long last, the world's conscience was awakening to the noble imperative of helping Africa to help itself. We saw the special session as an opportunity to mobilize additional resources which would enable us to implement the economic priority programmes adopted by our Heads of Government at Addis Ababa in July 1985.

In many respects, the special session was a success. The international community was for the first time sensitized to the magnitude and urgency of the problems facing the African continent. African leaders themselves had put on paper their own admissions of past mistakes and failed policies and made firm commitments to the implementation of the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER), if the world would respond positively to their call for medium- and long-term programmes of assistance. My Government wishes to record its gratitude to those nations and organizations that took the opportunity provided by the special session to write off some of the official debts they were owed by a number

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of African countries and that also announced some new programmes of co-operation or a revitalization of those already in existence.

My delegation hopes that those donor nations that did not appear to be enthusiastic about APPER have since had time for serious reflection. We understand some of the misgivings advanced by those nations that did not agree with certain assumptions contained in APPER. Yes, in some respects the economic problems facing African countries are a function of many other deep-seated realities traceable to many sources, some of which are demonstrably exogenous.

Developing countries, including African countries, have repeatedly complained in many forums about the protectionist policies of certain developed countries, the low commodity prices that are paid by developed countries for their products, the high interest rates and the crushing debt-service burdens and low levels of external concessional assistance, which make recovery very difficult and hinder efforts towards development. As a remedy, they have collectively called for the establishment of a new set of relationships which would usher in a new international economic order.\*

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\*Mr. Ferm (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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If the sorry economic plight which still faces many African countries is to be addressed effectively, urgent action is required now, before it is too late. The momentum gained at the special session must not be allowed to peter out.

Recognizing that no country on its own can tackle the multifaceted problems of development, we in southern Africa created a little more than six years ago, in the spirit of the Lagos Plan of Action, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), of which many representatives already know. We wanted to develop our economies collectively and reduce our dependence on external sources generally and South Africa in particular. Within a short time, SADCC, which is composed of the nine independent countries of southern Africa - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - has proved to be a serious tool of regional economic development, in spite of South Africa's evil machinations against it.

Within SADCC we have adopted a programme of action which gives high priority to the rehabilitation of transport systems. Since economic sanctions against South Africa have become inevitable and the threat of retaliation against us by the apartheid régime more menacing, we appeal to nations in a position to do so to assist us as a matter of urgency to achieve our objective of ensuring that the lifelines of SADCC - the Beira and Maputo corridors and the Tazara and Benguela railways - are rehabilitated and secured for our exports and imports.

In addition, all our sectoral programmes in agriculture, food security, energy, commerce and industry and many other areas need to be accelerated. We need additional resources urgently so that we can defend our independence and continue

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development with the momentum necessary to give our peoples a better life. Those with influence on South Africa must use that influence to dissuade it from destroying SADC projects and destabilizing our countries.

We are aware that prospects for the world economy are not very bright. According to World Bank projections, growth in the industrialized countries is likely to be around 3 per cent or less this year. That does not augur well for many developing countries whose economies are dependent on the generosity of the developed countries. Nevertheless, we hope that the Governments of developed countries will, in spite of sluggish growth in their own countries, shoulder their full responsibility to the less privileged of the world,

I have spoken at some length on economic issues because they affect millions of lives every day, every hour and every minute across the globe. In a real sense their final solution, or the lack of it, will determine to a large extent whether the next century will usher in prosperity and peace or be another century of conflict and misery. The world cannot afford to be indifferent to the poverty of so many in the midst of so much plenty. Something ought to be done, and done now, to confront and push back the boundaries of man's real enemies: hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty.

There are several other pressing issues on our agenda. The questions of general and complete disarmament, nuclear weapons, decolonization, the intractable Palestinian issue, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the festering sore that is apartheid, Western Sahara, the war between Iraq and Iran, the large population of refugees in the world, human rights, international terrorism, Korea, drug trafficking, the delayed independence of the International Trust Territory of Namibia: all these are issues that deeply concern us in Botswana.

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On the question of disarmament and nuclear weapons, I need only say that those that bear the primary responsibility for the continuing arms race must continuously take into account the concerns of the millions of people around the world who are fearful of the prospect of a nuclear holocaust. It is my delegation's fervent hope that the ongoing talks between the super-Powers will ultimately bear fruit. We also call upon those nations that have acquired nuclear technology to stay within the limits of agreed international safeguards and never to use it for the manufacture of more weapons of mass destruction, so that the billions of dollars now wasted on the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction may be well spent on the betterment of the human condition.

At centre stage in our deliberations are political problems whose intractability continues to threaten the peace and stability of our world. In my part of the world, the region of southern Africa, the political fuse has been lit, is hissing and could ignite a catastrophic conflagration at any time. The people of South Africa have reached the end of their tether and their endurance of the indignities and humiliations heaped upon them and their ancestors for over three centuries. They have taken to the streets of Soweto, Langa, Crossroads, Alexandra and Durban to demand the restoration of their birthright in their motherland.

