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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 1 October 1987, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

later: Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. KOUASSI (Togo)
(Vice-President)

- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Garcia Velasco (Ecuador)
Mr. Filali (Morocco)
Mr. Al-Nuaimi (United Arab Emirates)
Mr. Sipaseuth (Lao People's Democratic Republic)
Mr. Barrow (Belize)
Mr. Johnson (Liberia)
Mr. Jackson (Guyana)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. GARCIA VELASCO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you most sincerely on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-second session. I am convinced that under your wise leadership the Assembly will reach the satisfactory results all Member States expect and seek.

Allow me also to congratulate the President at the forty-first session, Ambassador Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, whose recognized ability and dedication enabled him to succeed in the difficult tasks he performed.

We also extend our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and applaud him for his effective and selfless endeavours at this complex juncture in international relations, particularly the diligent help he extended to my country in the grave circumstances experienced by Ecuador as a result of the disastrous earthquake in March of this year.

In this Hall countless highly authoritative voices have said much, if not all there is to say, about the peoples' desire for peace, security and economic and social improvement. Ecuador wishes to state that it shares and warmly supports those statements, and it expresses the hope that the forty-second session of the General Assembly will excel in upholding these oft-repeated and universally acknowledged truths.

I wish to highlight certain concepts that are dear to Ecuador in connection with the most important issues debated here and explain the reasoning and attitude behind Ecuador's international policy, one that is constant with ethical and

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legal standards which cannot fail to nourish the values and aspirations of all men of good will and whose application in good faith could bring about the noble objectives of justice, peace and development.

In his recent message to the National Congress on 10 August, the President of the Republic of Ecuador stated that last year had

"witnessed the organic consolidation of a serious international policy, based on ethics and the sound principles of international law; open to co-operation on all valid initiatives in favour of peace, disarmament, justice, human rights and development; inspired by the will to maintain relations with all States of the world, in a spirit of respect and meaningful co-operation."

Those words by the President of Ecuador summarize the basis of our international policy and faithfully reflect Ecuador's actions within the world Organization, whose ideals enshrined in the Charter have, unfortunately, often been contradicted by the harsh reality of international conflicts and their intractable persistence. On the one hand, the politicization which surfaces in practically all the problems dealt with by the Security Council and the General Assembly and, on the other hand, the tendency for the international community to judge those problems, not always on their own merits, but in the light of group, if not individual, interests, reduce the effectiveness of the system and deprive it of the authority that all its decisions should carry.

Given the circumstances in which international relations are evolving and the growing complexity of an ever more interdependent world, it is necessary and urgent for the United Nations to become the effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security that was envisaged at its inception. This transformation requires the concerted efforts of all its organs and all the

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Governments of the Member States, which should disregard possible ideological victories and strive to arrive at practical results for the solution of conflicts in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, which offers genuine possibilities to this end, for instance the provisions of Article 33 on the peaceful settlement of disputes.

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Ecuador has participated and will continue to participate in the building and consolidation of international law, which is constantly growing and diversifying. This reflects our feeling that peace is based on the supremacy of law, which is valid as an invariable rule of conduct for all countries, powerful or weak. No one will fail to notice the existence of a cause and effect relationship between the law and the obligation of States to refrain from the use or threat of force. In this regard, the present General Assembly is to consider a draft declaration, on the recommendation of the Special Committee, to improve the effectiveness of this fundamental principle. In spite of the draft declaration's shortcomings, Ecuador will support its adoption, which will represent a reaffirmation of the validity and relevance of a principle that is the logical and inseparable corollary of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

While it is true that one of the most serious problems facing the world is that of the chasm separating the rich from the poor or underdeveloped countries, it is also a fact that the United Nations constitutes what may be the most important means of launching progressive action in the struggle to eliminate or at least reduce those tragic differences.

The International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development, which met here just a short time ago, requires a mighty effort towards the ideal of the struggle against underdevelopment since, as is acknowledged in the Final Document of the Conference,

"The global military expenditures are in dramatic contrast to economic and social underdevelopment and to the misery and poverty afflicting more than two thirds of mankind." (A/CONF.130/21, para.3)

That fearful spending, amounting to almost a trillion dollars each year, could help eliminate hunger, ignorance, sickness, insecurity and fear in one generation.

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It follows that Ecuador, a country with an undeniable pacifist mission, is deeply concerned at the unbridled arms race, which involves a sizeable portion of the world. States obviously have a right to preserve their own security, but that logical right cannot and must not justify the costly excesses of acquiring lethal devices that threaten the life and health of large portions of the human population and deplete resources needed for development.

Ecuador is opposed, as it has demonstrated on several occasions, to all attempts at undue stockpiling. It follows that it supports proposals to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones, among which that sponsored by the Treaty of Tlatelolco for Latin America is a good practical example.

Disarmament is an objective essential to the future of mankind. My Government therefore welcomes the news that the Secretary of State of the United States and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union have reached an accord whereby they have agreed in principle to sign a treaty for the total elimination of medium-range missiles.

Ecuador has also learned with satisfaction that intensive efforts will be made to arrive at a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in offensive strategic weapons, that talks are to begin before 1 December on questions relating to nuclear tests and that a summit meeting between President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachev has been agreed for autumn of this year.

This entire process deserves the support of my Government, which understands how difficult the negotiations are and appreciates the value of the efforts made by the parties directly concerned, thanks to which it has been possible to reach this prized objective. Aware that this agreement makes an essential contribution to peace and understanding and helps dispel distrust, the Government of Ecuador expresses the hope that the fruitful work of these great Powers will continue until

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general and complete disarmament is attained, thus giving mankind the confidence it needs to move forward towards achievement of its well-being.

The inestimable gift of peace is being seriously affected in various parts of the world. In the Middle East, in Africa and in Central America, death and devastation are present. Each day, many innocent human beings are the victims of wars and of guerrilla and terrorist acts in which they are caught up by the cruel force of fate.

Yet, despite their painful train of horror and tragedy, such events are of small significance compared to a nuclear holocaust which, regrettably, represents a dire threat to the very survival of mankind.

Never has such great responsibility rested on any group of countries as that which today falls on the nuclear Powers. It is necessary and urgent that they hear and respond to the anguished call to bury these unspeakable weapons - a call that springs from the elementary right to life of millions of human beings.

