



General Assembly

EXEMPLAIRES D'ARCHIVES

FILE COPY

A retourner / Return to Distributor: C. 11'

PROVISIONAL

A/41/PV.32
10 October 1986

ENGLISH

Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-SECOND MEETING

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

President:

Mr. CHOUDHURY

(Bangladesh)

Mr. MOUSHOITAS
(Vice-President)

(Cyprus)

- General debate [9] (concluded)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Jones (Grenada)

Mr. Vagi (Papua New Guinea)

Ms. Mauala (Samoa)

Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann (Nicaragua)

- Organization of work

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (concluded)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. JONES (Grenada): Permit me, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session and to affirm my Government's confidence in your ability to direct the affairs of this session to constructive and productive conclusions. I would also like to pay a tribute to the fruitful efforts of your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, and for the impartial, flexible and skilful manner in which he presided over the fortieth session. It is a great joy at this session to see the Secretary-General in his customary position, restored to health and refreshed.

I am happy to report continuing progress in my country's political and economic recovery. During the past year we have witnessed the birth of social and political organizations and unrestrained activity in our society. This, of course, speaks well for the democratic society we are endeavouring to restore and to maintain. Our efforts at economic construction, while making steady progress, continue to be restrained by structural and other difficulties. My people's aspiration to sustained political and social stability is clearly dependent on the success of our economic programmes. In this context, I wish to renew our appeal to the international community for additional assistance to complement our domestic efforts at economic revitalization through fiscal and budgetary reform.

My delegation recalls the many articulate voices that gave eloquent expression to the principles of the Charter during the session commemorating the fortieth anniversary of our Organization. As we continue the forty-first session, it is my country's hope that the spirit of good will and the utterances of good intentions which characterized the last session will be carried over into the present session and be translated into united and decisive action.

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

With this in mind, as representatives debate the stubborn issues facing the international community, many of which seem to appear perennially on the General Assembly's agenda, let us remember that there are many similarities in our apparent diversity and that there are many more issues that unite us than divide us. What better time than this, the International Year of Peace, can there be for Member States to make a fresh start, a new beginning, in the pursuit of a true and lasting peace? In this regard the super-Powers have a solemn duty and heavy responsibility to lead the way in the search for peace in a resolute and sincere manner. First have peace in your heart and then you will be able to give peace to others. In the pursuit of peace we should walk and not be tired, we should run and not be exhausted.

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

The United Nations, in terms of geography, demography, political philosophy, language, culture and attitude, is a microcosm and, as such, has the obligation and the moral authority to plead the cause of peace in this the International Year of Peace, which the General Assembly proclaimed during its commemorative session.

The threat of nuclear destruction, which has the effect of making mankind an endangered species, hangs over us as the sword of Damocles. There must be no illusion that huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons offer any valid potential for the attainment and maintenance of international peace. Indeed, the prospects for such peace will be enhanced only when nuclear disarmament becomes a fundamental policy concern on the agendas of the super-Powers and the other States now unwittingly engaged in nuclear proliferation. We therefore reiterate the appeal of the international community to those Powers to spare no effort in the quest for a peaceful resolution of all their differences, especially their nuclear rivalry on land, on the sea and in outer space. Too much money is being spent annually developing and perfecting methods of mass destruction. We call upon the Powers concerned to use at least a part of the money currently spent thus to assist in financing the development programmes of the underdeveloped countries of the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and in providing jobs and other opportunities for their underprivileged citizens. I submit that this can be a very significant contribution to world peace, progress and stability.

My Government has taken note of apparently positive developments in recent months in disarmament and related negotiations and in East-West relations, and is heartened by them. However, the fact that little significant progress has been made increases our anxiety and compels us to urge - nay, demand - greater efforts towards nuclear disarmament and arms reduction. Such efforts must be aimed also at lowering suspicion, building mutual confidence and enlarging the prospect of international peace and security.

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

The Government of Grenada is convinced that educational and cultural exchange affords the easiest, simplest and least expensive method of furthering international peace. The opportunities available in this area should be fully and rapidly expanded for the common good of mankind. We call upon all States, especially those with different political systems and those with other disputes, to encourage the use of the universal vehicle of culture and to promote bonds of friendship and co-operation among all the peoples of the world.

It is generally agreed among members of the international community that the odious, cruel, inhuman and degrading practice of apartheid is unacceptable and indefensible. It is systematized and institutionalized racism and injustice, and has no place in civilized society. It must therefore be dismantled now. There is, however, disagreement as to the strategy and methodology for achieving this, but Grenada supports all efforts and measures designed to assist in attaining that goal. In that context, we join in the demand for the immediate, unconditional release from custody of Nelson Mandela, the distinguished black South African leader, and all the other political prisoners now languishing in South African gaols, and for immediate and meaningful national dialogue.

The liberation and democratization of South African society is a solemn responsibility of all nations big and small, and we must take concerted action to achieve it without further delay. Grenada believes also that the time has come when we must resort to comprehensive mandatory sanctions in our fight against apartheid, despite the costs inherent in that strategy. I wish to recognize the sterling contribution being made by the Governments and the peoples of the front-line States in the struggle against apartheid and to congratulate them on their heroism in the face of overwhelming odds.

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

How long will the intransigence of the South African Government be allowed to continue, and how long will its inhumanity to the black man be tolerated? The inalienable right of all peoples to independence and self-determination must not be denied the black majority in South Africa and Namibia, and must not be compromised.

I have the permission of my Prime Minister to refer to his fortieth-anniversary statement to the Assembly on 15 October 1985, when he said, inter alia, that

"to satisfy the Charter's high hopes for humanity the United Nations must come to grips with some fundamental realities. Although the world may never be fully free from instances of injustice, it must certainly be recognized that there can be no lasting peace where injustice is institutionalized. There must, therefore, be ... united action to rid South Africa of the scourge of apartheid and minority rule, and to bring independence to Namibia."

(A/40/PV.35, p. 48-50)

For the purpose of clarification and for the avoidance of doubt, I wish to restate and reaffirm my Government's position on the questions of South Africa and Namibia: Grenada remains unequivocally opposed to the principle of apartheid as a system of government. Grenada remains committed to the international demand for self-determination and independence for the peoples of South Africa and Namibia under majority rule. Grenada remains committed to the dismantling of the apartheid system of government being practised in South Africa. Grenada will to the extent possible, and consistent with its own policies, support any move or action by the international community designed to bring about the dismantling of apartheid and the achievement of majority rule in South Africa. Grenada believes that comprehensive mandatory sanctions are one of the few effective means of persuasion

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

still available to the international community and that these should be imposed without delay. Grenada supports the call for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners now being held in South Africa's prisons. Grenada will support any resolution or motion calling for the imposition of sanctions or any other measures, provided that such resolution or motion is presented in clear and unambiguous terms and deals specifically with the subject matter.

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

In our hemisphere the continued escalation of tension in Central America constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. The United Nations must therefore monitor the situation and assist in ensuring that it is not allowed to get out of control. Grenada believes that a political solution is the surest way of bringing peace to the region and calls upon all the parties concerned to work for a negotiated settlement of all issues within the framework proposed by the Contadora Group.

In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq war, and the many ancillary issues which inflame and exacerbate passion constitute a grave threat to international peace and security and must be resolved peaceably and equitably through honest bilateral and multilateral means, with the assistance of the international community. The continuing plight of the Bahai community of the region is also a cause for concern, and we must begin to give serious consideration to it.

The recent special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa is a cogent example of the value of collective action in dealing with issues of global concern, and the lessons learnt therefrom should be used in our efforts to regulate international economic relations and establish measures and guidelines for redressing existing imbalances in favour of a more equitable redistribution of the available economic factors.

It is clear that the debt crisis which threatens to undermine economic and social structures in developing countries also has disturbing effects in the financial and governmental circles of the developed world. The dimensions of global economic interdependence should be a potent reminder to the developed countries that they cannot be insulated from the effects of persistent poverty,

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

hunger and negative growth in developing countries. The multilateral system must therefore be utilized in our endeavour to find solutions for these crises.

In the same way, our resolve to establish a new system of trade rules under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade must be pursued vigorously. Adjustment through growth and development depends, among other things, on the terms under which we import and export. It also depends on the productive capacity of our economies and on the adoption of appropriate and responsive policies by international financial institutions. Grenada anticipates and will work towards fundamental reforms in these areas of high priority.

The unique factors and problems which characterize small island developing States have been well documented and laid before the international community. Important among these is the inherent, multidimensional issue of vulnerability. Indeed, the economic and political survival of these States turns on the extent to which structural and other factors which constitute that threat are mitigated by endogenous development efforts complemented by special programmes of assistance and co-operation. My Government wishes to appeal for greater understanding of the plight of small island developing States and calls for imaginative schemes by United Nations specialized agencies, other multilateral institutions, and donor countries to assist this disadvantaged group of States.