Sadly, the South African white minority rulers, the inventors of the evil ideology of apartheid, have chosen not to sit down at the negotiating table with their black compatriots to negotiate a new democratic and non-racial dispensation in South Africa. Instead they have responded in the same old brutal fashion, with mass killings, including the killing of young children, mass arrests of trade union leaders and anti-apartheid activists, endless declarations of states of emergency in African townships, murderous attacks on neighbouring countries for crimes they

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have not committed, and the spawning of bandit movements to destabilize the front-line States. Thousands have already died at the hands of the régime's security forces in a vain attempt to defy the verdict of history. More are likely to die before South Africa can accept that apartheid is an indefensible and evil system whose eradication is long overdue.

The world has already declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity, yet it has continued to offer the authors of the crime one olive branch after another. One such olive branch was the Commonwealth mission, composed of men and women of international standing and high repute. Their brief was "good will to all and malice to none" in the polyglot environment of South Africa. Many people in the world, including those who had misgivings about the prospects of the mission's success from the beginning, thought that South Africa would see the desperate need for peaceful change and seize the opportunity to show the world that it is capable of redeeming itself. That was not to be. The white minority régime, with incredible malice aforethought, scuttled the mission by attacking three Commonwealth neighbours while the Eminent Persons Group was in South Africa.

At the end of their mission, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, in one of the most poignant of the concluding paragraphs of its report, stated:

"Our mandate was to foster a process of negotiation across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative Government. It is our considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African Government is not yet ready to negotiate such a future, except on its own terms. Those terms, in regard to both objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well-accepted democratic norms and principles."

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Thus, a mission in which so much of our hopes had been invested ended as though it had never begun, and the death-dance in the blood-soaked streets of black townships continued unabated.

In desperation over this kind of intransigence, the international community now sees economic sanctions against South Africa as the last peaceful resort to push that country towards the dismantling of apartheid. Botswana cannot itself impose sanctions against South Africa, but will not stand in the way of those that can and decide to do so.

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Botswana is only too aware of the urgent need to resolve the intractable problem of apartheid. This is necessary if we are to avoid a bloodbath in our region. Those who can, especially the major trading partners of South Africa, but will not impose sanctions against that country must not use us as an excuse for their inaction.

We remain convinced, nevertheless, that it is not too late for the leaders of South Africa, both black and white, to sit down together, in a spirit of reconciliation, at a conference table to negotiate a non-racial, democratic future for South Africa, which must of necessity be preceded by: first, the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; secondly, the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC); thirdly, the lifting of the state of emergency and removal of troops from black townships; and, fourthly, the return of exiles.

Namibia's dream deferred is no nearer realization this year than it was during the past year. South Africa remains defiant in its refusal to accept the resolution adopted by the United Nations calling upon it to co-operate in granting independence to the international Territory. It is determined to give all the appearance and substance of sovereignty to the puppet so-called interim government in Windhoek, and it will not be long before the international community is asked to give recognition and respectability to an internal settlement in Namibia.

My Government holds firm to the view that United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only acceptable basis for Namibia's independence and we reaffirm our total rejection of the linking of Namibia's independence to the resolution of irrelevant issues. Linkage of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is tantamount to holding hostage the destiny of the Namibian people to the solution of an issue irrelevant to it. The people of

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Namibia have inalienable rights that must be respected by those who govern them against their will. We therefore call for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without delay.

The people of Western Sahara have still not yet been allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, in spite of several promises by those who claim ownership of their territory. We call upon all the parties involved to find a formula which would allow the Sahraoui people the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination. To that end we hope that advantage will be taken of the Secretary-General's continued good offices.

In the Middle East peace is still as elusive as ever. The Palestinians are still entrapped in refugee camps, in an interminable and painful diaspora, waiting impatiently for the enjoyment of their right to self-determination in a country of their own. Israel is still in occupation of Arab lands and most of the Arab nations in turn still refuse to recognize the State of Israel and come to grips with the permanence of its existence in the Middle East. My Government's position on this vexing issue remains: an independent State for the Palestinian people; withdrawal by Israel from Arab territories acquired by force; and recognition by the Arab nations of the State of Israel and its right to exist within secure and internationally recognized borders. Those are the requirements that must be fulfilled if a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is to be realized and lasting peace is to take root in the Middle East.

In the Latin American region, we are increasingly fearful of the implications and possible consequences of the endless destabilization of Nicaragua by externally supported and financed dissident movements, popularly known as contras. We in Botswana do not see how the destabilization of Nicaragua or any other country in

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Central America where turmoil has become endemic can be in the interest of those in this region who, curiously enough, seem to see a great deal of virtue in the murderous activities of the bandit contra revolutionaries. How can the security of one country, however powerful, be enhanced by the desperate insecurity of its neighbours?

The Contadora process deserves our support, because it is a process dedicated to the search for peace. It should not be sabotaged.

