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Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 8 October 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)  
  
later: Mr. HALEFOGLU (Turkey)  
(Vice-President)

- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations [116] (continued)
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Sir Satcam Boolell (Mauritius)  
Mr. Lopez Contreras (Honduras)  
Mr. Al-Maghour (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)  
Mr. Keita (Mali)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 116 (continued)

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT: Before we continue with the general debate, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/41/610/Add.1, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that, since the issuance of his communication dated 16 September 1986, Equatorial Guinea has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Sir Satcam BOOLELL (Mauritius): Mr. President, let me first congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of this high and distinguished office. This honour which has been bestowed on you is a tribute by the international community to your excellent personal qualities as well as your extensive diplomatic skills and experience. We are therefore confident that you will guide our deliberations during this session wisely and successfully.

I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, who presided over the General Assembly during an important year for the United Nations. We are grateful for his valuable contributions to all the deliberations on issues of vital importance to the Organization.

Finally, our gratitude also goes to the Secretary-General, who during the past year has continued to demonstrate his solid commitment to the pursuit of multilateralism and the goals of the United Nations. We also thank him for his continuing concern for, and his leading role in, the work of the Organization on issues which are at the very top of the agenda of the African continent.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

Last year during the fortieth anniversary session the international community, in an unusual display of unanimity, reaffirmed the continuing validity of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Created primarily to maintain international peace and security, the United Nations has adapted itself to cope with emerging problems and to deal with unforeseen challenges and emergencies. As an organization it has been at the centre of discussions on many of the central issues of our time, including the problems of racism, religious intolerance and the denial of human rights to a substantial number of people throughout the world. It has been instrumental in assisting many of the Members of the United Nations towards independence and in organizing the training and research needed for the development of a number of newly independent countries. It has encouraged negotiations towards the establishment of a more equitable international economic order and for the promotion of development and trade. It has been in the forefront of discussions on disarmament and the reduction of military budgets, and has pointed out the organic link between expenditure on armaments and the underdevelopment to which the majority of nations seem to be currently condemned.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

It has focused attention on the acute problems of hunger, malnutrition and famine in some countries while others are beset by problems of surpluses and overproduction. It has initiated action to respond to the aspirations of children, youth and women, to the needs of the aged and the disabled and to the plight of millions of refugees uprooted from their countries and scattered throughout the world. It has pointed out that indiscriminate and selfish exploitation of finite resources threatens future generations and that there is an imperative need to agree on the protection of our environment. The sea-bed and outer space have been designated for peaceful uses, free from military competition.

In the light of the successes achieved in spite of the constraints under which we know the United Nations to be operating, we are deeply concerned by what seems to be a concerted assault on the principles of internationalism and multilateralism. The public perception of the United Nations as an institution is conditioned by the indifference, not to say contempt, with which its resolutions are treated in certain quarters. The failure of some States to meet obligations arising under the Charter threatens the solvency and therefore the viability of the United Nations as an Organization. The division among the permanent members of the Security Council makes it impossible for it to carry out its mandate of maintaining international peace and security as defined in the Charter.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in spite of resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities in the General Assembly it has nevertheless not been possible to achieve a breakthrough on a number of vitally important issues. Notwithstanding the considerable efforts expended by the Secretary-General over a number of years, the problems of dismembered Cyprus, of Afghanistan and of Kampuchea still remain as unresolved issues on the agenda. The conflict in Central America, given an ideological colouring, continues to escalate, threatening a

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

potentially catastrophic confrontation. The war between Iran and Iraq, which has already, according to certain reports, claimed over a million victims, may at any moment expand to the surrounding region and quite possibly beyond.

The international community is understandably concerned at the dangerous situation created by these unresolved crises. We seem in addition to be confronted by a deliberate conspiracy to make the environment we live in less secure, both for our States and for individuals. How else are we to describe the alarming increase in drug abuse and drug trafficking, the escalation in terrorist violence, the denial of human rights and the proliferation of torture and other degrading punishments in many parts of the world? Drug abuse in some countries may be merely a social disease, even if a tragically costly one. In many developing countries, however, it represents a powerful, destabilizing factor, undermining both our social and our political institutions. We therefore welcome the convening of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, scheduled to be held in Vienna in June 1987.

We are also encouraged by the emphatic condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, both by the Security Council and by the General Assembly. We are sadly forced to recognize, however, that consensus on the issue at the United Nations has nevertheless failed to restrain the spread of acts of terrorism both by groups and by States.

On the African continent the régime in Pretoria continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the stated will of the international community, expressed in the Security Council, in the General Assembly and more recently by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and by the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session, which preceded our deliberations. In the place of the carefully worked out Security Council plan for

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

the independence of Namibia under resolution 435 (1978) it has installed its own puppet régime in Windhoek and proposes to link the freedom of the people of Namibia with issues which are both extraneous and irrelevant to the question. It is clear that the régime in Pretoria has never been, and is not, interested in negotiating the independence of Namibia. All the means available to the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to repel Pretoria's aggression are therefore wholly legitimate and justifiable.

The ideologies of the Pretoria régime, basing themselves on discredited racial theories, have spawned the rationale for the mutilation and dismemberment of South Africa into so-called bantustans. The fact that the concept of apartheid and bantustans cannot withstand the inexorable economic realities of a modern industrial State has not deterred the régime from its stubborn pursuit of so-called separate development to entrench white supremacy. The policy has within the last two years alone led to more than two thousand deaths, coupled with thousands of detentions and wrongful arrests, accompanied by massive use of police violence and military force.

The international community, including the influential economic partners of the Pretoria régime, professes revulsion at the policy of apartheid and the repression which it has engendered. In spite of recent steps in the right direction we still feel that the influential economic partners of the régime have not yet been able to bring themselves to exert the decisive economic pressure which alone may influence a change of mind in Pretoria. The failure of the policy of constructive engagement has once more demonstrated that apartheid cannot be reformed: it will have to be dismantled. Provided the necessary conditions are created by the release of political prisoners and the establishment of political freedom, allowing all parties to operate legally, apartheid may still be dismantled peacefully.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

However, the heightened sense of grievance and the seeming hopelessness of the black majority in South Africa in the face of the actions of the régime are making a violent and tragic conflagration in the subregion a more imminent possibility every day that decisive action by the international community is further postponed. The recent World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, echoing the increasing international consensus not only among Governments but also among ordinary people and reflecting the sentiments of such leaders as the Commonwealth group of eminent persons on the most effective means of dealing with the threats posed by apartheid, concluded that such means should include especially the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Those measures are probably the last recourse open to the international community to prevent a bad situation from becoming worse. We remain convinced that the key to peaceful change in South Africa rests with its major economic partners, which by taking concrete and effective measures could ensure the avoidance of general civil strife and unnecessary loss of human life.