Another area of global interest and concern is the illicit trafficking in drugs and dangerous substances which, like a plague, is spreading over the face of the earth and eroding society, endangering the lives of our young people, upon whom the future lies. Concomitant with the craze for those dangerous substances is a proportionate rise in the level of violence, which is fast becoming a seamy subculture in many societies.

The escalation of international terrorism, too, gives cause for much concern: the terrorists grow bolder every day, striking almost at will, bringing terror and

(Mr. Jones, Grenada)

death to innocent, unsuspecting people everywhere. The peace and security of the world are in danger, and the international community must act swiftly to check and contain this evil and ultimately to defeat and destroy it.

The battle against this twin menace is likely to be costly and demanding, and no single nation can on its own undertake it successfully. There is therefore a need for close co-operation among all countries in the development of practical mechanisms for sharing information, for security, and for meeting the costs that will be involved. This august body must take the lead in co-ordinating our efforts and providing the umbrella under which we can all make our contributions towards the final victory.

My delegation is convinced that by pursuing the aforementioned considerations, among others, which have a common denominator for all concerned, we can avoid contentious and adversarial postures which impede progress and hinder consensus and unanimity. Indeed, there are many similarities in our apparent diversities. There is much more that unites us than that divides us. The onus is upon us in this exalted forum to identify and accentuate our similarities, while we try honestly and candidly to come to grips with our apparent dissimilarities. International co-operation in a spirit of brotherhood and in an atmosphere of secure and lasting peace is the highest demand of our time, and we must do everything to achieve it.

Mr. VAGI (Papua New Guinea): On behalf of the Government and people of Papua New Guinea, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of President of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are confident that under your able leadership the work of this august body will be carried out with efficiency and success.*

* Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Vaqi, Papua New Guinea)

I should also like, on behalf of my country, to register our sincere appreciation for the excellent work performed by your predecessor, Mr. de Piniés of Spain. In addition, let me add my Government's voice to those who have already spoken in praise of the work being done by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Papua New Guinea is situated in a part of the world which bears the name of peace - the Pacific Ocean. But we are no more immune to world-wide problems than are peoples in other parts of the world.

Governments in our region have been able to make modest, but none the less effective, contributions to the resolution of regional problems. But we remain vulnerable to other problems. In fact, the island States of the South Pacific are probably more vulnerable to some problems than are countries in other parts of the world.

The South Pacific is one of the few regions of the world where old-style colonialism is still to be found. People in our region look to people elsewhere for help and support in bringing colonialism to an end. We support people trying to free themselves from colonialism in other parts of the world.

Despite its peaceful-sounding name, the Pacific is not remote from the arms race. In fact, some parts of the region are used by a number of nuclear Powers for weapon testing and target practice.

The disarray in world commodity markets and the over-all decline in commodity prices affect us deeply.

Growing indifference to the problems of developing countries, expressed by what people in developed countries carelessly describe as aid fatigue, is having profoundly adverse effects on Government's capacity to provide services for our people and to improve living standards in the future.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

The continuing failure by Governments in developed countries to address the issues raised by proposals for a new international economic order makes even the modest goal of fiscal self-reliance, to which my Government is strongly committed, unnecessarily difficult to achieve.

This year, 1986, is the International Year of Peace. Under the United Nations Charter, all United Nations Members subscribe to peace. All of us say that we favour peace. But what have we really done to give effect to our common commitment?

The United Nations, formed in the aftermath of the Second World War, was intended by its founders to be a vehicle for securing peace - genuine and lasting peace. Its founders recognized, as the Charter shows, that such peace involves more than the absence of war. They saw that genuine and lasting international peace can come about only if we attend to the underlying causes of international conflict.

Inequity, the denial of basic human rights and the arms race are just as surely threats to peace as is naked military aggression.

Yet, year after year, leaders from all parts of the world stand in this Hall and speak in favour of peace, but little or nothing happens. In fact, international tensions are increasing. The United Nations is now more than a generation old. Can we, the next generation, do no more? Surely, we must - for ourselves, for our children and, if humanity is to survive, for their successors, too.

Papua New Guinea is a full, committed and - within the scope of available resources - active Member of the United Nations. For countries like mine, the United Nations is a vital - indeed, irreplaceable - means of securing national, regional and wider interests.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have always believed that we have a general interest in preserving and increasing international co-operation. We have a particular interest in supporting a strengthened United Nations system. We are therefore concerned at actions which have the effect of weakening or reducing participation in the work of the United Nations.

We urge other Governments to take careful heed of the Secretary-General's urgent warning regarding the financial state of the United Nations and to do what they can to help.

Limited though our capacity to influence events may be, my own and other Governments in our region are nonetheless determined to use what influence we have to give effect to the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. We fully accept the obligations that arise from sovereign equality among the nations of the world.

My Government has thus recently concluded negotiating a treaty of mutual respect, friendship and co-operation with our closest neighbour, Indonesia. We believe that mutual respect is, and must be, the starting point of equitable and peaceful relations between sovereign States. Friendship and co-operation, the goals that all Members of the United Nations claim to share, must surely follow.

Together with the Governments of Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, we have formed a spearhead group to monitor and act on issues of special concern to the Melanesian States. The spearhead symbolizes a united effort, not an aggressive weapon. The group does not threaten other countries or regional groups. It is strongly committed to wider forms of regional and international co-operation.

In January, my Government decided to accede to the United Nations Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The decision gave practical expression to our active commitment to vital and universal humanitarian

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

principles. We are already receiving some assistance from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Despite successive United Nations resolutions calling for arms control and eventual disarmament, the arms race continues apace. My Government is pleased at the decision to hold a summit meeting between the leaders of the two super-Powers. We are hopeful of a positive result.

We are dismayed, however, at the over-all lack of progress being made towards arms control, not to speak of complete disarmament. The nuclear arms race threatens not only the main contestants, but all other countries.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

Even if the ultimate horror of nuclear war can be averted, the destruction caused by the diversion of so much money, energy and talent away from the urgent problems of human suffering and development can only be described as obscene.

My Government inevitably gives a high priority to the security situation in our immediate region, but we are not indifferent to events and situations elsewhere. We therefore continue to urge all concerned in the Middle East to reach an equitable and peaceful solution to their problems consistent with the right of Israel to exist and with recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. We urge Governments in the region to work in a constructive way to resolve common problems. We also urge all those concerned to work towards the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

My Government continues to be horrified at the terrible cost in human life and physical destruction caused by the war between Iran and Iraq. Here, surely, is an issue which goes to the heart of our common commitment to peace.

For obvious reasons, Papua New Guineans are concerned with the rights of peoples in small States. For equally obvious reasons, we can only deplore the continuing loss of human life and the waste of resources caused by failure to respect those rights. We therefore reaffirm our opposition to the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. We are pleased to note that there may be signs of movement on the issue. We urge all parties to pay close attention to the constructive proposals put forward by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for dealing with the issue.

We also continue to deplore the ongoing occupation of Afghanistan by the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

To our east, we urge all countries with interests in Central America to pay close heed of the efforts being made by the Contadora Group to bring peace and stability to the region.

My Government looks to the Governments of North and South Korea to work towards peaceful reunification. We support the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations.

In line with one of the deepest commitments of our foreign policy, we urge Governments in all parts of the world to show respect for the rights of independent countries of all sizes to be free from unwanted external interference.

We call for greater co-operative efforts to deal with the causes of terrorism in the world and to counter international crime.

Like other peoples who have experienced colonial rule, we Papua New Guineans not only value our country's independence but believe strongly that colonized peoples are entitled to their independence. Our conviction is, we know, consistent with the views expressed in numerous United Nations resolutions. Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have always supported such resolutions.

Decolonization in the South Pacific has generally been peacefully achieved. The Governments and peoples of the former colonial Powers have remained actively involved in the region as aid donors, investors, trading partners and members of the South Pacific Commission.

My Government is therefore all the more concerned at the direction that events in New Caledonia seem to be taking. Other Governments in the region are equally concerned. Since 1984, more than 20 people in New Caledonia, most of them members of the Melanesian Kanak population, have been killed by members of the French armed forces or by French settlers. Many others have been injured, even in the last few

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

weeks. The previous French Government had, we believe, begun to react to the worsening situation in a serious and positive way.

Delegations will be aware of the decision made by the 13-member South Pacific Forum, the paramount regional organization in the South Pacific, to call for the reinscription of New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. The recent summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement at Harare, Zimbabwe, strongly supported the South Pacific Forum's decision to call

"for self-determination and the early transition to an independent New Caledonia in accordance with the rights and aspirations of the indigenous people,"

that is, the Kanaks.

We are pleased to note the strong support expressed by a number of Governments during this session for the just struggle of the Kanaks for independence in New Caledonia. All of us who are concerned with the situation in New Caledonia look to the General Assembly for support to reinscribe New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories during this session of the General Assembly.

The South Pacific area contains many - indeed, all too many - of the world's remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, as was noted at the Non-Aligned Movement's summit meeting. France is not only the major remaining colonial Power in our region; it is unashamedly and insensitively so. The Government of France seems to regard the South Pacific as little more than a useful site for testing weapons and a backdrop for the expression of its residual imperial aspirations.