The question of the Falklands (Malvinas) remains unresolved because the parties to the dispute over the sovereignty of the islands are still talking to each other across a chasm of mutual suspicion and bitterness, instead of talking with each other across a negotiating table. We urge the two sides to put history behind them and get down to the urgent task of ensuring that another bloody confrontation in the South Atlantic can be avoided in favour of a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

This body has on several occasions in the past called upon nations that have foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea to withdraw them at the earliest opportunity. It is regrettable that those calls have gone unheeded. My Government joins those who insist that Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be left alone to mind their own business without foreign interference. Consequently, we reiterate our call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from those two countries.

The war between Iran and Iraq has been going on for six years now. The destruction that it has wreaked on lives and properties on both sides is incalculable, unconscionable and scandalous. Surely this is a war that the two sides could do without; its termination is far too long overdue.

The people of the Korean peninsula need not belong to two Koreas at this time. Botswana supports the peaceful reunification of the two parts, to be

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achieved through a direct and fraternal dialogue between them, without any interference from outside. In spite of the difficulties that we understand have resulted in the suspension of contacts between the two sides, it is our cherished hope that everything will be done to get back to the path of dialogue.

Refugees have become one of the most pressing problems of our age. Africa is one of the greatest concentration areas of those unfortunate people. Much as my country is grateful for the assistance that the international community has been giving and continues to give for the upkeep of refugees, we believe none the less that the ultimate cure lies in tackling the root cause of this scourge. Governments ought to adopt a more tolerant attitude towards those of their citizens who may not agree with their policies on ideological, religious or other grounds. We are fully aware of the complex make-up of certain societies, but we are convinced that Governments themselves could do a great deal to curb this growing scourge if they respected their citizens' right to differ, treated their human rights with caring circumspection and tolerance, and adhered to the relevant United Nations conventions.

Another serious menace in the world today is terrorism - terrorism, naked, brutal and evil. We condemn unreservedly and find inexcusable the terrorism of the indiscriminate killing, maiming or hostage-taking of innocent civilians by individuals or groups aimed at forcing Governments, organizations or individuals to acquiesce in their diabolic extortions by which they relegate human life to the worth of a mere tradable commodity.

What is even more condemnable and utterly deplorable is the terrorism in which some States are engaged for reasons which are as indefensible and contemptible as those which are often advanced by hijackers and kidnappers. States which spawn terrorist bandits and unleash them on their neighbours or distant foes, or directly

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engage in terrorist activities against their neighbours are as terroristic as the bandits they spawn. They are guilty of State terrorism. The international community must take a resolute stand against such terrorism.

A similar menace in the world is that of drug trafficking. If it is not checked now it will destroy our civilization, because it corrupts the morality of those who engage in it. The victims are mostly the youth whose mental and physical growth it ravages, and without healthy minds and bodies what kind of future can we contemplate in the hands of a hallucinated generation. My delegation is pleased that many Governments are now taking concerted action to fight this menace at the source. We must intensify our efforts to meet the drug-pushers head on.

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Peace and security are precious concomitants of human existence. They do not fall like manna from heaven; they are dynamic conditions that depend on conscious and tireless efforts to bring them about and ensure their permanence. The world has had to fight two tragic wars because of the folly of certain nations. At the end of the last war the United Nations was created in the hope of avoiding another war. But we often wonder if we have really learned a lesson from the tragedy of the Second World War.

In its 40 years of existence the United Nations has had a good number of critics, but it also has its ardent supporters. It has had glaring shortcomings in a number of areas, but there is no denying that it is still the arbiter of peace. It is still our only hope for the future. Let us not repeat the follies of the past. Let us work tirelessly to preserve the United Nations.

Mr. VO DONG GIANG (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): First of all, Sir, I should like to extend my warm congratulations to Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish him every success in his important task. I also express our deep appreciation of the fruitful efforts made by the Secretary-General of our Organization in the cause of international peace and security and friendship and co-operation among nations.

As we entered the year 1986 there were hopeful signs of a relaxation of international tension. That dawning hope, however, is still clouded by the spectre of extermination.

At this session of the General Assembly, in this International Year of Peace, apart from a broad range of questions included in the agenda there are many new problems of major significance that concern the survival and development of mankind. These problems require from the international community appropriate

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answers and common efforts to bring to a satisfactory conclusion the final years of this century and cross the threshold of the third millennium of our history with a new position and in more favourable conditions.

The history of our time since the Second World War has proved ever more clearly that while the struggle for peace, freedom and happiness becomes as ever keener and fiercer, peace and peaceful coexistence between different socio-political régimes have become an irrepressible objective law as a result of the growing awareness of States and peoples of issues concerning their survival and development. That awakening has truly become an unassailable spiritual and material force, whose most striking result is that mankind has been able to live free of a world war for the past 40 years. Europe, in spite of several decades of extreme tension caused by the cold war, has been able to establish and maintain a framework of peaceful coexistence in the face of numerous challenges. The recent success of the Stockholm Conference has once again confirmed this. However, no one can forget the continuing presence in that continent of the world's two strongest opposing military blocs, or that the arms race, intensified by the United States, constantly threatens to upset the strategic balance and provoke a nuclear conflagration that would mean the annihilation of mankind.