Another issue high on the African agenda is the prevailing economic crisis in Africa. That this crisis is also of great relevance to the whole community of the United Nations was demonstrated by the convening of a special session of the General Assembly earlier this year, the first special session ever devoted to the economic problems of one single region. We welcome the mutual commitments of both the African States and the international community to work together on reforms in a spirit of genuine partnership. It is important to note that while the African States have recognized that some of their economic policies needed to be reformed, the international community has also accorded due importance to the improvement of the external environment, which has not favoured Africa's economic performance prospects.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

We wish to stress here that in our view one of the most significant results of the special session was that both sides committed themselves to co-operate in a spirit of genuine and equal partnership. Too often in the past Africa has had solutions imposed on it, on the implicit assumption that those that offer aid somehow know better. Such attitudes, as we now realize, have led to great waste of efforts and resources on both sides, and in a way have even retarded development. Still, those attitudes were not altogether absent from the deliberations at the special session as rival economic recipes inspired by antagonistic ideologies were proposed each as being more effective than the other in dealing with Africa's problems. Africa has already shown that it can work out its own solutions, based on a realistic appraisal of the critical situation and its causes, by adopting the Priority Programme at the Organization of African Unit summit in July 1985.

We therefore regret that unfortunately the implications of the Priority Programme's content could not be accepted in their entirety by Africa's partners. The international community was unable or unwilling to announce a firm commitment to meeting Africa's request for additional resources in aid and debt relief for implementation of the programme.

Underdevelopment in Africa or elsewhere in the third world, with the attendant low prospects for economic growth, threats to food security and widespread unemployment, are increasingly being considered as growing non-military threats to international peace and security and stability in international relations. Relatively too little of the world's resources is spent to promote the development process as compared to expenditure devoted to armaments. Global military expenditures are now between four and five times the levels during the Second World War in real terms, which, staggeringly, represents 25 times the total amount of official development assistance to developing countries. While we have been



(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

calling for disarmament for several years, we must now place increasing emphasis on the nexus between disarmament and development, on the policies and co-operative efforts of the international community to ensure that resources freed through the disarmament process are properly appropriated for development purposes.

There are a number of other important policy measures which the international community, and in particular the industrialized countries, should consider to create a more favourable global environment that would help relieve the poor from external constraints that aggravate their situation. In the past several years protectionist sentiments and measures have intensified in industrial countries and non-tariff barriers have proliferated in markets that are of present or potential interest to developing countries, such as textiles and clothing, steel and agricultural products markets. The developing countries, which have endeavoured to implement the policy of "trade not aid" to achieve maximum economic independence, find themselves thwarted by protectionist walls around those same countries as profess the policy of weaning developing countries from external assistance.

The next round of multilateral negotiations by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) must therefore focus on non-tariff barriers much more than in the past if it is to produce meaningful results, since those barriers have become the most important and pervasive obstacles to trade today. The GATT institutions should also be reformed in order to strengthen the international trading system and help reduce the arbitrary and discriminatory protectionist measures of developed countries against the exports of developing countries. Because the same developing countries are also debtors which need to run trade surpluses to service their debts, the growth of world trade volumes, unimpeded by protection practices, is essential for their development process.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

Many developing countries enter the second half of this decade faced with the problem of restoring domestic growth within what is for some an unfavourable external environment. Lower interest rates and declining oil prices perhaps accorded some relief last year and in the earlier half of this year, but they have been counterbalanced by the slower growth of world trade, deteriorating terms of trade and higher trade barriers. In addition, net long-term capital inflows have maintained their downward trend. In fact, developing countries were making a net transfer of financial resources to the developed countries in 1984. Last year total interest payments on external public and private long-term debt exceeded net long-term inflows by \$22 billion.

Debt relief is therefore taking on a new urgency for developing countries, especially in Africa, in view of its critical economic situation, as debts constitute a severe and restrictive drag on their economic recovery. Intervention in financial markets has been necessary to avert a catastrophe, although the general approach has been on a case-by-case basis. However, such piecemeal solutions are inadequate as they are dependent on certain conditions which are not wholly guaranteed, such as rapid global economic growth. The industrialized countries are still reluctant to take measures to stimulate the growth necessary as a lever for stronger international revival. Unless a more systematic approach is implemented, the probability of a collapse will become more likely and debtors will continue to face slow or zero-growth consumption and investment, leading to political and economic dangers for both creditors and debtors.

Although, as we have stressed, the non-military threats resulting from political instability, which is itself the consequence of harsh and desperate living conditions, we must not forget that the first and foremost danger to international peace and security remains the massive amount of arms, particularly the nuclear arms stockpiles of the two super-Powers. The dangers of the

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

nuclear-arms race continue to be dominated by the absurd logic that more is better, when only a fraction of the present level of nuclear armament would be sufficient to wipe out all meaningful life as we know it. Outer space is quickly becoming the next major theatre for super-Power rivalry in the achievement of military supremacy.

There is now almost unanimous agreement in this body and elsewhere that by far the most direct and understandable way of stopping and then reversing this trend is through a mutual pledge to freeze the development, production and deployment of further nuclear weapons as the prelude to negotiation on their reduction and, it is to be hoped, their eventual elimination.

At a lower level, though not less crucial to those directly concerned, are those dangers to international peace and security posed by regional tensions and conflicts, which are almost always the unfortunate result of the modern-day pursuit of rival imperial ambitions, which are often portrayed as the defence of purported national interests. The majority of countries so affected are developing countries, which have attempted to eliminate such rivalries in their neighborhood so as to be able to get on with their main task of peaceful economic development.

The countries of the Indian Ocean region, for example, have for more than 10 years now, in an attempt to diminish the dangers posed by super-Power rivalry, endeavoured to establish a zone of peace in the region.