My Government, like other Governments in the region, welcomes and appreciates the constructive role that the French and other Western European Governments play in our region through the Lomé Convention and in other ways. But France is not a

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

South Pacific country. New Caledonia is not a part of France. To suggest that either is the case, as the French Government does, is a delusion.

New Caledonia is, by all criteria, a colony of France. So is the area the French Government persists in referring to as "French Polynesia." And so, too, are Wallis and Futuna. The indigenous people of New Caledonia are not the same as Metropolitan Frenchmen. The Kanaks are Melanesians. They speak and act through the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, the FLNKS. Against all reason, the French Government persists in regarding New Caledonia as part of France. It ignores the Kanaks. Where it cannot ignore them, it tries to silence them. It denies them opportunities for advancement. The French Government is generally indifferent and even hostile to the legitimate rights of the Kanaks. It intimidates the Kanaks. It actively supports the Kanaks' present and potential oppressors.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

In flagrant defiance of paragraph 8 of the Annex to United Nations General Assembly resolution 35/118, the French Government continues to import Frenchmen from metropolitan France into New Caledonia. It is engaged in a military build-up of such proportions that the French military presence in New Caledonia is approximately twice as large as the entire armed forces of all Forum island countries combined. There is now an armed French soldier for every two Melanesian Kanak families in New Caledonia. And the soldiers sent to New Caledonia to suppress the FLNKS are entitled to vote in local elections, as are other short-term residents from metropolitan France.

Through a combination of hostile propaganda, intimidation and active military intervention, the French Government seems determined to deny the legitimate rights of the Kanaks - rights which are theirs under the United Nations Charter.

We find it deeply and sadly ironic that the Government of a country which has itself experienced the dreadful agonies of unprovoked terrorist attacks on innocent civilians is itself directly engaged in bringing terror to our region.

My Government believes that we would be failing in our duty to the Kanaks and to the principles for which we stand if we did not bring the situation in New Caledonia before the General Assembly. The United Nations, which has played a vital role in the peaceful decolonization of the South Pacific, will lose credibility throughout the region if it does not respond promptly, decisively and effectively to the situation.

The re-inscription of New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories is but a modest step. It threatens no one. It will, we hope, arouse the Government and people of France to a true appreciation of the wider implications of their actions and stimulate awareness of their true responsibilities and long-term interests in the region.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

In line with the strong stance that we have taken on New Caledonia, we support other calls for self-determination by peoples still subject to colonial rule elsewhere. In particular we support the legitimate right of the Namibian people to be free from South African oppression.

Papua New Guinea's opposition to the vile principles and repellent practices of apartheid is a matter of public record. We deplore not only apartheid itself but the mounting cost in human dignity, life and property being paid by the African community as a result of the increasingly desperate attempts being made by the evil régime in Pretoria to maintain apartheid. We urge all Governments with a capacity to influence events in South Africa to use that influence to bring apartheid to an end. We condemn the Pretoria régime's repeated, unprovoked and flagrantly illegal armed attacks on neighbouring countries.

As I indicated at the outset, my Government deplores the slow progress being made towards arms control and disarmament, especially in regard to weapons of mass destruction. We are totally opposed to nuclear-weapon testing in the atmosphere. We therefore repeat our earlier protests against continuing French nuclear-weapon testing in our region.

Like most French people, Pacific Islanders do not want our children to have to breathe air, to drink water or to eat food which has been contaminated by nuclear pollution. People in our region have first-hand experience of nuclear-weapon testing that was supposed to be safe. They have injuries to show that it is not.

We simply cannot accept that the French Government or any other nuclear Power has the right to continue testing nuclear weapons in our region. If it so safe, let them test at home.

The South Pacific Forum has recently agreed to establish a Pacific nuclear-free zone under the Treaty of Rarotonga. The Treaty represents modest progress on a difficult subject.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

My Government calls for further and more comprehensive consultation on measures which will make the South Pacific truly free from the hazards of nuclear contamination.

We live in a world in which the economic circumstances of the developed countries have profound effects on the welfare and development prospects of developing countries. The point is made with some force in the latest editions of World Economic Outlook, prepared by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and Trade and Development Report, of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). We may live in one world, but economic power, at least, remains remarkably one sided.

My Government welcomed the historic special session of the United Nations General Assembly special session devoted to the economic crisis in Africa. We support moves to deal with the crisis. But we must not forget that hunger, the debt crisis and instability in commodity markets are world-wide phenomena with world-wide effects.

Proposals for a new international economic order have been on the agenda of this Assembly and other international organizations since well before Papua New Guinea became independent. The need for progress is at least as urgent now as it was when the proposals were first formulated. But little, if anything, has happened.

Some modest improvements have been made on a regional, and even on a multi-regional, basis. The contribution being made to North-South co-operation by the Lomé Convention is an example. My Government is also impressed by the valuable economic and other benefits being reaped by people in South East Asia as a result of regional co-operation among the member States of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). We welcome the increasing interest being taken in the South Pacific by ASEAN members both individually and collectively.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

In the South Pacific, my own Government and other Governments have been actively pressing for greater attention to be given to the existing structure of, and to the need to restructure, relations in the region. We have been particularly active in seeking the creation of a single regional organization. The concept of having a single regional organization for the South Pacific is important to us, not only because we seek to rationalize the activities of existing organizations but because we want to bring about a more creative co-operative relationship between developed and developing countries in the region.

We can no longer accept the colonial-type assumptions implicit in the constitution, the structure and the activities of the South Pacific Commission.

We do not want to prevent Governments or other interested parties in metropolitan countries from playing a constructive role in our region, as I have said. But we are opposed to great-Power rivalry in the South Pacific. We cannot accept foreign domination.

(Mr. Vagi, Papua New Guinea)

We note the increasing interest the Government of the Soviet Union is taking in our region. We value the increasing contacts between ASEAN and Forum countries.

We look to the United States Government to play a positive role in resolving outstanding difficulties between the American Tuna-Boat Association and Forum countries over fisheries in the region.

We hope that the French Government will be responsive to international concern over its activities in the South Pacific.

We look forward to the day when a single regional organization can provide a framework and a means for constructive co-operation, based on sovereign equality and mutual respect, among all Governments with interests in the region. Such an organization will, my Government hopes, address a wide range of North-South issues on a regional basis: aid, trade, investment and other forms of mutual assistance.

The Governments of Australia and New Zealand are already engaged in wide-ranging dialogue on a variety of economic and other matters with Forum island countries. We would like to see other countries become more constructively involved in the region too. Development assistance should be replaced by development co-operation. My Government is currently discussing practical proposals on the matter with the Government of Australia. We would like, in time, to see the range of issues and the number of participants expanded.

The Melanesian spearhead group has already taken steps to increase joint efforts to stem the flow of illegal narcotics into and through the region. Again, we would like to see our efforts taken up on a wider basis.

The South Pacific is, mercifully, peaceful, not only in name but, when compared with other, more troubled, parts of the world, quite peaceful in actuality. The people of the region want it to remain so. Our independence must be respected.

(Mr. Vaqi, Papua New Guinea)

Forum island countries need assistance in developing our natural resources and human potential so that we can become truly self-reliant. Our relations with other countries must be restructured in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.*

Ms. MAUALA (Samoa): Mr. President, my delegation is reassured to know that this difficult forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly is being steered by a statesman of your ability, from a country with which we share warm friendship and co-operation in several forums, including the Commonwealth and the Group of Least Developed Countries, where Bangladesh's role is appreciatively acknowledged with appreciation.

We must also thank Mr. Jaime de Piniés for his dignified and efficient conduct of the historic fortieth session. We are also reassured and gladdened by the Secretary-General's welcome recovery and return to us. We are, more than ever, in need of his experience and wisdom.

If last year was one for reflection and reaffirmation of faith, this year is surely the year for action and reform - indeed a year of reckoning - and the most urgent item with which we must wrestle is the survival of this Organization and its continuance in the most effective and efficient manner. Small States, like ourselves, need the United Nations and have shared the belief, expressed so often during this debate, that the United Nations would become a truly effective collective security organization. While we continue in that belief, the reality of it is yet far from realization. What we, as small States, have to ensure is that the United Nations not only survives its current crisis but comes through the stronger for it. The Group of 18, whose establishment we endorsed, has worked hard towards this end. My delegation feels that, given the constraints under which it

*The President returned to the Chair.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

was operating and the very real political differences which exist on the subject of reform, the report it has produced is a very constructive and useful step forward. We support those elements on which consensus was reached and, in regard to chapter 6, we support a reform of the budget formulation and decision-making process. We look to this Assembly to arrive at a consensus which will ensure that the views of both the major contributors and the small States are taken into account. We are encouraged by the Secretary-General's comments in document A/41/663 indicating that he has already taken steps to ensure that the Secretariat is in a position to start the process of reform as soon as the decisions of the General Assembly are known. Now it is up to all of us, and we for our part are optimistic. We trust that these hopes will not be dashed by major contributors continuing to withhold funds despite our efforts.