In the region of Asia and the Pacific, where for the past 40 years the peoples have never really known peace, but instead have had to face a succession of the longest, bloodiest wars, and which today remains a turbulent region, the solid beginnings of progress towards the establishment of a zone of peace, friendship and co-operation have emerged.

The successive great victories in the struggle of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific for independence, freedom, peace and social progress and the exceptional growth of peace-loving, revolutionary forces have brought about profound changes in

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the character of the region, compelling certain ruling groups to accept, tardily, but more fully each day, the evident reality and the course of historical development.

The will of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific for peaceful coexistence, co-operation and friendship is becoming increasingly urgent; generates the strength to guarantee peace and security in their own region and in the whole world. The initiatives of the People's Republic of Mongolia concerning a treaty on the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force between the States of the region and the initiative of the Soviet Union on the establishment of a general system of security in the Asia and the Pacific, as well as the efforts to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, are all realistic initiatives. The same is true of the initiatives aimed at making South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation and South-East Asia, the South Pacific region and the Korean peninsula nuclear-free zones.

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All those initiatives create enormous possibilities for assuring regional peace and security on the basis of national independence and sovereignty and for strengthening mutually beneficial co-operation in the economic, commercial and scientific and technical spheres among the nations of the region and between them and States outside the region.

The world rejoices, with a note of caution, at positive developments in recent years in the Asian-Pacific area and particularly at the prospect of a brighter and healthier political atmosphere in that part of the world. However, because of the policies pursued by certain imperialist and militarist circles, which continue to intensify the arms race, to cause tension and to attempt to turn Asia into a theatre of military and political confrontation, explosive and destabilizing factors nevertheless remain in the region, such as the presence of American troops in South Korea and attempts to perpetuate the division of Korea - including the use of the United Nations to legalize the division of that country; the presence of foreign military bases; the moves to form bilateral or trilateral military alliances; the many obstacles to the convening of a conference to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace; the undeclared wars waged against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; the attempt to partition Micronesia and to turn it into a neo-colony; the delay imposed on the process of decolonization of New Caledonia and the continued occupation of East Timor, and so on.

Having been the victim of several foreign aggressions, the Vietnamese people earnestly desire peace in order to rebuild their country. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, like the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, want to seek through dialogue a political solution to the problems concerning South-East Asia, including the question of Kampuchea.

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Developments in and around South-East Asia have shown that confrontation is in the process of being replaced by dialogue and that differences are gradually being narrowed. Besides Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, many other concerned parties have, either openly or tacitly, agreed that the two basic questions for a political solution to the Kampuchean question are the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the elimination of the genocidal Pol Pot clique. The remaining differences concern means of implementation as regards those two questions.

Some people clamour for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea without, however, referring to the need to end all support for the genocidal Pol Pot clique, which is living in exile in a neighbouring country and nurtures the hope of returning to power in Kampuchea. A certain individual claims to be a friend of the Kampuchean people, a defender of human rights and the right to self-determination and a champion of the struggle against terrorism and colonialism, while deliberately ignoring the fact that Pol Pot and his clique, now under the deceptive cloak of the democratic coalition, have committed genocidal crimes unprecedented in the annals of history.

In barely four years in power - from 1975 to 1978 - they massacred nearly half of their compatriots and instigated armed conflicts with all the neighbouring countries, the one with Viet Nam turning into a bloody border war aimed at expanding their monstrous civilization to the very doors of Ho Chi Minh City. As he consigns the tragic past of the Kampuchean people to oblivion, that same individual should ask himself whose friend he is. Is he defending human rights and the right to self-determination for the Kampuchean people and other ethical principles or is he defending the genocidal clique?

There are those in this forum who used to be satellites of imperialism in the war of aggression against Viet Nam and accomplices of those treacherous puppets Nguyen Van Thieu and Lon Nol and who subsequently provided sanctuary to the

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remnants of Pol Pot's forces or served as the spawning ground for the so-called coalition of Democratic Kampuchea - that anomalous hybrid created to serve as a cover for the Pol Pot clique, thus continuously fostering the danger of renewed genocide in Kampuchea. Is it not shameful for them now to lecture Viet Nam on anti-colonialism and to demand that Viet Nam engage in a strange dialogue with the clique of perpetrators of genocide, supposedly to realize the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people?

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, prompted by a full understanding of their responsibilities, have agreed and many times declared to their own peoples and those of the world that the voluntary withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, which has been partially carried out every year for the past five years, will be completed by the year 1990, when the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces will be strong enough to ensure the security of their own country.

Thus, the highly important task that remains to be undertaken - a task more realistic and useful than clamouring for something that is already being done - is to endeavour to find a satisfactory solution to the Kampuchean problem. That solution must be based on the guaranteed withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and, at the same time, the elimination of the Pol Pot clique, as well as on a guarantee for the process of national reconciliation in Kampuchea without the danger of further acts of genocide.