Moreover, conventional disarmament, still slow and scarcely regional in scope, should also progress in step with the concern of the international community, which is searching for collective peace and security. This, however, will not easily be achieved so long as there remain political antagonisms, extremist ideologies and the serious economic crisis that besets the great majority of the Members of the Organization.

Peace cannot prosper without the peaceful and just solution of the problems existing between States. Faithful to its constant policy of firm respect for the norms of international law and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, Ecuador reiterates its resolve to maintain and strengthen friendly relations with all nations, and most particularly with its neighbours, in order thus to contribute to the progress and well-being of peoples who were meant to live

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in unity and understanding, thereby creating a favourable climate for the just, peaceful and honourable solution of territorial or other disputes that divide them.

Latin America has just demonstrated its political will to move forward and deepen the process of integration. Every day we see more clearly the need to agree on policies and to act jointly on many issues of common interest. We all face the challenge of eliminating the differences that separate us and strengthening the ties that bind us. Territorial problems also infringe on the spirit of brotherhood which we want to strengthen, and their solution by legal means will definitively clear the way to understanding.

In Latin America, there is a strengthening and growing climate of solidarity and a firm determination to apply joint efforts to development. There is an increased firmness in the spirit of unity which expresses itself as a thirst for integration and a determination to achieve co-operation and friendship. This implies the establishment of a climate of trust, the laying of solid foundations for justice and a determination to move towards the settlement of disputes. The rest will be achieved because we are aware of a shared destiny and are determined to achieve the well-being of our peoples.

The growing dimension of the crisis resulting from the enormous debt of the developing countries is well known, as are its grave consequences for their capabilities in the short, medium and long term and the real risk it poses to their political and social stability. The road to growth of their economies is blocked by the difficulties and cost of foreign credit and by the closing of markets to their new production. The stifling of their economies warns of repercussions still graver than at present. That is so clear that it would be absurd for creditors to fail to understand their joint responsibility in solving a problem of such magnitude that it will, if left unsolved, drag along with it debtors and creditors alike.

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To avoid this, a clear and courageous decision is called for on the part of the creditor Powers to make good their political will and to make a significant contribution to the basic development of the debtor countries. Multilateral projects administered by the United Nations must be increased, along with credits and technology transfers, with special emphasis placed on the opening of the markets of the industrial countries in both East and West to the products and raw materials of the developing countries through the removal of restrictive barriers which create unjust situations and jeopardize the economic, political and social stability of the latter countries.

Ecuador's international policy is firmly based on respect for human rights and on their promotion and universal protection. We have pointed out that the general nature of the standards of protection of such rights cannot be distorted by selective and discriminatory criteria inspired by reasons of politics or ideology.

We advocate the need to improve the international machinery for monitoring human rights in all countries of the world. We maintain that the international bodies inquiring into the human rights situation must consider it independently of political systems in order to avoid discriminating against certain countries while keeping silent about what happens in others. We believe it is necessary to create conditions for the true exercise of rights, taking into account the requirements of well-being, culture and health. The denial of such rights, whether within a country or internationally, is an infringement of justice and renders freedom illusory, while weakening the democratic nature and social and political stability of countries experiencing deep-seated development problems. We consider the right to development to be an inalienable human right.

At sessions of the General Assembly the delegation of Ecuador has abstained in the voting on draft resolutions condemning only certain countries, and has stressed

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the need to seek new mechanisms to ensure impartiality and universality in dealing with this matter.

Particular mention deserves to be made of my country's absolute rejection of that violation of human rights that exists and persists so shamefully in South Africa in spite of the countless appeals and words of condemnation that have been and are being voiced within this Organization. I am referring to the detestable system of apartheid. The burden of inhuman racial discrimination which it imposes must be removed for the sake of the dignity, equality and brotherhood of man.

Ecuador respects the rights of human beings, men and women, and condemns all discrimination, be it based on sex, religion or race, or on nationality and political ideology.

It is incumbent upon Governments to make a gigantic effort to resolve the socio-economic problems besetting the developing societies, small societies in particular. This takes time. It is not possible fully to satisfy the just demands for a way of life that affords the rights inherent in human dignity so long as such basic issues as education, health and housing are, for the most part, financed with capital from abroad and, therefore, dependent upon the co-operation of the international financial centres.

The neglect of long-deferred needs creates social tension and disorientation in certain sectors. It must be acknowledged that when violent and extremist groups are present, alienated from organized society and disoriented with respect to the future, they form nuclei that proliferate with the help of organizations in other countries.

For this reason the problems of urban violence and guerrilla warfare do not as a rule concern one country alone. In Ecuador we aspire to preserve social peace, which, fortunately, we have managed to preserve. We are, nevertheless, aware of the danger that the presence of guerrillas in other countries represents. My

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country is particularly interested in joining those countries in an effort to eradicate that wretched evil, which is often linked to drug trafficking. This is another cause for social alienation to which my country also calls the attention of the international community, and we state our sincere wish to contribute to the fight against those evils.

Terrorism and drug trafficking have aroused the concern of the United Nations and of such regional bodies as the Organization of American States. Ecuador is a member of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs and has signed several conventions on the same subject, with the United States, Colombia and Peru. Moreover, it is actively co-operating with the Andean Group's Convention on Drug Trafficking and the South American Agreement on Narcotics, drawn up by international bodies to which it belongs. With the recent International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking the international community took a step forward in the struggle against this grave danger that threatens it. Averting this danger will require a firm decision on the part of the drug-producing countries, as well as the persistent and effective action of consumer countries, which are a source of incalculable revenue for this international crime.

Ecuador takes this opportunity to reiterate its firm determination to maintain close relations of friendship, co-operation and understanding with all nations. The Government of Ecuador reaffirms its decision to continue to co-operate with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and will work for the preservation of the principles of autonomy and impartiality which prompted its establishment. We consider that the action of the non-aligned countries must reflect true independence and an endeavour to maintain international peace and security and to promote the economic and social development of members of the Movement.