The Secretary-General has used a dramatic analogy. He says:

"that the safety net which the United Nations constitutes for the world's security should not be allowed to become tattered".

In Samoa we have a saying that is perhaps akin to this. We say that "the fishing net that became entangled in the night will be disentangled in the morning". Thus we believe that, no matter what the difficulties or how knotty the problems, they can be resolved in the light of reason and good faith and thus the net be repaired. We are convinced that we can restore confidence in this Organization and in its role.

To turn to the broader scene, my delegation finds it ironically sad that in this International Year of Peace so little real peace has come to the troubled parts of the world.

In South Africa there is no peace for children languishing in gaols and no prospects for peace while the South African Government turns deaf ears to the cries of suffering and to the dire warnings that have been given by many. These

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

warnings include that of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons. We support the Commonwealth proposals for action and believe that pressure from the world community is imperative.

We also wish to see a peaceful Namibia, free from South African illegal occupation and brought to its rightful place in the world community through the United Nations plan.

In Afghanistan foreign forces remain, and children have no peace in which to play and for playthings only bombs disguised as toys.

The Iran-Iraq war drags desperately on, with massive losses of young lives that have known no peace in their short span.

Lebanon is still tragically strife-torn, with brother fighting brother in conflicts still fuelled by outside interference and with little hope of peace in sight.

In Democratic Kampuchea people who have known no peace for generations still suffer. Foreign forces remain, and despite the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the new eight-point approach proposed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, response is lacking and peace seems far off.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

In Korea a people is still divided and knows no permanent peace. We support the peaceful reunification of Korea and, as an interim measure, the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations, which should increase the opportunities for peaceful contact between them. In Central America also, despite the efforts of the Contadora and the Support Group, peace is still elusive. The Middle East peace process has ground to a halt and the Arab-Israeli conflict continues. There is little likelihood of peace there till direct peace negotiations, with the participation of all concerned, are undertaken. Meanwhile, the very symbols of our peace-keeping efforts, the United Nations peace-keeping forces, are targeted and slain in direct defiance of our collective aspirations for peace. Finally, while terrorism is rampant there can be no guarantee of peace for any of us anywhere on this Earth.

While the Secretary-General and his representatives have been tireless in their efforts to bring the spirit of this year to bear on the situation wherever possible - and there are some glimmers of hope - there is no way for peace to prevail while countries still persist in flouting the principles of the Charter.

In our part of the world, the South Pacific Forum members have taken several decisions that are intended to preserve the peace and security of our region. At their meeting last year the Forum Heads of Government adopted the South Pacific Nuclear-Free-Zone Treaty, and at this year's meeting they adopted three protocols calling on the five major nuclear-weapon States to respect the Treaty. We have been gratified by the favourable international reaction to the Treaty and pleased that several of the nuclear-weapon States have indicated their readiness to sign the protocols. We would urge those that have so far given no response to acknowledge the deeply felt concerns of our region, to sign the protocols as soon as they are open for signature and to adhere to them henceforth.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

People sometimes think of the South Pacific as peaceful and pristine and remote from the world's problems. They forget that our region more than any other has been used and abused as a testing ground by nuclear-weapon States. It has also been contemplated as a convenient dumping ground for nuclear wastes. The countries of the South Pacific are united in their absolute opposition to any such use of our environment. We are united in outrage that the French Government continues to test nuclear weapons at Mururoa Atoll. This testing is in flagrant disregard of our constant calls for it to cease.

This testing takes place in the heart of Polynesia. As a Polynesian country, Samoa has long asked that, if this testing is so safe and of such great importance to the security of metropolitan France, France do it on its own territory and free us in the Pacific from the fear of disaster and of damage of an irreversible kind to us and our surroundings.

This fear, and the deep concern felt so keenly by small Pacific Island States because of both the fragility of our environment and the vulnerability of our peoples in the face of nuclear disaster, testing or dumping, is echoed across the seas by others in similar surroundings. This shared concern was most eloquently voiced here several days ago by the Honourable Lester Bird, Deputy Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda, a sister small island country. He said:

"We in the Caribbean have good reason to sympathize with our sister States in the Pacific that have been distressed for years over nuclear tests conducted by larger States and the dumping of nuclear wastes. We share the deep-seated fears of the Pacific Island countries about the long-term medical effects of exposure to radiation and the contamination of the environment, including marine life and food crops, which could be caused by nuclear activity." (A/41/PV.19, p. 69-70)

(Ms. Maulala, Samoa)

All of our fears are justified, and for this reason we have for many years joined in efforts here to promote the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty. We see this as one of the most urgent and practical steps to slow down the deadly arms race and decrease nuclear dangers. We will continue to press for this and other measures designed to halt the arms race.

We were encouraged that two draft conventions in the field of nuclear safety were finalized at the recent International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) meeting in Vienna, and that it appears that the super-Powers intend to abide by them. Surely they must realize, in the wake of the tragic disasters experienced by them both in the past year, that no nation, however mighty, is technologically invincible or free from human frailty. We are much saddened by these tragedies and the loss of life involved. We would hope, however, that these experiences might prove to the super-Powers how imperative it is that they work together, both in sharing technology for the safety and benefit of mankind and in eliminating nuclear weapons and the chance of nuclear disaster from this Earth.

The successful outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the holding of the preparatory summit in Iceland this week-end give us cause for hope and we pray that this may be fulfilled.

Last year we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This year, as we in Samoa look back over 25 years of successful decolonization action by the United Nations and look forward to next year and our own silver jubilee, marking our 25 years of independence, we wish to congratulate the United Nations on its tremendous achievements in this area and the very positive role it has played both in our region and in other parts of the world.

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

However, in the South Pacific the process is not yet complete. We are anxious for those that have not yet fulfilled the aspirations of their peoples to share in this historical process and join us as full members of our Pacific community.

We are, indeed, pleased that the peoples of Micronesia have had the chance freely to express their views and have done so under the supervision of United Nations Missions, which have included representatives of South Pacific countries. Thus the principles of the Charter and of resolution 1514 (XV) are being observed, and it is for this reason that the Forum countries are firm in their support for the termination of the trusteeship. We welcomed the decision of the Trusteeship Council in this regard on 28 May this year.

In New Caledonia, however, the United Nations has not yet played an active role in the decolonization process, and the Forum leaders, at their recent meeting, took the decision to seek the reinscription of New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. This decision reflects the concern of the Forum to see

"a peaceful transition to an independent New Caledonia in accordance with the innate rights and aspirations of the indigenous people and in a manner which guarantees the rights and interests of all inhabitants of this multiracial society".

The Forum members expressed their disappointment that the present French Government seems to be going back on previous commitments entered into with all parties in New Caledonia to see the Territory move to a form of independence and, instead, now seem intent on New Caledonia's remaining a Territory of France. Forum leaders emphasized the importance of genuine dialogue with all the parties concerned, including France, and their wish to continue their efforts in this regard. It is hoped that United Nations participation will not only enhance these

(Ms. Mauala, Samoa)

efforts but assist the progress of New Caledonia to the exercise of a truly legitimate act of self-determination monitored by the United Nations. We feel this to be essential for the peace and stability of the South Pacific region.

We welcome the assurance of support for this move by the non-aligned Heads of State or Government in Harare and look forward to working with non-aligned delegations here and to gaining the widest possible support from the membership of this Organization.

During this General Assembly we shall mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the two human rights Covenants. Yet, sadly, violations of human rights of the vilest kind still shame the human race. Here, just as in other areas I have mentioned and many others that I have not had the time to touch on, eternal vigilance is required. The United Nations has so much to do and so many needing or depending on its efforts that we cannot afford to let it fail.

We in Samoa hold firmly the deep conviction that, with God's help and our own efforts, this Organization will be restored to the vision its founders held 41 years ago.

Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, Sir, I would like to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you preside over this General Assembly. Bangladesh is a non-aligned country with a great tradition of struggle for the cause of peace and justice. This fact, together with your excellent qualities as a diplomat, assures us that the important matters to be debated in the course of the present session of the General Assembly will receive evenhanded treatment.

I should also like to express to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our satisfaction over seeing him fully recovered, and we send him words of encouragement in the difficult task posed by the critical moments through which our Organization is living.

I must also state here our appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain for the efficient and fair manner in which he presided over the previous session of the General Assembly.

Despite the great efforts which both Nicaragua and the countries of the Contadora and Lima Groups have been carrying out, despite the solemn statements issued by the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations and many other countries of the world, condemning the interventionist policy and illegal use of force by the United States government against Nicaragua, and despite the finding of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986, condemning and ordering the immediate end to this illegal policy, the spiral of war continues.