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Such a solution would allow Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops before the scheduled 1990 deadline. On the contrary any solution which demands that Viet Nam withdraw its forces before that deadline without reference to the cessation of all aid to the genocidal clique, will in fact have the effect of hindering Viet Nam's troop withdrawal plan and blocking the search for a political solution. Thus it is clear that no appropriate solution can be based on the so-called eight-point proposal, which was supported by only three Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries and one non-ASEAN country, at the recent summit Conference of the non-aligned countries in Harare.

Those eight points are in fact merely an attempt to use the pretext of a political solution to bring the criminal Pol Pot clique back to power in Kampuchea, an attempt that has failed in spite of all efforts - military attempts included - during the past eight years.

In the course of the past seven years the United Nations, misled by the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" included in the agendas of successive sessions of the United Nations General Assembly at the request of the ASEAN countries, and under direct pressure from certain parties whose hands are not altogether clean, has adopted erroneous resolutions in total contradiction of the resolutions on South-East Asia adopted by consensus by two thirds of the countries represented here at the seventh summit Conference of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi and the recent eighth summit Conference in Harare. While the objective and constructive resolutions of the non-aligned movement on South-East Asia have encouraged the process of fruitful dialogue in the region, the mistaken United Nations resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea have given a distorted picture of the situation there and provided support for the Pol Pot clique, thus conflicting with the vital interests of the Kampuchean people and hindering and undermining the

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current process of dialogue. Moreover, as the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated on many occasions, the discussion of the item, "The situation in Kampuchea", without its consent constitutes gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, in brazen violation of the United Nations Charter.

In the present situation, a turning point is necessary in the United Nations approach to questions relating to South-East Asia, including that of Kampuchea, so that this Organization can play its full role in promoting the process of dialogue which has already started between the parties concerned outside the United Nations framework.

In the search for a political solution to the question of ensuring peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, and also throughout the Asian-Pacific region, relations of friendship and co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China could play a very important role. The Vietnamese people greatly treasure their traditional friendship with the Chinese people. In the past the two peoples supported each other and were united in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The two countries have common interests: in peace, independence and development. Wishing to restore normal relations with China, Viet Nam has, on many occasions, declared its readiness to negotiate with China at any level, at any time and anywhere, so as to resolve the substantive questions concerning relations between the two countries and other matters of mutual concern in the higher interests of peace and co-operation between the two peoples and in the region as a whole.

We believe to solve differences through dialogue without pre-conditions would be easier, more realistic and more fruitful than to try to solve them without any dialogue in a hostile atmosphere.

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We share the view of certain political circles in the ASEAN countries that the so-called Kampuchean problem will sooner or later solve itself with the growth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. What is of more far-reaching, decisive significance is to have a broader vision - in terms of time and space - which allows us to perceive now a comprehensive solution for South-East Asia and for the Asian-Pacific region as a whole. This will be essential in the "post-Kampuchea" period, a period which will have begun by 1990 at the latest, with or without a political solution regarding Kampuchea.

The United States has an important role to play with regard to peace, stability and co-operation in Asia and the Pacific, and should therefore have found an appropriate way to assume that role in a constructive manner. The Vietnamese people are ready to turn to a new chapter and to facilitate the development of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two peoples.

Time waits for no man. Artificial obstacles should be removed as quickly as possible, and the process of dialogue should be given new impetus, and we should co-operate in resolving together, in this International Year of Peace, the problems before us in response to the demands of our times, as our turbulent century draws to a close.

In other regions of the world, especially in Africa, the Middle East, and in Central America and the Caribbean, as a result of profound changes brought about by the march of history, but against the wishes of the imperialist forces, the situation has become more and more turbulent.

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While the imperialists persist in attempting to maintain the old order imposed by them, a series of young States have come into being, ridding themselves of colonial domination and freely choosing their own path of development in the very areas considered to be imperialism's strategic positions. At the same time, liberation movements are surging forward with unprecedented vigour, striving to eliminate the last bastions of colonialism and puppet régimes which are traitors to their peoples. No longer able to have things their own way, those in imperialist and colonialist circles are at times compelled to declare their readiness to negotiate political solutions, but they have in no way renounced their policy of using force to serve their hegemonic ends. While anxious to avoid another Viet Nam, they are prepared to undertake direct armed intervention whenever and wherever they can. More particularly, they engage in war by proxy, State terrorism, political and economic coercion and the instigation and organization of subversive activities against countries that refuse to submit to their diktat, notably the Republic of Cuba.

Viet Nam fully endorses the common position expressed at the eighth summit Conference of non-aligned countries, held recently in Harare, categorically condemning the criminal activities of imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, Zionism and other reactionary forces and affirming the most resolute support for struggling peoples. Now more than ever, it is the duty of all mankind to show solidarity with and give assistance in all spheres to the peoples of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa, and of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, and to the front-line States in southern Africa with a view to the elimination of apartheid. Our vigorous support and effective assistance must also be extended to the people of Nicaragua in its struggle in defence of its independence and sovereignty; to

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the Palestinian people, whose authentic representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, and other Arab peoples in their struggle against the Israeli Zionists and their masters; to the Libyan people in their struggle against the policy of State terrorism practised by certain imperialist forces; to the Saharan people in its struggle for the full exercise of its right of self-determination; and to the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico and other lands striving for independence and freedom.