What I have said does not imply any intent to detract from the overall authority of the United Nations to the advantage of the groups established

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within the Organization. As one of its founding Members, Ecuador maintains its unfaltering faith in the principles and purposes that inspire the United Nations and, for that reason, it has always held that universality is an essential condition for its efficiency and success.

Consequently, Ecuador would welcome, for instance, the admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations without prior conditions for their admission. It also views as positive the efforts to work out bilateral agreements leading to understandings in favour of the Korean people, of international peace and of co-operation.

Ecuador's devotion to peace is reflected in its persistent adherence to the principles and resolutions of the world Organization to preserve or restore peace. It therefore expresses its unstinting support for the efforts to end the cruel war between Iran and Iraq and, in particular, for the Secretary-General's tireless efforts in this respect.

To the same purpose, and in support of all initiatives for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, we reiterate our backing for Contadora and its Support Group, in their attempts to arrive at solutions to the Central American crisis and avoid the outbreak of a general war. We believe that the solution requires the political will of all parties, that it is necessary to make constant efforts and not to exclude opportunities for negotiation, that it is essential to obtain the withdrawal of foreign forces and to rid the situation of the explosive ingredients of East-West confrontation. We also consider that the existence of an authentic democracy in the region will make understanding possible among countries and Governments and help overcome the distressing problems of the area. For this reason Ecuador has welcomed with hope and satisfaction the agreement signed by the five Central American countries on 7 August last in Guatemala, which opens the way to peace, democracy and freedom for that group of sister countries.

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When, in October 1986, the British Government declared a 150-mile exclusive zone round the Malvinas Islands, the Ecuadorean Foreign Ministry made known its opposition and, having reiterated its support for the Argentine claims, declared that such illegal actions make it difficult to arrive at a favourable climate for holding negotiations which would guarantee peace in the region and allow for the conversion of the South Atlantic into a zone of co-operation and understanding.

In the same vein, at the previous session of the General Assembly, Ecuador supported the draft resolution introduced by Brazil, aimed at ensuring the maintenance of peace in the South Atlantic, and backed the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Ecuador unswervingly rejects any occupation of territory by force. It has repeatedly expressed this rejection, in such cases as those of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cyprus, Namibia and the Middle East, and supported resolutions of the world Organization condemning them.

Ecuador's policy has been equally unswerving with regard to affirming the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Our resolute anti-colonialist attitude has been clear at all times, and today we reiterate this line of conduct more particularly in the case of sorely tried Namibia. The use of force does not create rights and intervention must be prohibited in international relations.

As for outer space, Ecuador and its Government reiterate on this occasion the position they have maintained regarding the geostationary orbit and the frequency spectrum. Such resources are to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all peoples, in particular those of the developing countries, notably the equatorial countries that claim special obligations and rights over the segments of the orbit spanning their territories.

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Ecuador welcomed the requests to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly two new items relating to co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States and between the United Nations and the Latin American Economic System. My country vigorously supports the inclusion of these items, since it considers that it is high time for close collaboration to be established between the United Nations and the Organization of American States, the oldest regional organization, which was a source of inspiration at the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Over its 42 years of existence the United Nations has had to face harsh conflicts, serious differences among its Members, overweening ambitions, ideological struggles and breaches of the peace and well-being in various parts of the world. In carrying out its activities the Organization has occasionally met with bureaucratic and financial difficulties which, starting at the previous session of the General Assembly, are being reformed and corrected. But we are also bound to acknowledge important achievements in many areas of multilateral relations.

In this unreplaceable forum, angry words have been heard from time to time, but we have also listened more often to words of peace, conciliation and hope. Let the latter be the words that prevail in future, inspired by faith in the United Nations and by the peoples' will to build a fraternal world of progress and well-being.

Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco I should like, first of all, to express our most sincere and heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We are convinced that at this crucial juncture for the future of our Organization your eminent qualities as a statesman, your long experience and your deep knowledge of the complexity of international

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relations are great assets for the successful conclusion of our work. Be assured of the full and complete co-operation of the Moroccan delegation, in a spirit of responsibility and pragmatism, in order to respond positively to the hopes of the community of nations for progress at each session of the General Assembly in the cause of peace, stability and harmony among peoples.

We take this opportunity to pay warm tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, who carried out his mandate brilliantly during the past session, allowing our Organization to bridge a particularly difficult moment of its history.

We must pay a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has constantly and tenaciously pursued his praiseworthy efforts to settle the many ongoing conflicts and prevent the emergence of new conflicts. We express our gratitude and pledge firm support for his initiatives.

Finally, to Ambassador Joseph Reed, a long-standing friend and former Ambassador of the United States to Morocco, who has recently assumed new duties in United Nations Secretariat, we wish full success, convinced as we are that he will carry out his new functions with the same dynamism and effectiveness he displayed while in Morocco.

It is unsettling to observe that despite the efforts being made by so many men and women of goodwill throughout the world, we continue to have such a disquieting image of the world that the most determined among us could at any time sink into the depths of despair.

Wars that could never be justified are raging at the four corners of our planet, the most blatant forms of terrorism are daily expanding to hitherto

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well-guarded bastions, the disparity between the wealthy and the poor nations is increasing with nothing in sight to break this intolerable cycle.

Yet, more than 40 years have elapsed since the creation of the United Nations; during that time it has so borne the hopes of all those who believe in a better world that no shortcoming in the present-day world fails to reflect upon our Organization, casting on it a discredit that is often undeserved but that some do not hesitate to stir up for selfish and purely opportunistic motives. The most elementary honesty requires us to proclaim that such discredit is all the more unfair since the United Nations, despite numerous difficulties and hurdles, has in four decades accomplished much for world peace and the advancement of mankind.

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Nevertheless, the future of our Organization remains very disquieting. Sufficient financial resources and political determination on the part of Member States are too often lacking.

A few positive steps have indeed been taken. During the last session the General Assembly adopted resolution 41/213, the purpose of which was to improve the efficiency of the administration and financial functioning of the United Nations. The adoption by consensus of that text was a reflection of the common faith in the irreplaceable role of our Organization. The Secretary-General has used all the means at his disposal to rationalize working methods, reduce expenditure and increase the efficiency of the Organization. We are therefore justified in formulating the hope that his efforts will receive increased support from Member States, which should show greater respect for their commitments, thereby enabling our Organization to face the changes in the international community and the new challenges of the modern world.