This undeniable reality led the Contadora and Lima Groups to state, only nine days ago, that "the crisis in Central America is becoming more serious every day, and the risk of war is increasing." (A/41/662, p. 2)

Four days after that statement was issued, a young member of the army that defends Nicaragua's national sovereignty shot down an American airplane, with a crew of Americans, carrying a large quantity of weapons and different kinds of

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

explosives, a kind of advance on the infamous "\$100 million" that the Reagan Administration, with the complicity of the United States Congress, has approved to continue the systematic slaughter of our people in the dirty mercenary war that has turned Central America into a laboratory for testing new forms of war with which the United States is combating the struggles for independence, self-determination and genuine democracy of the peoples of Latin America and the world.

How many times did representatives hear an ambassador of the United States accuse us here of being "paranoid" because we denounced aggression against our people as United States aggression? We all know that deceit and lies, together with the use and the threat of the use of force, are essential tools of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. Let no one be offended by this statement; it is not our intention to offend anyone. We simply state the truth without ambiguity, because peace, which is the fundamental objective of Nicaragua's policies and a universal aspiration, obliges us to speak clearly. Events have shown that we are not "paranoid". The Reagan Administration, in addition to violating the principles of the United Nations Charter, also lies. It is just as the International Court of Justice said:

"The United States of America, by training, arming, equipping, financing and supplying the contra forces or otherwise encouraging, supporting and aiding military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua, has acted, against the Republic of Nicaragua, in breach of its obligation under customary international law not to intervene in the affairs of another State."

(S/18221, annex, page 137)

The Reagan Administration's contribution to imperialism's longstanding ambitions has been its rediscovery of the use of citizens of other countries to fight imperialism's wars. In this way it tries to avoid paying the political price

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

attached to sacrificing American lives, taking advantage of the fact that they have been able to deform the conscience of a considerable number of Americans who view genocide against other peoples, especially if they are from the third world, with alarming indifference.

Thus, in this war which the United States Administration is waging against the people of Nicaragua in order to make them, in President Reagan's words, "Cry Uncle", there have already been more than 30,000 victims. Nevertheless, in spite of the mercenary nature of this war, at least five Americans have already been killed due to the criminal policy of the Reagan Administration, not counting those who died in the recent accident involving a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) aircraft in Texas, or others who have died in Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador.

As a result of the recent downing of an American aircraft in Nicaragua on 5 October, we now have the first prisoner clearly identified as a United States military adviser in El Salvador. I personally had in my hands the identity card issued to him by the Salvadorian airforce, complete with photograph, accrediting him as a United States military adviser. Naturally, this American prisoner will be brought before the courts and tried in accordance with Nicaraguan laws, with all guarantees of due process.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

In declarations to the national and international press yesterday in Managua the United States prisoner, Eugene Hasenfus, stated that he worked for the CIA and that two CIA agents, naturalized Americans of Cuban origin, Max Gomez and Ramon Medina, his direct superiors, were co-ordinating most of the flights from El Salvador carrying weapons, ammunitions and supplies for the counter-revolutionary mercenaries. He also explained how the territories of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras are used in those CIA operations, all with the full knowledge and authorization - in the words of the United States prisoner - of the authorities of those countries.

Despite all the subterfuges and lies employed by the Reagan Administration to cover up its criminal policy towards Nicaragua; despite its cover-up of the fact that, although war has not been declared officially, the United States Government is waging a war of aggression against Nicaragua, in which the shortcomings of Reagan's mercenaries have forced it to get more and more involved itself; despite its having pressured several Central American countries in every way that could be dreamed up by those that have made the systematic use of blackmail an essential part of their foreign policy - despite all that, the world sees clearly that this war of aggression is a dirty, illegal and immoral war. It sees it as a war which the United States is waging against Nicaragua with the sole objective of getting our country to submit to the concept of limited sovereignty, an inevitable corollary to its being regarded as the United States back yard, something which others might accept but Nicaragua never will. We are not enemies, nor do we wish to be enemies, of the United States; but nor are we, nor do we wish to be its back yard. We are defending our total independence, because only thus can we establish the relations of respect that make friendship possible.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

I refer once more to the Contadora Declaration of 1 October, which contained the following passages:

"Those who believe in a military solution are disregarding the true dimension of the problem. We wish to draw attention to what is at stake: expansion of the conflict, intensification of the confrontations, and war ...

"Latin America ... does not wish the principles of self-determination and non-intervention to be sacrificed in the name of security or democracy ...

"... the prevention of war in Central America is a task for all politically responsible Governments and individuals who are prepared to defend the cause of peace." (A/41/662, pp. 2, 3)

The decision of the United States Government to send American military advisers to train the contra mercenaries is clear proof that the Reagan Administration remains determined to cause more death and destruction. That decision and the decision to turn the direction of the war over to the CIA and to give \$100 million more to the mercenaries serve only to perpetuate the "agony of endless battle", as pointed out in an editorial in The New York Times yesterday.

Many Americans - I would say most - are aware of that, as is shown by all the public opinion polls on the subject. Four United States veterans and war heroes have chosen to emphasize that truth by issuing a Christian call for peace. Although they have now gone without food for 40 days, their voices have fallen on the deaf ears of those that have ordered the murder of an entire people, daring to claim they are doing so in defence of the Holy Gospel.

I say to President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz, wherever they are, from here at the United Nations, we demand in the name of God, in whom they say they believe and in whom my people and I do indeed trust, that they stop the war,

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

that they abide by the ruling of the International Court of Justice, that they bring their foreign policy into line with the norms contained in the Charter, because, although they are powerful, they should not think that they have been endowed with rights which God has not given any man or any nation. We hold them responsible and one day they will have to account for their actions before the Lord, for all the blood that has been shed and all the suffering inflicted on so many innocents as a result of their insatiable lust for domination. We hold them responsible, in advance, for whatever may befall the fasters for peace, whom they have unwisely ignored so far. There can be no doubt that the United States is very rich and powerful and feels it can mock all the courts in the world, but it is time for it to start fearing the implacable justice of the God of peace and life, for, believe me, this justice cannot be mocked or evaded.

The States which make up the United Nations are well aware of the many initiatives taken by Nicaragua in search of a peaceful solution, in line with international law, to the dispute with the United States. There have been many appeals to the United States Government to abandon its illegal policy of intervention and force against Nicaragua and bring its conduct into line with the norms of law, as befits a world super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council.

Unfortunately, the number of negative responses has been equal to the number of appeals made. After the various efforts to bring about bilateral negotiation had failed Nicaragua decided to initiate legal proceedings against the United States at the International Court of Justice, the top judicial body of the United Nations, in the hope that resort to that forum would make it possible to attain the peace and respect to which the people of Nicaragua and the other Central American countries aspire.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

On 27 June this year the International Court of Justice, in a historic decision, which already forms part of the common heritage of all the peoples and nations of the planet, condemned the United States in no uncertain terms for its many and repeated violations of the most sacred principles and tenets of the international legal order, respect for which is the basis of world peace.

The date 27 June 1986 is that of a milestone in the history of international law and the beginning of a new stage in the development of the United Nations system. For the first time in the history of our Organization the highest tribunal of justice condemned a great Power which, ironically, proclaims itself to be a great defender of the international legal order. It condemned the United States for its illegal policy of intervention and force against Nicaragua, a small, impoverished nation, which to defend its inalienable right to independence and self-determination has only the indestructible will of its people, the solidarity of the nations and peoples of the world and, most especially, international law, justice and morality.

(Mr. D'Esoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

It may be that the international community has not yet had sufficient time to appreciate the tremendous impact and significance that this decision of the International Court of Justice will have on the future of international relations and the United Nations. Our Organization is based on certain fundamental principles on respect for which the very existence of the United Nations depends - unless we wish for the Organization a fate similar to that of the ill-starred League of Nations. At present it is clear that international peace and security depend on full compliance with the purposes and principles of the Charter: the sovereign equality of States, the political independence and self-determination of peoples, non-use of force in international relations, non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of other States, and the peaceful solution of international disputes.

It would not be an exaggeration to state that the history of international relations and of the United Nations can now be divided into two general periods: before and after 27 June 1986. If the United States of America abided by the decision of the International Court of Justice, freedom would flourish in the world and all peoples would draw on the wealth of their own culture, so that humanity could advance towards unexpectedly lofty goals of political, economic and social development. Defiance of the ruling by the United States of America would mean that that super-Power had opted for war, and that the dark shadow of violence would move across the earth. Our Organization and its embodiment of the dream of peace and freedom would be in a situation not unlike that which mankind experienced during the 1930s.

Since the ruling of 27 June 1986, Nicaragua has seen the confirmation of what it has been saying all along. I should like to recall one of the statements included by Nicaragua in the 30 April 1985 brief it submitted to the International Court of Justice:

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

"It is significant that it is only in the forum of the International Court of Justice that Nicaragua is able to confront the United States on an equal basis without the results of the dispute being affected by the overwhelming military and economic power of the adversary. Nicaragua asks the Court not only to uphold its legal rights, but also to defend the administration of international justice from being perverted in the hands of the powerful."