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

Although the General Assembly's Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (resolution 2832 (XXVI)) is now 15 years old, its implementation still appears as remote as ever. The Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean, which will constitute a major step towards the early achievement of the objectives of the Declaration, has been repeatedly postponed by a long series of obstructionist manoeuvres by certain States members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. We strongly support the call, made by the 101 leaders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, who met recently at Harare, for the conference to be held not later than 1988, with the full and active participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users.

In the same context of the objectives of the Declaration, we note with satisfaction the renewed unanimous support of the non-aligned Member States as well as the backing of other members of the Assembly for our claim to sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia. The decolonization of Mauritius will not be complete and its territorial integrity restored until the Chagos Archipelago is returned to Mauritius. Moreover, the continuous expansion of the military base on Diego Garcia has led to increased rival military activity in the Indian Ocean region, thus seriously compromising the objectives of the Declaration of the General Assembly.

The Middle East, a region that has not known peace for the past 40 years, remains one of the world's worst trouble-spots, having the potential for a much wider conflagration, with dire consequences world-wide. At the heart of the Middle East turmoil is, as the overwhelming majority of countries has recognized, the diaspora of the Palestinian people and the denial of justice to its cause.

The question of Palestine remains one of the most enduring and tragic anomalies of our times. It has remained on the agenda of the General Assembly

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

since the founding of the United Nations, and a just and equitable solution still eludes it. Such a solution can be found only within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation, based on Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967 and the restoration of all the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to its homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own independent and sovereign State on its national territory. A major step towards such a solution would be the speedy convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The resolution of divisions within countries is as important as the settlement of conflicts between countries for the maintenance of global peace and security. The division of the Korean nation has long constituted an element of instability in the region. It is a question which should be resolved speedily by direct negotiations, without external interference. An even more compelling reason for resolving this protracted issue is the pain and suffering of thousands of families whose lives have been disrupted by separation.

In our search for solutions to the numerous regional and global problems of our times, the United Nations has, and should have, a primary role to play. To say that we must strengthen the provisions of the Charter to enable the United Nations better to attain its objectives is to state the obvious. Yet there are forces bent on manipulating the Organization for their own ends, to the detriment of the interests of the world community. States which do not favour certain programmes have been withholding their proportionate contributions for years, and now wholesale across-the-board withholding is envisaged. We should not accept any

(Sir Satcam Boolell, Mauritius)

proposal which would attempt, indirectly or otherwise, to change the Charter objectives or weaken the role of the legislative organs. This Organization is the only world body whose membership represents practically the whole of mankind, based on the principle of sovereign equality. It is the only world body where weaker nations have a chance to voice their feelings and where they can find the moral checks and balances against encroachment on their hard-won independence and sovereign existence. It is our hope that as the Organization enters its fifth decade vigilance and determination will safeguard the integrity of its Charter. There is no better or more viable alternative for the protection of international peace and security.

Mr. LOPEZ CONTRERAS (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to preside over the General Assembly at its forty-first session. Your election, which is an honour to your country and to you, is a recognition of your personal and professional qualities and constitutes a clear expression of the international community's confidence that you will guide the Assembly's work to success.

I am also happy, Sir, to express my Government's particular satisfaction over the excellent way in which your predecessor, Mr. Don Jaime de Piniés, presided over the Assembly's work last year. Our warmest fraternal greetings go to such an illustrious citizen of Spain, a country to which, for obvious reasons, we Hondurans feel very close ties.

I wish also to express my Government's appreciation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the excellent work he is doing in his important post. I am pleased to see him fully recovered from the health problems that he had a few months ago.

On 27 January this year, Mr. Jose Azcona assumed the presidency of the Republic of Honduras, as a result of the majority will of the Honduran people,

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

freely expressed in elections held on 24 November 1985. Although such an event would be regarded as normal elsewhere, because it happens regularly, it has special significance for us, as it was a reaffirmation of the democratic system of government that our people has chosen, and was a big step in the creation of the necessary political climate to improve its general living conditions.

In a region such as Central America, where taking power by violent or irregular means has been the rule for parts of our independent existence, the interruption of that dramatic tradition of coups d'état, guerrilla bands and electoral fraud means the elimination of one of the causes of the regional crisis.

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

That is why the coming to power of régimes clearly on the basis of a popular mandate freely expressed at the polls, as has been the case with Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Guatemala, constitutes the best augury for peacefully overcoming economic, social and cultural underdevelopment. The Government of Honduras has as its fundamental economic and political objectives on the one hand the improvement of the quality of life of its population and on the other the consolidation and development of democracy.

It is true that our problems, like those of other countries of the region, are caused, inter alia, by economic backwardness, the existence of socially underprivileged and the lack of pluralistic democratic political development. In order to achieve our objectives, Honduras requires not only dynamic honest and efficient public and private action, but also a climate of peace and security that will make possible a process of development in freedom and with justice.

Just as we have learned how to elect our authorities by means of referendums and to solve our internal problems through dialogue, so we wish to see at the international level the settlement of existing differences by the peaceful means of settling disputes which exist in law. Thus, with the Republic of El Salvador, with which for a long time we have had a border dispute, we have concluded two important treaties this year: one aimed at finalizing the demarcation line agreed upon in 1980, and the other containing the commitment to submit the dispute jointly to the International Court of Justice.

The President of the Republic, Jose Arcona Hoyo, while addressing the Legislative Assembly of El Salvador during his recent official visit to that sister country, stated the following:

"The commitment made by Honduras and El Salvador to resort to the

International Court of Justice will put an end to our border disputes and



(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

thereby to the friction and disagreement they have caused between our two countries."

Thus we are moving towards a definitive solution of the land, island and maritime dispute, in the knowledge that recourse to peaceful means of settling disputes between States is a considerable contribution to the maintenance of peace and harmony in the American continent. My Government was convinced of this when signing the Treaty on the delimitation of maritime borders with the Republic of Colombia. This Treaty, after ratification by both States, will open new avenues of co-operation and understanding.