The Kingdom of Morocco will remain faithful to all its obligations and do its utmost to further the objectives and increase the credibility of our Organization. It was in that spirit, and in order fully to shoulder its share of responsibility to the international community, that my country this year put forward its candidacy to fill for the next two years the seat on the Security Council allocated to northern Africa, in accordance with the principle of rotation which has always prevailed within the regional groups. We hope thus to have a further opportunity to continue to make our contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Many centres of tension persist throughout the world, despite the warnings given and the appeals to reason made every year from this rostrum.

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The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq, which is now entering its eighth year, continues to spread destruction and suffering among the populations concerned. That war, which every day further depletes the capabilities of the two warring countries, is gravely threatening the future of the whole region by masking the real problems and giving rise to new sources of instability in a geographical area extending from the eastern Mediterranean to the banks of the Arabian-Persian Gulf.

In July 1987 the Security Council, in adopting unanimously resolution 598 (1987), provided a historic opportunity for the restoration of peace and security to the region. The Council followed the path of reason and wisdom when it implemented the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, which are at the core of the whole system of collective security and permit the Council, once the diagnosis of a breach of the peace has been established, to demand the extinction of the fire by the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized borders. That is a necessary preliminary to any appropriate action to deal with the crisis in all its aspects and to the just, honourable and lasting settlement already called for, unfortunately to no avail, by resolution 514 (1982), of 12 July 1982.

Those compulsory measures, which are "without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties" in the terms of Article 40 of the Charter, should be implemented without delay, to ensure that the credibility of our Organization and the relevance of the key provisions of the Charter are not undermined. We welcome Iraq's acceptance of resolution 598 (1987) and strongly urge Iran to respond to the expectations of the international community as clearly expressed by the unanimous vote of the members of the Security Council.

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In that spirit, His Majesty King Hassan II, in a message to the Heads of State or Government of the Islamic community stated the following:

"Islam is above all unifying and tolerant and that should be and should remain its mission. We should therefore seek all the available means of strengthening our unitary determination while respecting our diversities."

We pay a tribute once again to the indefatigable and unceasing efforts undertaken in that spirit by the Secretary-General to reconcile the different points of view and create conditions favourable to a constructive dialogue.*

The fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq has overshadowed the Middle East tragedy and the tragic situation of the Palestinian people, who have been subjected for the past 40 years to exile and foreign occupation. The sacrifices made by that people can be measured only by the sufferings and deprivation it has undergone, and nothing can disguise them or silence the poignant appeal for justice to be done - justice in the form of the right to self-determination, to a homeland and to an autonomous State.

Is it not an anachronism that the sons of Abraham, the children of a land that is the melting pot of the most flourishing civilization in the history of mankind, should be tearing each other apart, with contempt for the values that are the foundation of their very existence? Is it not time to go back to the path of wisdom and of the future outlined by the regional organizations, such as the Arab League in Fez in 1982 or the United Nations in its many resolutions? The just,

* Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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lasting and global solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict can be found by convening an international conference, with the full and complete participation of all the parties concerned and of the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Middle East crisis has engulfed in its turmoil the Lebanese people, which daily experiences the horrors of war and intolerance, whereas it was once a people envied by many, a perfect model of cohabitation and the coexistence of communities and religions. On the basis of its solidarity with the Lebanese people, the Kingdom of Morocco calls for the cessation of all foreign interference in that country, so that it can undertake the exciting task of reconstruction and regain the bases of national harmony.

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The seeds of conflict are sown and they germinate each time a people is subjected to foreign domination or to a discriminatory system that assails the dignity and fundamental rights of human beings and is therefore intolerable. That is the reason for the explosive situation imposed by the South African régime upon southern Africa, a situation that threatens the peace and security of the whole continent. While history teaches us that apartheid, which is a blatant challenge to the conscience of humanity, is condemned to disappear, wisdom requires us to take all the necessary measures to precipitate its fall and thereby save many innocent human lives. It is therefore high time for our Organization to use the complete arsenal of provisions available in the Charter to compel compliance with the Charter's objectives and most essential principles.

The Namibian people remain under the domination of apartheid and South African foreign occupation despite the adoption some 10 years ago, of Security Council resolution 437 (1978), which set forth the United Nations plan for that Territory. The determination of the international community should remain strong if unconditional implementation of that plan in its entirety is to be obtained. The Kingdom of Morocco resolutely stands by the Namibian people, to which we renew our full support for the realization of their legitimate aspirations to independence and territorial unity.

My country, striving to preserve the coexistence of all people and the respect due to the identity of each, has always supported the right of each people to choose its own political, economic and social régime without outside interference. It therefore renews its call for the evacuation of foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan so as to allow the peoples of those countries freely to decide their destiny.

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Central America is not absent from our concerns. Thus we support and will continue to support the efforts of the Contadora Group aimed at bringing peace and stability to that region on the basis of non-interference and co-operation among the countries concerned. We earnestly hope that the peace plan put forward by President Arias of Costa Rica and his Central American peers will succeed in fostering harmony among all the countries of the region, to which we are bound by common and deep ties of friendship and co-operation.

As a State bordering one of the most important maritime waterways - the Straits of Gibraltar, which links the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean - Morocco understandably closely follows the situation in the Mediterranean. The strategic situation of that maritime waterway and the extremely sensitive character of that area with respect to the peace and security of the entire Mediterranean basin call for special attention to the remaining sources of tension. Morocco is deeply attached to the virtues of dialogue and will pursue its chosen path with persistence and determination in order to solve outstanding disputes through concerted action. The sensitivity, the strategic importance and the vulnerability of the area call for us to combine our energies so that the Mediterranean may become a harbour of peace and prosperity for the countries on its north and south shores.

Driven by that conviction, Morocco participated actively in the meeting of non-aligned Mediterranean countries held in Brioni last June, which decided to establish the bases for dialogue between countries of the northern and southern Mediterranean. It was apparent that the security of the Mediterranean cannot be considered separately and that the problems it raises require comprehensive treatment by all the coastal States.