Nicaragua went in search of justice before that lofty forum, where all States are equal no matter what their level of development or strength. Justice was done, and, taking into account the great significance of the ruling it is fitting to recall some of the determinations of the Court. The Court clearly pointed out that adherence by a State to any particular doctrine did not constitute a violation of customary international law, and that to hold otherwise would make nonsense of the fundamental principle of State sovereignty on which the whole of international law rests.

The Court ruled that the violations of international law committed by the United States through its aggressive actions against Nicaragua could not be justified either by the plea of collective self-defence, inasmuch as the conditio sine qua non that would make it necessary had not been fulfilled, or by an alleged right of the United States to adopt countermeasures involving the use of force in the face of a purported intervention by Nicaragua in El Salvador. It must be added that the United States was unable to prove its repeated charges of intervention, despite - as was recognized by the International Court of Justice -

"the deployment by the United States in the region of extensive technical resources for tracking, monitoring and intercepting air, sea and land traffic" and the active assistance of the Governments allegedly affected.

(Mr. D'Esoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

Now another huge lie has been revealed, with the downing of the United States C-123 aeroplane registered in Miami under the number N-4410-F and in El Salvador, as of 23 August last, under the number HP-824, with the documents found on that aeroplane and with the ample statements made by the surviving American, who is being held prisoner: El Salvador, far from being the victim the United States Government claims it to be, is one of the three main bases of the imperialist aggression against Nicaragua. The prisoner's statements and the documents found demonstrate once more the clear involvement of the Governments of El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica in the mercenary war by which the United States Government is trying to deny Nicaragua, and all of Central America, the exercise of the right of self-determination.

The determination of the United States Government to continue its illegal policy of force against Nicaragua and the alarming military buildup in Honduras have forced Nicaragua to continue military preparations in defence of its independence, self-determination and territorial integrity. One of the most serious consequences of United States policy in Central America is the disproportionate and unjustified militarization of the sister republic of Honduras, which has turned that country into a gigantic United States military base.

So-called assistance to Honduras has gone from \$10 million in 1982 to almost \$313 million in 1986. Since 1979, 27 United States military bases and 11 landing-strips and air bases for military use have been constructed, along with dozens of other types of military installations. The Honduran armed forces have swelled from 23,000 to almost 50,000 soldiers. The Honduran air force has become by far the most powerful in the region, going from 137 war-planes and helicopters in 1982 to some 330 aircraft in 1986, among them modern F-5s, the most

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

sophisticated in the entire region, and C-130 transport planes, the largest in the area. Moreover, the United States has given Honduras more than 500 heavy artillery pieces; these have increased in number from 240 in 1982 to some 750 in 1986. We must add to all this armoured vehicles, whose numbers stood at approximately 70 in 1982 and which now number more than 200 armoured vehicles and tanks. As can be seen, the military buildup in Honduras, one of the poorest countries in Latin America, has been on the order of 300 per cent in only five years.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

The significance of the sum total of weapons and military assistance supplied and military infrastructure installed could not be fully understood if we failed to mention the existence of wide-ranging military agreements between the United States and Honduras, the signing of new defence treaties and, above all, the constant manoeuvres, an excuse to keep thousands of United States troops in Honduras, and above all the fact that Honduras is not a country suffering any sort of aggression or armed conflict that could justify such a degree of militarization. Moreover, it can be asserted that, by virtue of its military agreements with the United States, Honduras could easily do without any of this bloated military apparatus, in the knowledge that its external security is fully guaranteed by the military might of the United States. But if defence is not the motive, we must ask ourselves what then are the aims of this overwhelming military build-up in impoverished Honduras.

The entire military infrastructure that has been built, all the warplanes, tanks and radars that have been supplied are not there for the defence of Honduras' sovereignty, but serve as a menacing launching pad for aggression against Nicaragua and a destabilizing factor for the whole Central American region, as well as providing cover for the provision of military aid, training and instructions to the mercenary forces based in Honduras.

The international community must be made aware of the extensive war preparations under way in Honduras, for it is there that for years the spectre of war has been nurtured and intervention plotted against the peoples of Central America. If the United Nations and all peace-loving nations do not respond quickly, the result will be a most dangerous and prolonged conflict that will involve Central America, Latin America and the whole world.

The Nicaraguan Government believes that its first line of defence is the rule of international law and the constant encouragement of its methodical and

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

appropriate application. For that reason, although it stands to arms to defend its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, Nicaragua has turned to the International Court of Justice to appeal to the main author of the aggression of which it is a victim, as well as to its main accomplices and allies, to return to common sense and civilized conduct.

Nicaragua will continue insisting on these civilized means for resolving international disputes. That is why we have sought, by means of suits filed against Honduras and Costa Rica in the International Court of Justice, to exercise our right to self-defence with our first and foremost means of defence - international law. Our two neighbours have confessed that they lend their territories to the mercenary bands which are financed, organized, directed and supplied by the United States, and whose main actions have been aimed at committing innumerable acts of terrorism against the civilian population of Nicaragua. By this sort of conduct the Governments of Honduras and Costa Rica have not only turned the territory of their respective countries into sanctuaries for bands of mercenaries and terrorists; they have also turned themselves into aggressors together with the main aggressor.

The Central American tragedy is being repeated in other parts of the world: in southern Africa, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Those conflicts which the third world is suffering the wounds must not, however, make us forget the responsibility which we all have with regard to the gravest threat facing humanity today - the danger of a nuclear war. The initiative undertaken by Argentina, India, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania since May 1984, strengthened recently in the Ixtapa message, is a valuable effort to make the nuclear Powers hear our voice, and reflects the obligation that the nuclear Powers have to take the vital interests of all the peoples of the world into account in their negotiations.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

In order to restore and safeguard international peace and security it is essential to avoid extending the nuclear threat into space, to put an end to all atomic testing, and to open the door to negotiations for substantial reductions of nuclear arsenals, within the framework of general and complete disarmament. We earnestly hope that the universal clamour for the total abolition of nuclear arms will be heeded at the meeting that is to take place tomorrow between President Reagan and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, and that that meeting will lead to specific progress towards an easing of tension and disarmament.

The very same forces that are work today trying to destroy the international legal order, that show contempt for the International Court of Justice, that block efforts at regional negotiation and raise the spectre of war over our peoples are the forces that are attempting to undermine the foundations of our Organization by resorting to financial blackmail. The report presented by the Group of 18 intergovernmental experts contains recommendations that can be extremely useful for increasing savings and efficiency. However, this must not serve as a pretext for yielding to those interests which seek to change the democratic structure which gives the United Nations its strength, or impose decision-making mechanisms which involve a threat to paralyse the Organization.

To the problems and concerns which we have just outlined we must add another element which is now engrossing the attention of the developing countries: the crisis in the international economy. The current trends in the wor'd economy lead us to conclude that the historic underdevelopment which has been imposed upon us, far from being redressed, is in fact worsening. Foreign debt, commodity prices, the terms of trade, interest rates, protectionist trade barriers, negative capital

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua)

flows - terms once employed only by experts - have become part of the daily vocabulary of our peoples and their leaders. They know full well that the elimination of the negative trends in those factors mean greater opportunities in employment, education, social progress - in short, a more dignified life - whereas if, on the contrary, there is any further deterioration in them, it will entail unemployment, economic stagnation, poverty and, in many cases, death itself.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

Unfortunately, that is precisely the tendency that prevails, which reflects the magnitude of the injustice and inequality that rule current international economic relations.

The foreign debt is the most pressing problem facing the developing countries today. The policies of adjustment that are being imposed on our peoples with the sole objective of ensuring payment of the interest on that debt are only widening the gap separating developed and underdeveloped countries. The debt is a problem of a political nature and it can only be solved if it is treated as such.

The existence in southern Africa of the hated apartheid régime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. The South African régime, in addition to segregating and slaughtering its peoples, practises State terrorism against the front-line States. It also occupies the vast and rich Territory of Namibia, subjecting its population to a system of exploitation identical to apartheid. There can be no doubt that comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the only peaceful and effective means left to the international community to put an end to that crime. The policy of constructive engagement must also be abandoned immediately.

The international community must demand that the United States stop giving support to the UNITA mercenaries in their campaign to destabilize the legitimate Government of the Republic of Angola.

We reiterate our active solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

The Middle East continues to be one of the regions in which international peace and security are most seriously threatened. As long as the United States

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

continues its unconditional support for Israel the possibilities of the escalation and expansion of the conflict will increase. Nicaragua believes that no attempt to solve the Middle East problem without guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people can succeed. Moreover, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in any initiative in the region is essential if a just and stable peace is to be established.

The sister country of Cyprus is the victim of foreign occupation that threatens its unity and its non-aligned status. We support the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Several months ago the Mediterranean was the scene of a reprehensible, unjustified attack by the United States against Libya. In the face of such terrorist acts the international community must step up its efforts to convert the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation.

Nicaragua expresses its support for the efforts being made by the countries of Indo-China to establish a dialogue leading to a negotiated solution to the region's problems.