In contrast to that constructive attitude, the Government of Nicaragua has attempted to disavow and reject that Treaty, alleging that it violates alleged Nicaraguan rights of sovereignty in the areas concerned. Honduras, in its note of reply, has declared that Nicaragua's claim is unjustified and unacceptable, and has proposed the continuance of talks with a view to a final fixing of the maritime border between the two countries on the basis of the line traditionally established and observed by them.\*

The United Nations system offers a praiseworthy model for the improvement of international co-operation. My Government has taken note with interest of the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Central America and is pleased that the attention of the international community has been drawn to the critical economic situation in the area, as is evidenced in the decline of savings and investments by over 40 per cent between 1978 and 1985, the deterioration in the

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\* Mr. Halefoglu (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

terms of trade of approximately 50 per cent and a fall of 25 per cent in the value of exports. As the report points out, the United Nations has stepped up its co-operation efforts in Central America and has devoted almost \$100 million per year to the region.

I am pleased to note the efficiency with which the United Nations Development Programme has been working in Honduras. My country is uniquely situated in terms of co-operation for development, because the resources allotted to it have been increased through projects financed under cost-sharing arrangements between Honduras and friendly countries.

I also wish to mention the efforts made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) whose agency has taken care of 121,900 Central American refugees, of whom 46,000 have been recorded in Honduras, thus making Honduras one of the two countries with the largest number of refugees in Latin America and the Caribbean.

My Government, recognizing with appreciation the efforts of the UNHCR to alleviate these problems, makes a new appeal to all nations of the world to share the heavy burden that is borne by the Republic of Honduras. This affects our economy and our society, and the democratic Government of President Jose Azcona has initiated a new dialogue with the multilateral agencies which support economic and social development and humanitarian support. My Government believes that technical, financial and humanitarian co-operation, both international and multilateral, especially that related to the United Nations system, constitutes an important contribution to national development. In this regard, we commend the additional efforts, which are also referred to in the Secretary-General's report, made by the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the United Nations High

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

Commissioner for Refugees and other organs of the system to support the efforts of Honduras nationally and regionally.

My Government remains convinced that the question of Korea must be resolved peacefully through dialogue and negotiation between South Korea and North Korea. We wish to reaffirm our conviction that the purposes of the United Nations make it essential that all nations that wish to do so and have assumed the obligations embodied in the Charter form part of our Organization.

With regard to Kampuchea, my Government supports the resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of the occupation forces, the restoration and maintenance of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the affirmation of the right of its people to determine its own future without foreign interference.

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

On the situation in the Middle East, Honduras is aware of the need to resort to negotiation as the main instrument in a peaceful settlement of the conflict, and views with satisfaction efforts by the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt to promote peace in that region.

Furthermore, my Government deplores the armed intervention in Afghanistan; it urges all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, and non-alignment of that country; and restates the need for an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

With regard to the unfortunate conflict in the South Pacific between two countries with which we have the friendliest of relations, strengthened by our common democratic ideals, Honduras must express its wish that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom will do their best to settle their differences peacefully, definitively, and in accordance with justice.

Turning to the political process in the Philippines, the Honduran Government welcomes the fact that the country has been able to return to the path of democracy. This auspicious event will allow the Philippines to realize its hopes for development in peace and freedom.

It is also a matter of particular satisfaction for my Government to note the forthcoming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov, since in a world thrown into turmoil by confrontation, it is an encouraging sign along the road to world peace.

Until 1978, Central American nations had been showing marked economic growth. Although the period 1973 to 1978 witnessed an increase in the price of their main imports, the countries of the area were able to sort out their difficulties owing to an improvement in the international price of their export commodities and the inflow of external capital. Things changed drastically beginning in 1979, a year

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

when a recession began, aggravated by the weakening of the world economy marked by a decline in production and exports, an increase in oil prices, and interest rates, a fall in private investment, and the accompanying factors of increased unemployment and intensification of political and social conflict in some countries of the region.

As a natural consequence, Central American countries have had to endure high fiscal and balance-of-payments deficits and a serious foreign currency shortage. The latter not only had an impact on trade with third countries, but it also had a negative effect on regional trade.

Internally, our countries have been forced to adopt severe measures designed to reduce the fiscal deficit through cuts in current expenditure and capital investment, tax adjustments, the elimination of subsidies to staple commodities, increases in public service charges and wage-freeze policies. These measures, which call for serious social sacrifices, naturally result in tensions which in turn aggravate the political and social crisis. According to data from the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), for 1980, 64 per cent of Central Americans were living in poverty.

Today, some of the negative factors which led to the crisis have abated. Nevertheless, the negative impact of the last six-year period will affect our peoples for many years, especially if the international structural factors which seriously limit our development persist.

When signing the Charter of the United Nations, Member countries reaffirmed their:

"faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person"

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

I feel that this session offers the right opportunity for all nations to recommit themselves to the observance of human rights.

My Government condemns all acts which violate the freedom and dignity of the individual. It is a pleasure for me to announce in this forum that last March I had the honour, as the representative of my Government, to sign the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Torture, in the knowledge that respect for human rights is not a gracious concession by a State but rather a legal and moral obligation.

All mankind is increasingly appalled by terrorism which continues to plunge into mourning the homes of innocent victims irrespective of age, race, sex or religion, and endangers the life of passengers on aircraft and ships. Moreover, we also note that diplomats and officials of international organizations are, with increasing frequency, the target of terrorist attacks.

Terrorism threatens life, without discrimination, and constitutes a factor which has a negative impact on international co-existence. As stated by the President of my country:

"There is no reason, nor can there be any, to justify man falling as low as to engage in this, the most dastardly and cruel form of violence."

and he adds:

"The time has come for anti-terrorist conventions to cease being a dead letter and for the democratic countries to pool their efforts to ensure that the international community does not allow these criminal fanatics to act with impunity."

Among the many important items to be considered by this Assembly we have once again the item on "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives."

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

As a country in the region, Honduras wishes to state its views on the item. It is urgent to make an effort to understand the course of the Central American crisis and analyse the obstacles on the way to peace. Such an effort implies setting aside prejudices, preconceived notions and rash alignments in order to allow for thoughtful and productive analysis. Only in that manner will we be able to avoid greater confusion with regard to the Central American situation and foster the hope of finding a negotiated and peaceful solution.