In this regard, Morocco notes with satisfaction the agreement in principle reached between the United States and the Soviet Union to remove

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short- and medium-range missiles from Europe. That represents important progress, but it should be extended to include the missiles carried by the fleets in the Mediterranean.

Security and development are intimately linked. But while world security continues to preoccupy, it must unfortunately be acknowledged that in the field of development the 1980s is a lost decade. The world economy continues to sink into an unprecedented structural crisis. International trade is undergoing the strongest protectionist pressures since the Great Depression of the 1930s. On the one hand, markets for commodity goods have been experiencing an unparalleled historic set-back for the past 50 years; on the other, the international financial system is threatened by bankruptcy under the pressure of the overwhelming burden of debt. This situation, which translates in real terms into a lower standard of living in developing countries, cannot persist without affecting the stability of those nations, and thus further compromising their development efforts.

Therefore, the struggle for development is not only the most important economic and social issue of our time; it is also a major political problem confronting the international community. It is thus urgent rapidly to engage in restructuring the world economic environment with a view to replacing the present relations, which are mostly based on domination, with linkages based on interdependence and genuine solidarity among all members of the human race.

In this respect the external debt crisis is a major test that may prove fatal if a global approach, based on shared responsibility, is not taken in solving this problem, not only in with regard to its immediate technical and accounting aspects, but also with regard to its longer term political and social implications.

It should be realized that in Latin America, as well as in Africa, the excessive burden of external debt servicing has become unbearable, and in many cases a sizeable part of the debt is already irrecoverable.

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I should like here, in the name of my country, to invite creditors from developed countries to show the necessary political will and a reasonable view of their own interests by lifting their customs barriers, by lowering their subsidies for agricultural exports, by supporting the commodities market and by increasing their public development assistance and ensuring an adequate flow of financial resources to developing countries during the present period of macro-economic restructuring.

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This endeavour should necessarily lead, on the basis of resolution 41/202 and the Final Document of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), to an agreement on debt-restructuring and new formulas for rescheduling, repayment and terms, including the reduction of real interest rates and the stabilization of exchange rates.

In Africa, where many countries still experience chaotic situations, coupled with natural disasters, such as the drought that plagued the countries of the Sahel, the struggle for mere survival has replaced every hope of development. Faced with deterioration in the economic environment, the debt burden and demographic pressures, there are in Africa, according to the World Bank, about 15 countries threatened with outright bankruptcy.

Yet 1987 will undoubtedly be an historic year for the African continent since for the first time more than half of the countries of the region have commissioned themselves to a liberalization process of their economic systems. Unfortunately, those reforms are taking place under unfavourable national conditions marked by structural handicaps and an inhospitable international environment.

As I stated last year, and must reaffirm today, in spite of a few praiseworthy initiatives undertaken by some donor countries on a bilateral basis and by some institutions of the United Nations system at the multilateral level, on the whole, the response of the international community is not always commensurate with its common responsibility, or consistent with the tragedy of a continent crippled by its debt and cruelly affected by its recovery efforts.

However, I hope, that halfway through the evaluation of the Programme of Action for the Economic Recovery and Development of Africa the negative predictions will be contradicted by facts and the next session of the General Assembly will not be for our continent a meeting of betrayed hope.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

In our sub-region of the Maghreb, Morocco has never stopped working for a brighter future full of promise. At this juncture of emerging political and economic groups, it is inconceivable to imagine the future of the Maghreb countries without unity. The future of the peoples of the region, the fulfilment of their aspirations for progress and stability, will only be reached within the framework of Maghreb solidarity and unity. Since the dawn of our independence, the setting up of a unified Maghreb has been and remains a constant goal of our foreign policy because Morocco, which is an inseparable part of the region, entrusts its future to the global destiny of the Arab Maghreb.

Aware of this requirement, the Governments of the Maghreb countries began to follow that path shortly after attaining their independence by setting up common institutions of co-operation in various areas of the economic and social sectors. The first decade of the functioning of these Maghreb institutions was promising in this regard and to a large extent responded to the will and wishes of the peoples of the region, forged out of an age-old common history and a community of religion, culture, civilization, traditions and language. The first accomplishments of this institutional Maghreb co-operation led to an increase in the exchange flows and the launching of unified programmes that benefited all countries of the region, while allowing for the possibility in future of initiating common negotiations with other groups made of industrialized countries on the other side of the Mediterranean.

In our view, the Maghreb countries should give absolute priority to solving all existing disputes so as to open the way decisively to inevitable regional integration and in turn meet the many challenges ahead and face up to the technological and economic competition that will intensify within the Mediterranean region in coming years.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Morocco, for its part has spared no effort to bring about good understanding and harmony between the countries of the region. Thus, we have always favourably responded to all attempts at mediation and conciliation made by leaders of friendly and brother countries aimed at restoring the climate of calm and understanding inherent in the relations among the countries of the region.

We should like to take this opportunity to pay the highest tribute to the Guardian of the Holy Sanctuaries, His Majesty King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who played an important role in bringing together two sister countries, Morocco and Algeria, and whose efforts culminated in the meeting he attended between His Majesty King Hassan II and President Chadli Benjedid last May on the Algerian-Moroccan border. That meeting resulted in a renewed dialogue between our two countries which, we hope, will further contribute to improving permanently the state of our relations, dispelling all misapprehensions and settling all outstanding disputes.

Within the framework of its constant readiness to work towards the elimination of all hotbeds of tension in our sub-region, the Kingdom of Morocco last year expressed its support here for the good offices initiative undertaken by the Secretary-General of our Organization to reach a just and equitable solution of the so-called question of Western Sahara through a referendum on self-determination. That initiative has just taken a decisive step forward, since the Secretary-General decided on 24 September that a United Nations technical mission will visit the territory in the coming weeks. Mr. Perez de Cuellar has entrusted this mission with the task of gathering the necessary technical information and data available on the spot to enable him to formulate proposals designed to facilitate the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara.

It is a fact that the Kingdom of Morocco favourably and promptly responded to the Secretary-General's wishes when, a few months ago, he made known his intentions

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

to dispatch United Nations experts to the territory, so that he would be fully informed, on an impartial basis, of the actual situation on the spot. My country will do its utmost to facilitate the task of the technical mission and give it all means to exercise its prerogatives fully. According to common practice, this technical mission should be able to operate freely and without hindrance.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

It is up to the Assembly to give full and unfettered support to the Secretary-General and to his work in order to ensure the future success of the good offices initiative and thereby promote a final settlement of this issue. In so doing, we will, at the same time, have strengthened the credibility of our Organization and helped restore a climate of harmony and peace in the Maghreb region.