In addition to political and military threats, the developing countries are confronting serious economic challenges which are the result of colonialism and the present unjust economic order. Because of that economic order and in conditions of the increasing internationalization of the forces of production and growing international trade, the developing countries, which have already been heavily exploited, will be exploited even further. These economic challenges not only hinder the development of those countries but threaten their very existence. In a world of economic interdependence, economic challenges affect not only the exploited countries but the entire world economy. That is why the relevant decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations on the establishment of a new international economic order are in keeping with the interests of all States. In this new situation we need not only a new long-term approach but also urgent action by the international community.

It is time for those that enriched themselves thanks to the old order, that are in the habit of exploiting others by means of unfair co-operative relations and the use of economic coercion as an instrument of hegemony and domination, to reconsider their policies and play a constructive part in the implementation of the economic programmes and strategies adopted by the United Nations, in the common interest of all peoples and in their own interest.

(Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Viet Nam)

The groundwork has been laid for a world in which mankind can live in equality and freedom, working and co-operating in peace and friendship, free of the danger of nuclear holocaust; a world in which regional conflicts are settled not by force but through dialogue and where ideological differences do not impede co-operation for the well-being of mankind.

With the aim of achieving that noble ambition, the participants in the eighth summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Harare, made the following appeal:

"In fact, today the choice is no longer between war and peace, but rather between life and death. Thus, the struggle for peace and against nuclear war is the principal task of our time."

We must respond with goodwill to peace initiatives from various sources, which are vital for the future of mankind. I am thinking in particular of the initiative concerning the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, the initiative on the establishment of a general system of international security, and the New Delhi appeal by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. There must be an immediate, appropriate response to the Soviet Union's repeated extension of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

The time has come to translate the fine words about a desire for peace into deeds. It is also time for those in the most warlike ruling circles to reconsider their persistence in a position which runs counter to that of all peace-loving mankind - that is, their continuing intensification of the arms race on earth and in outer space and their attempts to abrogate important disarmament treaties concluded after long and difficult negotiations. In a world that must choose between life and death, any rejection of peace initiatives that could be decisive for the survival of our planet constitutes a crime against humanity.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. Several representatives have asked to exercise their right of reply.

Before I call on them, 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 to five minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I cannot leave without replying to the statements that were made this morning by the Vice-President and Minister for Financial Affairs of Fiji, and by the representative of Vanuatu on French nuclear tests and New Caledonia. I wish once more to do this with moderation as usual.

First of all, on the nuclear tests. I already had the opportunity last week, in similar circumstances, to recall what all of us have known for many years about the conditions of security in which French nuclear tests take place and the harmlessness of their effects both on the population and on the environment. Those effects have been studied in the field by national and international commissions; the Assembly knows the conclusions that they reached after their work, and so I will not repeat them.

What I want to stress, however, is the behaviour - which seems to me quite exaggerated - of those countries that do not hesitate to describe as arrogant the position of France when, in the full exercise of its sovereignty, on French territory, it carries out an action that does not affect them at all. Is the arrogance not rather that of those who try without ceasing to impose their views on countries and territories a thousand miles away from their territories and who vis-à-vis a continent that has vast seas, behave as if they were the owners? These claims and practices of times gone by show contempt for the most elementary rules of international law, but I have no doubt that, with good faith, those countries will manage to understand us better.

(Mr. de Kémoularia, France)

With regard to New Caledonia, I must mention certain statements by the representative of Vanuatu. The passages he devoted to this question show that he is very ignorant of the history of that Territory, of its development, of its present situation, and finally, of the role played by France in the emancipation of peoples throughout the world. If some speak here of New Caledonia, it is because France has striven to preserve and defend Melanesian populations there. I must remind the Assembly of certain things that the spokesman of Vanuatu seems to be ignorant of.

First, all the inhabitants of New Caledonia have full civil, political, economic and social rights, just like all the citizens of my country.

Secondly, the Territory has, within the French Republic, a status of broad autonomy, that takes into account its specific nature and the complex and multiracial nature of its society.

Thirdly, the Caledonians, as the Assembly now knows, can freely decide on their future in July 1987 by a referendum which offers them the option of independence. I must repeat that the referendum must take place in complete calm, without any foreign pressure of any kind, in the interests of all the inhabitants of the island.

Mr. FARTAS (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): This afternoon we heard the representative of the northern army of Chad rehash the often repeated fabrications, which would not have warranted a reply were it not for the fact that they have been inflated to the level of fraud with the distribution of a map alleging that the Jamahiriya had annexed part of Chadian territory and that it occupies another part of that country. A few days ago, the Jamahiriya affirmed in this very Hall that it respected its international borders, borders which it inherited from the era of Italian colonialism, and that it did not occupy one inch of Chadian territory. The map in question is a fabrication, a forgery that we firmly reject.