Central America has been moulded by special circumstances arising out of its unique geography and history, which have made true interdependence necessary. Central America has its roots in the colonial past and in its history of federation, which led to very similar conditions of political instability, economic backwardness and dependence on others, all of which have given rise to dangerous social tensions. Beginning in 1979 internal strife brought about by social unrest in certain countries became instruments in East-West confrontation. Democratic hopes were dashed by the imposition of new dictatorial practices and systems which denied the right of peoples to self-determination. The struggle for national liberation in a Central American country resulted in its total alignment with the Soviet bloc. The economic plan announced, which was to bring its people out of poverty, was distorted in order to establish and consolidate a real war-machine with hegemonistic and expansionist designs.

These facts, which sum up the recent history of that country, have brought on insecurity, mistrust and tension in the entire area. Likewise, the contradiction between the democratic aspirations of the Nicaraguan people and the implementation of oppressive internal measures, solely to serve foreign interests, have increased the social divisions in that country. It has brought about a stream of refugees and of persons who have been persecuted for political reasons, all fleeing to

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

neighbouring countries, and a simultaneous emergence of Nicaraguan armed opposition, which is trying to get back on the original path of that popular rebellion.

Mrs. Violeta de Chamorro - a member of the first junta of the Government for National Reconstruction in 1979 and the widow of Nicaraguan journalist Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, who was murdered - has denounced before the conscience of the world the fact that the Government of that country systematically represses all statements against the régime and that the Sandinist movement has turned all of Nicaragua into a vast concentration camp.

The internal armed conflict in Nicaragua has had catastrophic effects in neighbouring countries. On the economic level it has brought about a deterioration in intra-regional trade, the flight of capital, and a decline in private foreign investment. On the political level, campaigns to discredit neighbouring countries have been undertaken and social unrest has been encouraged. As regards security, encouragement has been given to subversive movements in the form of training, supplies, shelter, and communication and information facilities; and the surrounding territories have been harassed by acts ranging from minor border incidents to bombings and massive artillery raids, such as the one carried out in my country in March this year.

Likewise, under the leadership and with the advice of its political and military allies, the Sandinista government has developed an arms build-up without precedence or parallel in the Central American region and has imposed a strong militarization of its society to the detriment of the security of the other countries. It is well known that Nicaragua has received thousands of tons of weapons valued at hundreds of millions of dollars. As a country directly affected because of its geographical location, Honduras has stated that Nicaraguans should,



(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

through internal dialogue, establish a pluralistic national reconciliation régime, breaking its political and military ties to the Soviet bloc, since these seriously disturb inter-Central American and international relations. Here we should recall resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by this Assembly in 1960, which affirms the right of all peoples to choose the type of government which best suits them and declares that this should be done through democratic procedures, impartially applied, and based upon universal adult suffrage. Obviously, this resolution can be applied only if every State guarantees the full exercise of democracy internally.

The Government of Honduras is aware of the fact that the best guarantee of its national sovereignty and independence rests with the faith of its people in a democratic way of life. Thus the true foundations of its security are the existence of a state of law, respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, free and periodic elections and an improvement in the economic, social and cultural living conditions of Hondurans. On the other hand, as a peace-loving State Honduras bases its security mainly on international law - both universal and regional American law - as regards peace and legitimate collective self-defence. One of the basic tenets in this connection is that acts of aggression against one American State constitute acts of aggression against all other American States.

It is precisely because the Organization of American States (OAS) constitutes a regional organization within the United Nations that Honduras wishes to refer to the peaceful settlement and collective security mechanisms of the hemisphere, both as a member of the OAS and as a member of the United Nations, in full agreement with the Charter adopted at San Francisco.

Unfortunately, threats to peace and security in Central America persist. There are Governments bent on an unbridled arms race and unwarranted military development which refuse dialogue for purposes of national reconciliation and which

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

represent a threat and challenge to international peace and security. For these reasons, the Government of Honduras, in the exercise of its sovereignty and in compliance with the constitutional obligation to defend its people and territory with no less right than that enjoyed by other nations represented in this Assembly, has sought to establish a special relationship of security with the United States of America and other democratic Governments, a situation which we find essential until the present political and military situation in Central America changes.

(Mr. López Contreras, Honduras)

The Government of Honduras has participated actively in and supported collective negotiations on establishing peace, and, with a high sense of responsibility, in the efforts made under the auspices of the Contadora Group.

On 6 June this year, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Contadora Group presented to their Central American counterparts a draft Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. As was stated at that time, the mediation role on substantive aspects of the document had come to an end, but the Contadora Group remained available to co-operate in negotiation of the operative aspects of the Act.

It is the view of the Government of Honduras that the proposed Act was not adopted by the Central American States because it did not offer adequate guarantees concerning security, democratization and national reconciliation. In the sphere of disarmament, the Contadora proposal deferred negotiations on the limitation, reduction and verification of military weapons and troops to some time after the entry into force of the Act. This is especially serious, because its acceptance would amount to legal approval of a de facto situation: the military hegemony of one Central American State over the others.

Most Central American Governments have affirmed their political will to sign the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America when it contains verifiable agreements on security, democratization and national reconciliation. But the intransigence of the Sandinist Government has prevented such essential commitments' being included, with the necessary guarantees of implementation.

I reaffirm the willingness of the Government of Honduras to continue exploring new formulas to overcome the obstacles to the agreement, with the understanding that a just solution must take account of the legitimate interests of all Central American States.

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

We must, however, eliminate the impediments to fluidity in diplomatic activity, since such activity is inconsistent with Nicaragua's continued improper recourse to the highest international jurisdictional organ, making a mockery of the Contadora initiative and the prospects for a political solution of the crisis in Central America. On 25 July this year, the Sandinist Government filed with the International Court of Justice an application instituting proceedings against the Governments of Costa Rica and Honduras.

Honduras, with a high sense of responsibility, has designated its agent before the Court. However, my Government wishes to stress that the true origin of the situation about which the Government of Nicaragua is complaining can be found in internal political developments in Nicaragua itself. Those developments are the result of Nicaragua's unconditional political and military alignment with the Soviet bloc, which has led to friction with its neighbours and caused it to commit a series of illegal international acts, in particular encouraging and fomenting civil strife in countries of the region and the organization of armed raids into their territories.

My Government welcomes the declaration by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, distributed during the present session of the General Assembly, in which the following brotherly statement appears:

"The peace of Central America is ... our own peace.