True, the state of the world does not inspire optimism. It is none the less also true that the solutions to the many challenges we have to face at the end of this century cannot be found in defeatism and discouragement. Through concerted action and the affirmation of our solidarity, many problems may be solved and many difficulties overcome.

Dialogue, joint action and solidarity should be made the primary virtues of our Organization. It is only through such endeavour that the roots of the tree of life will continue to nourish the progress of humanity. This is the lesson in wisdom, learned from the more than 40 years existence of the United Nations. Experience teaches us that we must keep it in mind if we wish to keep alive the flame of hope.

 Mr. AL-NUAIMI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, I am pleased to extend to the President our congratulations on his election to his office at this forty-second session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that with his ability, wisdom and experience he will fulfil his task with great efficiency and distinction.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Humayun Choudhury, for his able leadership and distinguished contributions to the work of the previous session - a session during which the United Nations faced one of its most challenging problems. On

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

this occasion I should like to stress once again our confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and our deep appreciation of the steps he has undertaken to bolster the Organization, and also of the efforts and initiatives he has put forth to solve existing problems and disputes through peaceful means.

In his latest report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General stated from the outset that greater solidarity among nations had been evident in handling serious problems with global implications throughout the past year. He observed:

"This can provide a promising basis for broadened multilateral co-operation and increased effectiveness of the United Nations." (A/42/1, p.2)

While we share this hope and this vision with the Secretary-General, we should like to point out that this year has been characterized by international multilateral actions aimed at settling conflicts through diplomacy or through resort to United Nations organs. We therefore urge that this method be reinforced and that it be given more momentum in order that we may achieve what we all yearn for: international peace and security on the basis of justice, and the attainment of the rights of all people without discrimination.

Far from being new, our call is based on the principles and convictions that guide the foreign policy of our country. Foremost among these is our commitment to the United Nations Charter, our support for the United Nations organs, and our unshakeable belief in the peaceful settlement of conflicts between States.

Our very nature makes our commitment to the Charter even firmer. Being a small developing country, we believe that adherence to the principles of the Charter by all States, especially those which have special international responsibilities, is the only effective guarantee of our security.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

Because of our experience as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, we cannot but emphasize the need to strengthen the system of collective security and enhance the role of the United Nations, including use of the Security Council on a more regular basis and resort to it for preventive measures. Moreover, we should make use of the Council as a forum for negotiations on outstanding international problems. The Council should also convene at the highest possible level in order to discuss at length, and with fairness and detachment, the causes underlying the United Nations failure to implement the functions provided for in the Charter. These functions embody the essence of international organization, in that they reflect the desire of the international community to have a world in which equality and justice reign supreme, unhampered by war and armed conflicts.

The Iran-Iraq war has entered its eighth year. Far from abating, the war has expanded over the past twelve months or so in a manner that has ramifications not only for the two warring parties but for others also. Military fleets and vessels are as numerous and ubiquitous in the Gulf waters as commercial vessels. If this portends anything, it is the danger that threatens international shipping, and the feeling of fear and tension engendered by the spiralling escalation of the war. The events of the last few days should serve as a stern warning of other battles that may erupt, with inestimable and uncontrollable results.

This tragic development gave rise to lengthy negotiations and to concerted efforts with a view to containing the ongoing war by pursuing a political settlement. Finally, international efforts bore fruit and the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 598 (1987). Jointly with other members, notably the non-aligned States, my country participated in the efforts that led to the adoption of that resolution. Not only is the resolution balanced, but it also takes into account the legitimate interests of the two parties in the conflict.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

Like the other members of the Security Council and the world in general, we believe that Security Council resolution 598 (1987) outlines an integrated approach to ending the war and settling all outstanding problems between the two warring parties by peaceful means. Furthermore, the resolution represents a unique, historic opportunity for a peaceful and just settlement of the conflict. We strongly urge everyone to take this opportunity.

The Secretary-General's visit to Iran and Iraq, coupled with his tireless efforts and the discussions he had with the two parties, enhanced the hope of a political settlement. Needless to say, we are fully aware of how much needs to be done to achieve the objectives that we all cherish. Although we stress the need for maintaining the unified position of the members of the Security Council, we do not believe that this should be at the expense of the implementation of the resolution. In our view, both are of great importance. My country has always been prepared to contribute to all political efforts to bring about a just and peaceful settlement that will safeguard the legitimate interests of the two parties. We have participated in efforts of this nature through different channels. Our efforts in this direction will continue, because peace is a noble cause.

We reject the use of holy shrines for political propaganda, as happened recently in the case of the holy mosque of Mecca Al Mokarama. We also reject the dragging in of parties that have nothing to do with the war, as happened recently with the acts of aggression against our sister State, Kuwait.

With regard to the Middle East, to say that the situation there is at a standstill would be an understatement. Indeed, things have gone from bad to worse. The Israeli forces of occupation are still on Arab land. The Palestinian people are still living in forced exile, scattered all over the world and barred from exercising their rights.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

As far as the tragedy of Palestine is concerned, this year evokes painful memories. Exactly 70 years ago a declaration was made without Palestinian consent. This was the Balfour Declaration, the landmark in the process which led to the emergence of the Zionist State. This year, 40 years have passed since the partition resolution was adopted by the General Assembly. That resolution, which led to the creation of Israel against the backdrop of special international circumstances, was a travesty of law and justice. This year, 1987, also marks the passage of 20 years since Israel completed the usurpation of Palestine and conquered parts of the neighbouring Arab countries.

While we may speak with optimism about the progress achieved this year with regard to international co-operation in the field of the peaceful settlement of conflicts, we can hardly do the same when it comes to the Middle East. All initiatives and attempts to break the stalemate on Middle East problems and the Palestine question have foundered. The prospects of a peaceful and honourable settlement are as bleak as ever, despite the almost universal consensus on the need to convene an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as stipulated in resolution 38/58 G, and despite the efforts of the Secretary-General. In the words of the Secretary-General:

"Unfortunately, it has not yet proved possible to obtain the agreement of all the parties to the principle of an international conference..." (A/42/1, p. 3)

We all know who supports the principle of a peace conference and who does not. So far, Israel and its supporters have resorted to stalling tactics and procrastination.