(Mr. Fartas, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

There is no need for me to stress again that the problem of Chad is a matter for Chad and has absolutely nothing to do with my country. There is not a single Libyan soldier on Chad's soil. The lies and fabrications we heard this morning in this Hall are totally untrue.

Mr. BOUNCHHAT (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): The General Assembly, which will soon discuss the question of Kampuchea and the situation there - one of the main items on its agenda - will not fail on that occasion to solemnly condemn the trickery of Hanoi. My delegation does not think it would be useful to speak on that subject at this point. Nevertheless, it feels bound to give a heated reply to the statement made a moment ago from this rostrum by the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, so very odious in our opinion was the way in which he tried to falsify the situation.

However, the facts are simple and known to all. Despite unanimous condemnation on the part of the international community, Viet Nam has persisted in its attempt to absorb our country. Please allow me to emphasize here that in order to carry out that colonialist design - to use the words of the Prime Minister of France, Jacques Chirac - 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers and 700,000 settlers are deployed on our territory at the present time sowing death and destruction. However, not only does the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam refuse the Khmer people its right to live in independence, dignity and peace but it is also jeopardizing peace and stability of the entire region of South-East Asia.

(Mr. Bounchhat, Democratic  
Kampuchea)

What real hope do we have to make 1986 a year of peace in other than words if Viet Nam, a full-fledged Member of our Organization, can with impunity violate the principles of the Charter and keep up a conflict which it alone has initiated and for which it bears sole responsibility? It must be pointed out that it has been occupying our country for eight years, and Hanoi has made no gesture to reach a satisfactory political solution for the Kampuchean problem. On the contrary, it has used force to try to present us with a fait accompli in our own country.

Therefore my delegation wishes to denounce vehemently the manoeuvres concocted by Hanoi to deceive the international community, as was done here a few moments ago by its representative.

If, as he asserts, Viet Nam truly aspires to peace, it should respond promptly and favourably to the eight-point peace proposal adopted by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986 and set forth in this forum by Prince Norodom Sihanouk on 30 September last.

Based on the relevant just resolutions of the General Assembly and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, our proposal, being reasonable and comprehensive, is aimed simply at allowing Viet Nam an honourable way out of its war of aggression against my country in which it has become bogged down and of the isolation in which it finds itself in the international community. This proposal would make it possible to put an end to the sufferings not only of the Khmer people, the victims of aggression, but also of the Vietnamese people, who, we are convinced, certainly do not wish a continuation of the struggle.

(Mr. Bounchhat, Democratic  
Kampuchea)

In putting forward this wise proposal, we would have overlooked the fact that the Vietnamese leaders, through the appalling devastation they have wreaked against the people of Kampuchea in the past eight years, are really war criminals, just as the Nazis were, and that the Phnom Penh puppets are in fact nothing more than quislings. On the contrary, we would never wish to humiliate or conquer Viet Nam, with which an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia still hopes to live one day in harmony and understanding.

In rejecting our peace proposal, Viet Nam is assuming before the international community full responsibility for the unforeseeable consequences of pursuing this war. Similarly, it is assuming before our Organization the same responsibility for continuing arrogantly to violate the fundamental principles of the Charter, in particular those prohibiting States Members of the Organization from resorting to the use of force in international relations and conferring on them the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

As far as our people and the people of Viet Nam are concerned, the Hanoi Government is guilty of the mourning, suffering and destruction it has imposed on them through its anachronistic colonialist and expansionist policy. It is high time the Hanoi leaders saw reason and ended the occupation of Kampuchea, in keeping with the urgent appeals of the international community and the peoples of both Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): About two weeks ago we heard the Libyan representative responding, but without much conviction, to the highly relevant and true words spoken by the Prime Minister of the French Republic, Mr. Chirac, on the situation in Chad. At that time I exercised my right of reply.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

Today once again the representative of the Tripoli régime is making himself ridiculous by using fallacious and irresponsible verbiage, claiming that there is no Libyan occupation and there are no Libyan soldiers in Chad. This once again is intended to divert the attention of the international community.

We are all used to the lying words of the representatives of Libya in this Assembly. There really is an occupation of part of the territory of Chad. There really has been an annexation of what is known as the Aozou strip. The map of which the Libyan representative has just spoken is, in my view, very similar to that which exists in the United Nations. That is why the Organization of African Unity at its last summit meeting reactivated its ad hoc committee to study and resolve the question of the Chad-Libya border by peaceful means.

So we maintain that Chad is indeed occupied in the northern part, an area of approximately 550,000 square kilometres, and it is occupied by 6,000 Libyan soldiers. In this Assembly we call on Libya to co-operate with that ad hoc committee of the Organization of African Unity to find a solution for this border dispute, on the basis of the maps that exist in the United Nations and that are therefore internationally recognized.

Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): It was not my delegation that referred to France as being arrogant. I wish to set the record straight. I would refer the representative of France to our statement delivered this morning and suggest a careful rereading of that statement. He will see that nowhere in that statement did we refer to France or any other nation as being arrogant. However, we have heard the rather odd and unique argument that the security interests of France justify somehow the imposition of nuclear tests on the countries and the peoples of our region, thereby causing insecurity to exist in the countries and the peoples of our region.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

I do not know how I would characterize that. "Arrogance" is not a word that we have used before. I can only say, "If the shoe fits, wear it". We prefer not to use labels or names of that sort, and we have made that very clear. Therefore we would request the representative of France kindly to listen carefully to the arguments that we present for the positions that we take.

Continuing on the subject of nuclear testing, we are intrigued by the argument that somehow or other French nuclear tests do not affect the countries of our region, when all the scientific evidence suggests otherwise. We would also say to the representative of France that, if nuclear tests conducted 1,000 miles from the territory of any of the member States of the South Pacific Forum are so safe, we will not even suggest, as others have very wisely and ably done, that those tests should be conducted within the territory of France. Let us go even a step further and say this. If the tests are so safe, why not conduct them 1,000 miles from the territory of France and then wait and see how long it takes for other countries of other regions 1,000 miles from the territory of France to come here to the United Nations and object to those tests?

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

Finally, on the question of nuclear testing, we note that the representative of France keeps referring to the visit of a scientific mission to the site of the French nuclear tests in our region. The position of the Government of Vanuatu was and remains that it will not participate in such a mission because the Government of Vanuatu believes that these tests are unsafe and that they are also immoral, and no amount of evidence of any sort, of any kind, will ever convince the Government of Vanuatu that conducting nuclear tests or building and stockpiling nuclear weapons is anything but an immoral act.

On the question of New Caledonia, once again I find myself very disturbed. I do not believe that the representative of France meant to call the Government of Vanuatu ignorant. I do not believe that my good friend the representative of France meant to call me ignorant. Perhaps the interpreter misunderstood or perhaps there was a poor use of words. Although we might disagree with the representative of France with respect to the position he is instructed to take on the colonial situation in New Caledonia, we would never characterize either him or his arguments as ignorant.

Once again, we will not say that that is arrogance, but, again, if the shoe fits, then wear it. We will match our history, our knowledge and our understanding of the colonial situation in New Caledonia with that of the representative of France, or any other representative.

We would have preferred to leave a discussion of the details and specifics of the colonial situation in New Caledonia to a later date. However, we can understand the anxiety and agitation of our good friend the representative of France and his extreme haste to go into the details and substance of that question now. After all, it does appear that a very significant portion if not most of the colonial questions now before the international community involves failures by

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

France to comply with its duties and responsibilities as an Administering Power, not only in our region but in other regions of the world.

Finally, with reference to the proposed so-called referendum to be held next year, this is precisely the point why the countries of our region are extremely alarmed and distressed with the obvious attempt by France to present to the international community political facts before the United Nations has an opportunity to discharge its duties in New Caledonia. We maintain that the proper function of a referendum or an exercise of self-determination would be to involve the United Nations in that process. It has happened before, time and time again, and we see no reason at all to suggest now that great haste be exercised in this case and that the international community be excluded from fulfilling its proper role in the exercise of self-determination to take place in New Caledonia or in any other Territory that is at the moment non-self-governing.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply for the second time.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): Naturally, I listened with a great deal of interest to my colleague the representative of Vanuatu. I will not speak as long as he did. I deduce that the length of his argument meant that it had been prepared in advance, even before I had thought of exercising my right of reply to what he said. But I must say that to hear him speak of his region - in other words, to say that the entire region of the South Pacific, an important part of the world, is his region - seems to me to be somewhat pretentious. This might disturb many countries around Vanuatu, but I do not think that Vanuatu intended to go as far as that.

Since he spoke about anxiety or agitation on my part, I would say to my colleague, in a very friendly way, that in truth France in this situation is not afraid for the facts to be known. On the contrary, we would like the facts to be

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

known. And when he calls into question the democratic referendum, in the democratic traditions of my country, I doubt that his own Government would like to see one day any organization, even as lofty as the United Nations come to look into a vote within the territory of Vanuatu.

Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): It is almost laughable that we are reduced to considering whether my response to the statement in exercise of the right of reply by the representative of France was or was not prepared in advance. For the edification of those delegations which might be wondering: no, it was not. I have my hastily scribbled notes right here. The type of reply that we heard from the representative of France, while I have a great deal of respect for his abilities, unfortunately did not require us to prepare a response in advance. I had no way of knowing what the representative of France was going to say. But let me conclude by reminding the representative of France that in fact the United Nations came to Vanuatu and witnessed an exercise of self-determination when Vanuatu was a colony of the United Kingdom and France. We seek nothing more and nothing less for the people of New Caledonia or any other Non-Self-Governing Territory.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.