"As Latin Americans we wish to see pluralistic democracy and economic and social development make headway in Central America.

" ...

"The Governments directly or indirectly involved in the conflict have the primary responsibility for the prevention of war." (A/41/662, p. 2)

(Mr. Lopez Contreras, Honduras)

The Government of Honduras will maintain its full support for the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group, but the international community must realize that a negotiated resolution of the problems of our region will be achieved only when the Soviet bloc decides to end its various methods of intervention in Central America, a region with which it has no relationship beyond the arrogant manifestations of its military machine.

However, that undeniable, disturbing interference should not discourage us, but rather spur our efforts to achieve peace with freedom, justice and democracy. For those of us with faith in God it is very easy to believe that the future holds a better world, a world of peace, freedom and democracy.

Mr. AL-MAGHOUB (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, I should like to congratulate Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. I am confident that he will lead the work of the Assembly to a successful conclusion. I must also express appreciation of the work of Mr. Jaime de Piniés, President of the fortieth session.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his efforts to ensure the survival of the United Nations and the enhancement of its role.

Recently the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya commemorated the sixteenth anniversary of the expulsion of the last fascist from the Jamahiriya, thus setting the seal on the termination of an era in Libyan history characterized by racist, colonialist domination.

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

As our people celebrated this anniversary over the years, they renewed their pledge to resist this odious type of policy which prevailed during the last century and which some Powers are trying to impose in this century. For 41 years the United Nations has been trying to find a way to eliminate this scourge which has prevailed and is still prevailing in the world.

While history records that this Organization, the United Nations, has achieved some victories in decolonization in some parts of the world, which resulted in the accession of some territories to independence, it will also record that in some cases this independence was incomplete, while in others it is still threatened. Their independence is being jeopardized by a policy of hegemony, aggression, and the withholding and plunder of resources.

The United Nations, throughout its history and during the present year, has seen how the independence of its Member States can be unprotected.

Let us look at the economic war threatening the poor, small States. Let us see how some of the States Members of this Organization are not only negotiating with other States, but rather with private institutions; and how some Members of our Organization are not only bargaining over how to repay their debts or manage their institutions, but are bargaining over the pawning of their wealth and natural resources.

The experience of the special session of the General Assembly on the grave economic situation in one of the continents of the world was a source of disappointment, not only for the Member States but also for the peoples, which believed for 41 years that they had established a collective system to protect their security and safety.

During this year, the International Year of Peace, the United States of America committed a blatant act of aggression against the Jamahiriya, a State Member of the United Nations.

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

There is no dichotomy between our people's celebration the other day of the anniversary of the expulsion of fascism from our soil and the fact that our delegation is making its statement today before the General Assembly. Fascism in the Mediterranean used to believe that the northern coasts of Africa are an extension of its European coasts. Fascism in the United States of America still believes that the coasts of the Mediterranean, in the South, the North, the East and the West are an extension of American hegemony over international politics.

The United States, through its policy of aggression, is attempting to subjugate the littoral States of the Mediterranean and force them to adopt a policy that accords with its own political approach.

Let us cast a clear look at the state of affairs. On 16 April of this year, the United States, with the assistance of the United Kingdom, sent its warplanes to Benghazi and Tripoli to launch raids against innocent civilians in the Jamahiriya. These raids were designed inter alia to murder the leader of the Jamahiriya.

The peoples of the world did not stand idly by before this brutal act of aggression.

I am sure that those who signed the San Francisco Charter signed it on behalf of these people. I am certain that our President here is aware of the denunciation and condemnation engendered by the brutal and wanton act of aggression against the Jamahiriya.

This is a matter that should not be passed over in silence. This international Assembly must view it from all angles.

On the one hand, this aggression still persists since the present American Administration has decided to adopt the approach of attempting to combat the progressive policy of the Jamahiriya. The Administration is still waging media and psychological warfare, not only with the view of misleading American public opinion

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

but of misleading international public opinion. This includes the peoples and nations and Governments of the world.

During the last few days the extent of the disinformation practised by the Administration has been proven. In this regard we can clearly conclude that all the allegations levelled by the American Administration against the Jamahiriya fall within this disinformation campaign. And the alleged reason for its aggression against the Jamahiriya falls within this misleading false campaign. On the other hand, the bombing of cities and the murder of innocent civilians is neither a beginning nor an end to aggression. The United States Administration, since 1973, has taken measures designed to undermine the sovereignty of the Jamahiriya, to prevent it from exercising its sovereignty through the adoption of international and internal positions, respect for which is provided for in the Charter. These measures took the form of restrictions on trade and on the transfer of technology, which was upgraded to an economic boycott, and then ended in the unjust freezing of properties and assets. Then this took the form of military acts of provocation off the Libyan shore, using the threat of force and even resorting to the actual use of force. The brutal criminal act of aggression on 16 April did not come to an end. The Administration is still undertaking its manoeuvres and acts of provocation off Libya's shores and is still taking financial and economic measures and pursuing its policy of disinformation against the Jamahiriya.

Thus, this approach, adopted by the American Administration as official policy against a State Member of the United Nations, constitutes a blatant and continuous act of aggression which runs counter to the Charter, adopted by the international community as its own constitution since the elimination of the last Fascist attempt to dominate international politics.



(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The world stands today confronted by this desire on the part of a major Power to exercise hegemony and domination. The world is called upon to act to put an end to this policy.

The brutal act of aggression by American fascism is not new, be it in the Mediterranean or in other regions. The American Navy shelled civilians in Beirut, and the same infernal war machine of the American militarists attempted to violate the sovereignty of Iran, and successive American Administrations accepted the death of Americans themselves in Viet Nam, and the United States of America invaded Grenada and besieged Cuba. And this brutal Administration supports the Contras in Angola and Nicaragua, and is still supporting the Zionists in occupied Palestine and the racists in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

The international community represented in the United Nations cannot condone these repeated premeditated practices on the part of the Administration. These practices assume a more serious character when engaged in by a major Power, one of the five States permanent members of the Security Council. The Charter entrusted these States with the maintenance of international peace and security, which it emphasizes be undertaken through word and deed. The United States has contravened the Charter in both word and deed. It was the United States that bombed cities and murdered innocent civilians. It was the United States that exercised the right of veto to prevent the Security Council from condemning its acts of aggression. Forty-one years after its adoption the Charter has been violated through the use of bombers and the right of veto in an unprecedented arrogant Fascist manner.