We wish to underscore once more the right of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to participate on an equal

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footing in any effort to find to a just solution of the Middle East conflict. As we all know, the Palestine problem lies at the heart of this conflict and, a priori, a Middle East peace conference should be convened on the basis of this principle.

In Lebanon, Israel persists in its defiance of the will of the international community. It still occupies parts of Lebanese territory in violation of numerous United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which explicitly call on Israel to withdraw forthwith and unconditionally. In addition Israel interferes directly in internal Lebanese affairs and continues its attacks against Lebanese towns and villages by land, sea and air.

We salute the heroic struggle of the Lebanese resistance against the forces of Israeli occupation, but at the same time we appeal to our brothers in Lebanon to settle their differences and close their ranks so that Lebanon may regain its strength and ensure its freedom and independence.

The situation in southern Africa and the absence of a peaceful settlement there arouse our utmost concern. The reasons for this stalemate are not hard to pinpoint. The white racist minority Government of South Africa tenaciously holds to its apartheid ideology and practices in an attempt to perpetuate its position of dominance and socio-economic affluence. It deprives Namibia of its independence, and employs its war machine in acts of aggression against the African front-line States.

We strongly deplore the system of apartheid of the racist régime in Pretoria, which denies the basic rights of the black majority population, in violation of the principles of the Charter, international law and justice. We also deplore the stalling tactics used by the apartheid régime to prevent the implementation of

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides for Namibia's independence. We oppose with equal vigour the attempts to establish a linkage between the implementation of that resolution and external issues that concern the sovereignty of a neighbouring State. Our support for the noble struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), is as firm as ever. Victory, freedom and independence, we believe, are the fruits that the Namibian people will reap. My country strongly condemns the continued acts of aggression, terrorism and destabilization perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring African States.

Guided by the principle which governs our position with regard to South Africa, my country has always endorsed the draft resolutions submitted to the Security Council with a view to the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against the apartheid régime. This, we believe, is the ideal course of action to force Pretoria to abandon its policy of apartheid.

The central principle underlying the establishment of the United Nations is the preservation of international peace and security to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which in the life-span of one generation had twice inflicted on humanity untold sorrow and pain. That goal will continue to elude us for as long as the arms race persists and the stockpiling of nuclear and conventional weapons continues unabated. It is disarmament on the basis of balanced military reductions that holds the promise of establishing the edifice of peace and preventing war. In view of this, we welcome the recent agreement between the two super-Powers on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and consider it to be an important step on the road to disarmament. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming super-Power summit meeting will help to accelerate this process.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

In this regard we wish to encourage once again the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, in particular in the Middle East. We also reiterate our support for and commitment to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted by the United Nations.

I have outlined in my opening remarks the principles which guide and regulate our foreign policy with respect to international problems. Among the most important are the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, the non-use of force or the threat of force and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

We therefore call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and urge all outside parties not to interfere in the country's internal affairs. The people of Afghanistan should be allowed to choose for themselves the system of government that they desire. We are encouraged by the reports which suggest that the gap between the conflicting parties is narrowing.

The same applies to Kampuchea, whose people have long suffered from the aggression and interference of outside Powers.

It also applies to the crisis-ridden region of Central America. As far as this region is concerned, we support the regional agreement signed on 7 August 1987 by the Presidents of El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras. That agreement contains the principal elements necessary for achieving a stable and permanent peace in Central America.

Concerning Korea, we urge the north and the south to settle their differences through free dialogue unhampered by pressure and pre-conditions. This should defuse the crisis and bring about the unity that the Koreans so earnestly seek. We hope that the Secretary-General will proceed with his mediation efforts so that the differences between the two parties may be overcome.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

With regard to Cyprus, we are saddened by the setback in the attempts to solve this problem. As the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization indicates,

"the state of affairs in Cyprus gives increasing cause for concern ... The possibility of serious confrontations cannot be excluded in the months ahead if present trends continue." (A/42/1, p. 6)

We hope that the Secretary-General will continue his efforts to bring the points of view of the Turkish and Greek communities closer together. The ultimate objective is the achievement of a just, comprehensive and permanent settlement within whose framework security and coexistence will be ensured for the two communities. Such a settlement should also guarantee justice and equal rights for the two communities, as well as the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Federal Republic of Cyprus.

On the international economic horizon the picture is dismal and uncertain. The world economy has slowed down considerably since the first half of the 1980s. Earlier events in 1986 and the first half of 1987 have failed to restore resiliency to the world economy and foster faster, stable growth. Last year's collapse of the price of oil and the steep fall in the value of the United States dollar have not produced the desired results. On the contrary, they have caused concern regarding inflationary expectations and the consequent rise in the interest rates in the industrialized world, weakening further the efforts of the debtor nations to lighten their burdens. Uncertainty over trade deficits in some key industrialized countries have triggered protectionist sentiments, causing anxiety concerning the developing countries' exports. It is important to note here that world prices for primary commodities are at their lowest level in 50 years. As a result, per capita incomes in the developing countries are at their lowest level in the present decade.

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At the centre of this bleak picture lie the world economy's three most pressing problems: exchange rate volatility, protectionism and the debts of the developing countries. They are all closely linked. A high degree of uncertainty with regard to these problems has caused a crisis of confidence among investors, leading to a deterioration in the world economic outlook.

The present situation inevitably gives rise to the question of the ability of the existing international system to cope with these strains. In view of all this, we believe that the existing economic order is not conducive to balanced and equitable development or to just relations of equality among States.

We emphasize that an expansive world economy and sustained economic growth are essential ingredients of the solution of the many complex problems that face the world community. Therefore renewed commitment by all nations and the revival of the North-South dialogue are necessary as the basis for restoring stability to the global economy.