Nicaragua is in favour of a prompt solution to the deplorable conflict between two sister countries, Iran and Iraq, members of our Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In order to last, that solution must be just and in keeping with the principles of international law, non-alignment and the United Nations Charter. The suffering of the peoples of those two countries must come to an end.

In Afghanistan, we support the efforts made by the Secretary-General to attain a political and negotiated solution that ensures the right of self-determination of the people of Afghanistan.

Nicaragua strongly supports the peaceful reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the peninsula.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

Nicaragua reiterates its solidarity with the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and reaffirms that the situation in Western Sahara, being a colonial problem, can be resolved only in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), under which the brother Saharan people are guaranteed their legitimate right to self-determination in the framework of resolution 104 of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, despite the indomitable struggle of our peoples there still exist peoples which are denied, through the application of techniques of colonialism of varying degrees of sophistication, their legitimate right to independence. We reiterate our solidarity with the Puerto Rican people in their just struggle for self-determination and independence.

We confirm our decisive, unwavering support for the sister republic of Argentina in its legitimate claim to the Malvinas Islands.

In El Salvador, the just aspirations of the people have not been fulfilled. The imperialist policy prevents a negotiated solution to the present conflict as advocated by the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation-Revolutionary Democratic Front. That policy must be ended in order to guarantee the brother Salvadorian people its legitimate right to self-determination.

Because revolutionary Nicaragua has always spoken clearly and unambiguously, because we defend and will always defend the ideals of our heroes, because we follow a policy based on principles rather than individual interests, because we are non-aligned, because we are anti-imperialist, anti-apartheid and anti-colonialist, because we have truth and justice on our side and because we defend peace, our people are suffering a cruel and prolonged war of aggression.

Our principles irritate the powerful, so they impose war on us. Nevertheless we are willing to continue to struggle to find means of understanding that will

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

permit us to achieve peace - but a worthy peace, not the peace of subjugation or of the tomb.

Meanwhile, if they continue to impose this war on us, the people of the world should know that we shall never renounce our rights or betray the many people who today see a ray of hope in our revolution, because, as our hero Sandino said,

"My cause is the cause of my people, the cause of America, the cause of all the peoples of the world."

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate.

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

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): In keeping with the desire of the Assembly to shorten debate and end early, I will make a brief reply to the multitude of malicious and false accusations made by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua.

Neither the twisted logic nor the rhetorical flourishes which characterize the Nicaraguan statement will distract anyone from two key problems: Sandinista repression of the people of Nicaragua and Sandinista subversion of Nicaragua's neighbours. Nor will they conceal the absence of any response to questions posed by Ambassador Walters to the representative of Nicaragua in the Security Council on 30 July during the most recent episode in Nicaragua's continuing efforts to use the United Nations as a forum for Sandinista propaganda.

One key question relates to the Nicaraguan resistance. We have all heard the Sandinistas refer to the democratic resistance as, at best, a tool of the United States. We have also heard many references to the International Court of Justice. We have waited, however, in vain for any reference to the finding by the International Court that the resistance is an independent force not controlled by the United States. Let the leaders of the current Nicaraguan régime, those who stole a genuine, popular revolution and substituted in its place a dictatorial tyranny, face the fact that the domestic opposition to their régime is real.

What has produced that opposition? Well, the answer is simple: many Nicaraguans are disgusted by this unconscionable betrayal of their revolution. The democratic resistance is a political expression of that disgust. How does the régime explain that the resistance survived and prospered even when it received virtually no outside aid of any kind? How does that régime explain that the resistance has continued to grow in numbers, in strength and in effectiveness during the past two years, a period in which the Sandinista régime received extraordinary quantities of tanks, helicopters, artillery and other military

(Mr. Okun, United States)

equipment from its Soviet and Soviet-bloc allies, while the resistance has received only non-military aid?

The representative of Nicaragua has tried to make much of the downing of an aircraft with, he notes, American citizens on board. Confirmation of the exact status of the person taken into custody awaits access by American consular personnel, something that the Sandinista Government has been at pains to delay, presumably while it decided how best to manipulate the facts for its international propaganda machine. The Sandinistas have already paraded him in front of the press four times. Clearly, he is a prisoner, under their total control and under duress. He cannot speak freely, and nothing he says under these conditions should therefore be accepted as an accurate statement of his views.

The Sandinistas have also displayed a total disregard for decent human behaviour in the theatrical manner in which they delivered the remains of the two dead Americans to our Embassy in Managua yesterday. My Government has stated clearly and unequivocally that:

"The plane and crew in question are not affiliated in any way with the United States Government and neither the flight, the plane, the crew nor the cargo was financed by the United States Government."

Further, it has stated:

"There are no United States Government supply flights to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance. Such flights are prohibited by law, and we are in full compliance with the law."

So let us focus on the real issue: how to bring about national conciliation and democracy in a country ruled by an unresponsive dictatorship. As the Contadora process expressly recognized in its 1983 Document of Objectives, national reconciliation and democracy are essential to an enduring peace in Central America. Let the Sandinistas recognize this.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

In their eloquent statements before the Assembly Nicaragua's neighbours have offered valiant testimony to their desire to be left in peace. Let the Sandinistas honour this appeal. Does anyone here doubt that until the Sandinistas enter into dialogue with the democratic opposition, until the Sandinistas end their subversive actions against their neighbours, until the Sandinistas accept peace in the region, the civil war in Nicaragua and the conflict will go on? I do not think anybody can doubt that.

It is not only with regard to events in Central America that the representative of Nicaragua's statement unmask the true nature of Sandinista policy. He affects to describe the American response to Libya's repeated acts of terrorism as "reprehensible and unjustified". Unjustified? Are the innocent victims of hand-grenades thrown at the Rome and Vienna airports figments of our imagination? With respect to Afghanistan, I note that he calls for a political solution, but he did not mention by so much as one word that a foreign army has invaded and is occupying that country - not one word, not even one crocodile tear about the rule of international law when it comes to Afghanistan.

There is an answer to all these points I have posed. The Contadora Group and the Support Group are attempting to find a peaceful resolution of the problems created by Nicaragua and its mentors. This means a comprehensive regional solution subject to a reliable verification procedure and with obligations placed at the same time on all of the participants, not just on those who are threatened by the swollen military forces and destabilizing actions of the Sandinista régime. This also means simultaneous internal reconciliation in accordance with democratic processes. If those steps were taken, peace could come to that strife-torn region.

My Government is ready to collaborate in all serious efforts to achieve those objectives.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea, speaking on the subject of the French presence in the Pacific and, in particular, in the territory of New Caledonia, made exaggerated and erroneous remarks that are deliberately hostile to my country. Such remarks from that delegation are not, unfortunately, anything new in this forum. France regrets that the representative of a country with which it wishes to maintain relations of co-operation and friendship should repeat such remarks.

The French delegation has already had occasion to put on record its refutation of such unfounded allegations. We shall therefore refrain from entering into debate with an interlocutor who so clearly and studiously eschews objectivity in his remarks. I would, however, point out to him, among other elementary facts, that the French nuclear tests are not - I repeat, not - being held in the atmosphere, as he would have us understand.

I would also point out to the representative of Samoa that such tests occur on French territory under safe and controlled conditions, as was clearly noted in 1983 in the report of the Atkinson Commission, which was made up of eminent scientists from the South Pacific region itself.

Mr. MELENDEZ (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): In connection with the statements made today by the Nicaraguan delegation, I should like to inform the Assembly that the Government of El Salvador categorically rejects any accusations that El Salvador is somehow being used as a base for interference in the internal affairs of other countries, in particular Nicaragua, or for the supplying of anti-Sandinista forces.

(Mr. Melendez, El Salvador)

He claims that the Salvadorian pilot was in the service of the Salvadorian armed forces. That too is a falsehood. At no time has that person been in the service of the Salvadorian Government. As we all know, the illegal traffic in weapons is outside the control of many countries, particularly small countries such as El Salvador that really do not have enough resources effectively to control this type of activity.

At this time I should like to observe that the Government of Nicaragua perhaps remembers how the Sandinista Government was supplied in the period of the anti-Somoza struggle. None the less, when the Government of Nicaragua says that we are supposed victims and the Government of the United States wants us to be seen as victims of the situation in Central America, well, we can say yes, we are victims of interference in our internal affairs. I can say that because of the many types of activities carried out by the Government of Nicaragua, including the use of its territory to support armed groups in El Salvador.

El Salvador does not consider itself to be an "alleged" victim of interventionist activities; rather, constant events and actions known to the Government of El Salvador and to the international community, and even recognized and affirmed by the President of Nicaragua, constitute a fact of life whose only result has been the continuation of the Salvadorian conflict, which prevents our people from achieving peace and stability and prolongs the tragedy of an entire people, as it has for more than six years.

I should also like to say that a mercenary has no principles, no ethics. That is true of those acting on Nicaraguan territory. Therefore, under pressure, or without any pressure at all, in their own interests they can make statements that affect other countries and will, logically, given the problems existing in Nicaragua and in the Central America region, be used maliciously to try to involve the Government of El Salvador and discredit it internationally.