Without going into the legal bases which govern affairs in the world, the fact that the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference condemned the brutal act of aggression by the United States against the Jamahiriya is sufficient proof that the peoples of the world - some of whose representatives signed the Charter - consider the practices of the United States acts of aggression against a Member State of those organizations and of the United Nations and grounds not only for denunciation and condemnation but, rather, as a grave development jeopardizing international peace and security. There will never be a lack of honourable voices within the international community and American society itself which brand these acts of aggression as cowardly, base and hideous.

To return to my original subject, our people recently celebrated the sixteenth anniversary of the elimination of the last manifestations of fascism. This means that we will continue to resist any manifestation of fascism, whether it is

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

practised against us or targeted against others. If this is the reason for neo-fascism to commit aggression against us, then we will stand up to that aggression and repel it.

At the appropriate time and place the delegation of the Jamahiriya will discuss the items on the agenda. My delegation will concentrate, in particular, on the questions of Palestine, South Africa and the international economic situation.

The Assembly will see for itself that the confrontation between the United States and the Jamahiriya has no basis and that the allegations of the United States Administration have proved to be false. Rather, the confrontation is based on the fact that we resist the racism of the Zionists in occupied Palestine, the usurpation of the rights of its peoples, the racism of the Government of Pretoria and its oppression of the indigenous population and the unjust economic situation which led to the impoverishment and starvation of the peoples of the third world in the interest of the industrialized developed world.

The Assembly is already aware that the United States Administration supports the Zionists in occupied Palestine and provides them with the means not only of continuing their usurpation of the rights of the peoples of Palestine, but of seeking persistently to dominate the entire region and subject some of the rulers to their domination, making them their quislings and lackeys.

The Assembly will see that the United States Administration resists the subjugation of the Pretoria régime and seeks to strengthen it, and that it pursues an economic policy aimed at preventing the peoples of the world from controlling the sources of their natural wealth and at creating an economic imbalance which would lead to the control of its monopolies over the international division of labour. This is the touchstone and the real confrontation. As for the allegations of the American Administration, they simply do not hold water.

(Mr. Al-Maghour, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

My delegation will debate State terrorism. As for that State which turns the Mediterranean basin - a basin for peace - into a lake for its manoeuvres, acts of provocation and the hegemony of its fleet, the Assembly will see, as everybody has seen, the falseness of the allegations which it has levelled against our people.

We stand at the side of the liberation movements of the world, but we are against attacking civilians. It is impossible for a people that has lived for 30 years as a victim of fascism, which it has resisted, and which has suffered the aggression of a major Power, to be an instrument of terrorism. The American Administration fabricated its pretext to justify its aggression and my delegation will have its say regarding this matter.

In the final analysis, there is only one thing to say: the General Assembly, while celebrating the International Year of Peace, which is the culmination of 41 years of its history, must transform itself into a public trial of the perfidy of the United States Administration. There will be no reason to glorify the Charter or praise its articles without a practical implementation thereof. There is no *raison d'être* for international Organizations if they do not stand in defence of the rights of their members. The Charter calls for the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the principle of the equal rights of peoples and the prohibition of the use or threat of force. We are confident that under Mr. Choudhury's presidency of this session of the Assembly we can find the way leading to respect for the Charter and the implementation of its articles.

Mr. KEITA (Mali) (interpretation from French): It is a great pleasure for me to extend to Ambassador Choudhury of Bangladesh, on behalf of the delegation of Mali, our warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We believe that his talents as an experienced diplomat will enable us to arrive at the wise and perceptive decisions

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

that our peoples expect of us. My delegation assures him of our full co-operation and support as he carries out the difficult task entrusted to him.

I should like to extend to Mr. Jaime de Piniés my delegation's appreciation for the tact and devotion with which he presided over the last regular session of the Assembly and for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is energetically endeavouring to promote the ideals of peace and justice in this world and ensure that the United Nations remains the leading forum for the convergence, conciliation and symbiosis of the interests of all peoples.

At the last session we were worried by the upheavals in the world economy, which affect international relations. Today we have to say that the international climate is still suffering from crises, fear and disarray. The imbalances in the economies of the developing countries continue. Indeed they have even been exacerbated in some parts of the third world, assuming very disturbing dimensions following natural disasters, including drought and desertification, with their tragic consequences for the human population and for cattle. We much appreciated the contribution made by the international community in this emergency situation. Unfortunately, lasting solutions are still uncertain because official development assistance is shrinking and drying up and the external debt is becoming an increasing burden.

Since its thirty-ninth session the General Assembly has recognized the gravity of this situation and the need to promote concerted international action to remedy it. It was in that spirit that at its fortieth session it decided to convene a special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. Mali was pleased that that session was held. For the first time the General Assembly gave special attention to the vital needs of one continent. It was because Africa believes in the unity of the destiny of all peoples that it decided to submit the serious problems impeding its development to this important forum of international harmonization. At that session Africa expressed to the international community

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

its desire and willingness to deal responsibly with these problems, the solution of which - as was recognized by all the participants - is to be found basically in promoting the agricultural sector. It was encouraging that the final Declaration approved at that session endorsed the firm resolve of Africa to restructure its economy, and that this was welcomed by the donors, which undertook to support the continent in this undertaking, in particular by contributing to an increase in food production. Fulfilment of the commitments entered into would be the donors' response to the requirements of international solidarity and proof of a responsible approach to history.

In a world of close and growing interdependence in the economic sphere the reforms that the African countries intend to undertake cannot attain their objectives as long as Africa suffers from the accumulated effects of the deterioration in terms of trade, protectionism and the crushing burden of external debt. External debt has attained a critical threshold in Africa. Negotiations leading to agreement between Africa and its creditors are more necessary than ever before. Because Africa is convinced of the relevance of this approach, it calls for the convening of an international conference to consider this burning issue.