(Mr. Melendez, El Salvador)

El Salvador is now conducting investigations to determine the facts and to adopt appropriate measures to prevent our territory from being used, now or in the future, as a base for any interference in other countries. That is being done in accordance with our commitment to respect the principle of non-interference pursuant to the principles of the Charter.

I wish to repeat that the President of the Republic, Jose Napoleon Duarte, has made statements to the press in which he has said that there has been no participation on the part of the Salvadorian Government and that the individual concerned was not in the service of our Government. As to the claim that he had identity papers related to the Salvadorian armed forces, well, that could not be the case. Groups that are acting illegally, in causes good or bad, normally do not have any kind of identity papers. That would be true in the case of any foreigner in the same situation elsewhere.

That is why we once again reject any claim that would imply involvement by El Salvador in the recent events in Nicaragua.

Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): I shall be brief, because there will be further opportunities to clarify these matters.

We were not surprised at the statement of the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua before the Assembly, which contained accusations against Costa Rica of the kind that always serve the purposes of the subtle propaganda of Nicaragua, with which we are all familiar.

As the President of Costa Rica recently told the Assembly,

"The Government of Nicaragua has accused my country before the International Court of Justice at the Hague of supposed complicity of my Government in warlike actions from Costa Rica. ...

(Mrs. Castro de Barish, Costa Rica)

"We are going to the Court at the Hague to defend ourselves. We are familiar with the publicity manoeuvres of [Nicaragua]." (A/41/PV.9, p.8)
He said we were tired of the propaganda, and tired of the insincerity behind it.

The President of Costa Rica thus expressed the real state of affairs in an unarmed country, a country that does not seek to arm itself because it does not believe in war or violence or in dominating other countries and does not believe in the supremacy of arms. It believes in peace-making actions such as Contadora. Costa Rica has based its hope for a positive outcome on the diplomacy of Contadora and the Support Group. Costa Rica will continue to support those efforts as long as there is any breath of hope.

It is necessary to struggle to ensure that the thoughts, words and deeds of Governments tally with one another in the world of international affairs. Costa Rica sees that here the gulf between words and deeds has widened in recent years. But at The Hague Costa Rica will have a chance to refute the accusations of the Managua régime.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Since you have been presiding since 10 o'clock this morning, Sir, I should not like to labour the Assembly with further facts. I would simply note that Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975, and in October of that year it became a full and committed Member of the United Nations. In 1978, Papua New Guinea began providing information on the question of New Caledonia to this Assembly. With great difficulty we have set forth the cause for self-determination and independence for the people of New Caledonia today.

There is ample information, with facts and analyses of those facts, and projections based on those facts, to support our belief that New Caledonia is a colonial territory as defined in instruments of this Assembly that have been universally accepted - for instance, the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and resolution 1541 (XV), which speaks of the principles of self-determination. New Caledonia is 20,000 kilometres from France. The people there speak languages that are different from French; they are culturally distinct from French cultural traditions.

As my delegation will be addressing the Assembly under agenda item 19, on the question of New Caledonia, I shall keep further information for the deliberations of this body at that time.

Ms. MAUALA (Samoa): The representative of France quoted yet again the report of a scientific mission regarding France's nuclear testing in the Pacific. He has asserted yet again that these tests are being carried out under unquestionably safe conditions. This is not so. The 1983 mission's report gives no such unqualified assurance. In fact the scientific group made a very short visit and was not able to undertake a comprehensive study of the French nuclear testing programme, and in any event long-term results cannot be predicted. So the conclusion of France that testing can go on indefinitely without damage has absolutely no basis in fact.

I would add that this testing does take place in our region, in the heart of Polynesia, as I pointed out in my statement. The very fundamental point here is that France has no right to impose on the South Pacific a programme of testing nuclear weapons to which we are all totally opposed.

Mr. MARTINEZ ORDONEZ (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation wishes to refer briefly to the remarks made in this Assembly by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Nicaragua. In his statement he produced a number of false statistics pertaining to an alleged increase in the size of the Honduras Army and accumulation of a mass of weapons, some of which have never been heard of in my country. I wish to declare emphatically that those figures do not reflect the truth. However, even if they did, within the pattern of the discussions we have had in the Contadora Group my country has repeatedly stated that it is prepared to set a limit on the armaments of each of the countries so as to make possible fraternal coexistence. It is Nicaragua that does not wish to set such a limit.

As for the number of troops which according to the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, has more than doubled, Honduras has repeatedly stated that it is ready to set the number at a level which would permit peaceful coexistence in Central

(Mr. Martinez Ordonez, Honduras)

America. We reiterate our continuing invitation to Nicaragua to act like us so as to ensure that peace will prevail in Central America.

However, the Nicaraguan Minister does recognize that there is internal peace in Honduras, and he would have to recognize that Hondurans are not fleeing from the situation in our country, because there are no Honduran refugees in any country. Nicaragua could not say the same. My country, with full fraternal generosity, has been sharing its meagre resources with a vast number of thousands of Nicaraguan emigrés who have been crossing our borders precisely on account of the social injustice they have encountered in their own country.

Honduras, on the other hand, reiterates in this Assembly that, if in order to achieve peace in Central America what is needed is that the last international adviser leave our country, Honduras is ready to do so at precisely the same moment when Nicaragua is prepared to act likewise and to sign with us the Contadora agreement within a scheme which would be verifiable and which would set limits on the excessive arms build-up which, with the aid of the Soviet bloc, has been occurring ever since the revolution expelled the dictator Somoza from Nicaragua.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): As the hour is late, I do not wish to tax the patience of the representatives here. Therefore I will not make full use of the exercise of my right of reply. I say this because I do not consider it necessary to respond to the accusations made by countries which, unfortunately, are under the control of others and offer the sorry spectacle of merely repeating the falsehoods uttered by the United States in an attempt to justify to its own people and to the world at large something that is unjustifiable - in other words, its policy of force and aggression against Nicaragua, declared illegal and in violation of the principles of customary international law by the International Court of Justice.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

Unfortunately, a country which has a democratic and peaceful tradition and which could be playing a constructive role - since it is actively involved in the Central American crisis - seems to be embarked on ideological crusades the inflexibility of which give the lie to the pluralism in which it seems to take pride and merely serve the interests of those fanning flames of confrontation and war in Central America.

I say that I am not going to make full use of my right of reply because there are two clear facts that do not require explanation. One is the decision handed down on 27 June of this year by the International Court of Justice, which declares illegal the military and paramilitary activities of the United States against Nicaragua and states that these must cease forthwith. The other fact is the recent incident involving the United States aircraft loaded with weapons which was downed over Nicaraguan territory and the statements made by Eugene Hasenfus, a United States military adviser and crew member, who is today a prisoner in Nicaragua.

The representatives of the United States, instead of coming here to repeat their customary lies and practise disinformation, should be concerned with responding clearly to the Senators and Congressmen of the United States, to various groups of public opinion and to the media in this country, which are all demanding, and rightly so, an explanation with regard to the information given by Hasenfus and the evidence provided by the Government of Nicaragua on the involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon in these operations.

All this leads to a single conclusion: President Reagan and his Administration, in their obsession with fuelling war in Central America, in their policy of aggression against Nicaragua, are violating not only the international legal order but also their own domestic law, thus becoming offenders not only before the international community but also in the eyes of their own people.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

The representative of the United States might also find there an answer to the question that he raised concerning how the contras have been able to survive in recent years even though, it is alleged official United States assistance was suppressed or restricted to humanitarian aid.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last representative speaking in exercise of the right of reply. As I have said, we have concluded the general debate.

At the conclusion of this general debate, I should first like to thank all delegations for the co-operation they have extended to the Chair, a co-operation that has taken tangible form in that we have concluded the debate one meeting early and all speakers were able to take the floor on the days listed, without recourse to excessive extension of meetings or the scheduling of night meetings. I have been impressed by the seriousness of purpose and the constructive attitude evinced in the debate, as well as such innovative attempts to cut both costs and time as those shown by Angola and the United Kingdom. Perhaps others may wish to consider taking similar action in the future, not only for next year's general debate but perhaps during the deliberations on other issues at this session.

We have heard 12 Heads of State, as well as 137 other speakers, of whom seven were Prime Ministers, eight were Deputy Prime Ministers, three were other Ministers and 103 were Foreign Ministers.

(The President)

No doubt what has been said will have great bearing on our succeeding deliberations. I have been particularly impressed by the widespread recognition of the fact that our Organization faces a critical time and that Members must face the current challenge with seriousness of purpose and determination to ensure that this session leads to a more effective, credible and useful instrument to advance the purposes of the Charter.

We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 9.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Following consultations, it is my understanding that there is general agreement that morning plenary meetings should begin at 10 a.m. instead of 10.30 a.m. in order to ensure effective organization of the work of the Assembly.

If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.