Recent years have been marked by the collapse of attempts at dialogue between the industrialized and the developing countries on some matters of vital interest to the human race. This is true of the global negotiations, which have been marking time for six years now. The future of international economic co-operation, which necessarily involves the establishment of the new international economic order, will depend on the ability of the international community to promote those negotiations. If we are to build a better world and provide appropriate solutions to serious economic problems it is essential that multilateral economic co-operation be preserved and strengthened, for it offers one of the promising avenues of our time.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

The deterioration in international economic relations extends to international political relations. The human race is prey to political crises which create insecurity and mistrust in inter-State relations.

The frenetic, massive build-up of nuclear weapons has become a source of fear, anxiety and anguish for mankind: fear because of tensions in the international situation today; anxiety because of the sombre prospects for the future; and anguish because of the traumatic memories being awakened in the collective consciousness by today's nuclear arsenals. Faced with the enormous dangers now facing mankind, Mali supports negotiations on nuclear and space weapons and calls on the nuclear Powers to cultivate among themselves trust and political will, the two prerequisites for successful negotiations. As was said 30 years ago, we have to choose not between peace and war but between life and annihilation.

We hope that the profound desire of peoples to live and be happy will shift the gloomy appeal to chaos, that the will to create and maintain moral, social, cultural and economic values will overcome and repulse the forces of destruction, that the curtain of hope will block the window of disaster and apocalypse and temper the desire for conquest of so-called supremacy, which today we can recognize as being outdated and suicidal. We hope that the Reykjavik summit meeting will lead to dialogue and echo our deepest aspiration to peace. It is more necessary than ever before for the international community to understand that our world will find in true economic and social development the best possible material, moral and spiritual resources for ensuring peace and security. Unfortunately, the arms race does not promote economic growth, because it reduces productive investment.

It is regrettable that the usefulness of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development has not been understood equally by everyone. That Conference should lead the international community to become more



(Mr. Keita, Mali)

aware of the links between the need for security and the need to satisfy the aspirations to well-being of two thirds of the human race. The Head of State of Mali, President Moussa Traoré, in this very forum stated very relevantly:

"There is no development without peace, just as there is no peace without development. There is no conscience when millions of human beings are dying of thirst, hunger and disease while increasingly lethal and expensive weapons are reinforcing ever more destructive arsenals."

The delegation of Mali takes this opportunity to urge the nuclear Powers to co-operate in ensuring the convening and the success of the Conference.

Another very serious threat to peace and international security is the situation in southern Africa. Appeals to reason have not led the racist régime of Pretoria to abandon its inhuman policy of depriving the black majority of its most elementary rights. The racist minority of Pretoria, in its obsession with perpetuating the régime of apartheid, is carrying out acts of aggression and armed provocation against the front-line States. The recent attacks against Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia bear witness to the determination of those that practise this odious system of apartheid to continue as long as possible its acts of destabilization and intimidation against neighbouring States.

The black people of South Africa, despite the repression imposed by the racist police and army, are expressing with ever greater intensity their determination to free themselves from the net of enslavement and alienation in which they are being kept. This denial of justice and liberty is an insult to the international community. The violent confrontations resulting from it are a serious threat to world peace and security.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

My delegation trusts that the unanimity recently achieved at the International Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, which called for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime, will induce the Security Council to impose the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

As in South Africa, the racist régime in Namibia is carrying out brutal harassment against an innocent population determined to live in freedom and dignity.

Along with acts of repression, the racist Pretoria minority, in its obstinacy in perpetuating the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, is trying to install puppet political institutions that can in no way mislead the international community or detract from the will of the Namibian patriots under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. As was recalled at the fourteenth special session, the only peaceful path to Namibian independence is full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

In addition to the situation in southern Africa, other hotbeds of tension continue to be of concern to us in Africa.

In Western Sahara, my country supports the efforts undertaken jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to find a lasting and acceptable peaceful solution to the problem. The OAU is also in search of a peaceful solution that would preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Chad, and it has the support of my country.

In the Middle East, the tragedy of the Palestine people has lasted for more than 40 years. Israel continues to deprive the Palestinian people of their legitimate and inalienable rights. We shall never stop saying that the prerequisite for a solution to the Palestinian problem is recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the effective exercise of their rights

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole authentic and legitimate representative. In this connection Mali supports the efforts to organize an international conference on the Middle East.

As for the situation in Lebanon, the people of Mali, in solidarity with the people of Lebanon, support initiatives to bring peace back to that country.

Mali is also distressed over the continuing war between Iran and Iraq, two Muslim peoples that aspire to live in peace. We would therefore repeat our appeal to those two countries to put an end to their fratricidal war.

In Afghanistan and Kampuchea crisis and tension persist, threatening peace and security. The Republic of Mali believes that only a negotiated political solution can guarantee an improvement in the situation in those two countries.

My country, a member of the Contact Group of the Non-Aligned Movement on Cyprus, would appeal to the Cypriot communities to resume the talks that are undeniably essential to a solution that will safeguard the unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that island.

In Central America, my country reaffirms its devotion to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the right of peoples to choose for themselves a political and economic system in keeping with their identities, and we would urge States of the region concerned and interested in this crisis to adhere to the Contadora Agreement for peace and co-operation in Central America.

As regards those countries that are divided, the United Nations Charter recognizes the right to seek through negotiation, and without outside interference, a solution that enables them to regain their unity. It is on the basis of that principle that my country supports the independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

The establishment of a true atmosphere of peace in the world will be possible only when countries, in their day to day life, scrupulously abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. We must convince ourselves that peace depends on the will to negotiate and to strengthen mutual trust and collective security, and not on confrontation and violence.

Mali, for its part, reaffirms that it will in its relations with other States, and in particular with its immediate neighbours, rigorously abide by negotiation and the principles of good-neighbourliness set forth by our Organization.

The concern that led to the report of the Group of 18 doubtless reflects an awareness of the international community regarding wastage and an erosion of the credibility of our Organization. It will be a working tool to enhance the effectiveness of this Organization, provided it does not promote the progressive paralysis of the United Nations, provided it does not sidetrack it from its essential task, and provided "savings" do not kill all its activities and the United Nations does not depart from its responsibility and its fundamental objectives.

The United Nations must continue its work to take up those challenges facing us: the international economic crisis, hunger, disease, ignorance, armed conflicts local and regional, and the arms race. These challenges mean that we must remain active and vigilant so that peace, which will come from order based on justice, can be consolidated and reinforced.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.