We must therefore continue the efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations on the basis of justice, equality and mutual interest. To this end, the industrial countries must demonstrate a positive attitude and undertake serious negotiations with the developing countries to promote the cause of development. We believe that it is the responsibility of those countries with the greatest influence on the world trade and finance markets to remedy the disarray in the world economy.

The solution of world economic problems will require large and often painful changes in the domestic policies of all countries. It is imperative that the major actors in the world economy overcome their preoccupation with domestic problems, internal disputes over trade and macro-economic problems in the common interest of all nations and the world economy in general.

(Mr. Al-Nuaimi, United Arab Emirates)

The United Nations reflects the hopes and expectations of the peoples of the world for the establishment of a world public order free from wars and confrontations, multilateral or bilateral, and based on the maintenance of peace and security and the realization of justice and equality. In order to achieve these noble goals, the Charter prescribed organs and mechanisms whose functions and achievements depend on solidarity and multilateral co-operation among all States. Several States, especially those with primary responsibilities, have disregarded these facts, which has resulted in a world order that is not in line with the hopes and expectations of those who drafted the Charter. Over the past year signs of a promising means of broadened multilateral co-operation and the utilization of United Nations machinery has started to emerge. Now that a start has been made to move from the sad realities of the past to the promising signs of the present, we hope that in the future those encouraging signs will be transformed into practical realities, thus making our future brighter and more secure.

Mr. SIPASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (spoke in Lao; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like at the outset to congratulate Ambassador Peter Florin on his outstanding election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the present session. In choosing him for that post the international community has paid a tribute both to his excellent qualities as a diplomat and to the tireless efforts of his country, the German Democratic Republic, for peace and disarmament in Europe and throughout the world. My delegation is convinced that under his wise and able guidance the work of this session will be successful.

The Lao delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless and innovative efforts to strengthen regional and international peace and security and to promote and revitalize international economic co-operation for development.

This session is of great significance for us since it coincides with the seventieth anniversary of the great October revolution, which opened a new era in the history of mankind, an era which has created conditions conducive to the national liberation struggle, enabling many peoples to free themselves from colonialism, to attain independence and sovereignty and to become full-fledged members of the community of nations.*

The international climate and environment in which this session is taking place, if not better than at the last session, are none the less characterized by the optimism aroused by the agreement in principle reached recently by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and the Secretary of State of the United States of America on the total elimination of those countries' medium-range and short-range nuclear missiles. The conclusion of such a bilateral agreement would be a very

* Mr. Kouassi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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important initial measure of arms reduction and nuclear disarmament. The enthusiasm with which all mankind has welcomed this positive event is all the more understandable since the unbridled arms race - in particular, the nuclear-arms race - not only damages its well-being but also jeopardizes its very survival. That is a fact that can be a secret to no one.

The Lao Government reiterates its condemnation of any military doctrine seeking security not through disarmament but through military and strategic superiority and nuclear deterrence. Such doctrines ignore the realities of the present-day world, which has become increasingly interdependent and in which, in this nuclear and space age, security can only be global and equal for all countries and peoples, irrespective of their size, their social and economic system and their level of development. It is therefore vital that the international community contribute actively to the development and establishment of a general system of international peace and security encompassing the political, military, economic, humanitarian and ecological fields.

The Lao Government is pleased at the positive results achieved by the International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development, which was held here less than a month ago. The arms race must come to an end on earth and everything possible must be done to prevent its spread to outer space if we want considerable resources to be released and then reallocated to the economic and social development of all peoples, in particular the peoples of the developing countries.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes in that context to reaffirm its support for all the peace and disarmament initiatives put forward to date by the socialist countries, among them the general programme of security for disarmament adopted last January by the Soviet Union with a view to ridding the world of nuclear weapons and all types of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000.

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Democratic Republic)

Many peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America still confront the disastrous consequences of tension and conflict caused by the interventionist and aggressive policies of imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

In southern Africa, the racist régime of Pretoria pursues with impunity its policy of oppression and repression of the black majority population, as well as its acts of aggression against the front-line countries. It is perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia and committing barbaric acts of repression against the Namibian people. The Lao Government reaffirms its unswerving support for the struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa, for the recovery of their basic human rights and for that of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, its sole authentic representative, in its heroic struggle for self-determination and national independence.

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It condemns the policy of so-called constructive engagement and that of linkage, which would bind the independence of Namibia to an unrelated issue: the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. Namibia cannot attain its independence outside the context of the conditions set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Lao Government reiterates its firm support for the front-line States in their persistent struggle to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the Middle East, the situation remains tense. Settlement of the Middle East crisis, at the heart of which is the question of Palestine, cannot be achieved without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. It is regrettable that Washington and Tel Aviv still oppose the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Lao People's Democratic Republic will always unswervingly support the Palestinian people which, under the resolute guidance of the PLO, its sole and authentic representative, is waging a heroic struggle against the Zionist aggressor and occupier for the recovery and exercise of its inalienable rights, including the right to establish its own state in Palestine.

In connection with the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Lao Government welcomes the adoption of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), inviting those two countries to put an immediate end to their devastating hostilities and to begin negotiations with a view to finding a solution that is just and acceptable to the two parties.

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Democratic Republic)

The international community has for some days now been witnessing an aggravation of the situation in the Persian Gulf. The tragic incident that occurred last week is a sad reminder of the incident in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964.

The peoples of Central America have long aspired to live in peace and harmony, in friendship and mutual co-operation.

As regards Nicaragua, tranquillity can be restored only if the Government of the United States of America puts an end to all acts of aggression and destabilization, and ceases opposing the peace process promoted by the Contadora Group and supported by the Lima Group and made explicit in the peace plan adopted by the Heads of State of the five countries of Central America last August in Guatemala.

Panama, whose people has fought unceasingly to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, is also a victim of interference in its internal affairs by the imperialist powers. We continue to support its struggle and the struggles of the other peoples of the region for self-determination, independence and genuine democracy in their respective countries.

The region of south-west Asia has not yet experienced genuine peace. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan remains the victim of an undeclared war waged by the aggressive circles of imperialism and regional and international reactionary forces. We support the Geneva process of indirect negotiations and firmly support the programme of national reconciliation which the Afghan Government adopted at the beginning of this year. If implemented in good faith by all the parties concerned, that programme would make a decisive contribution to a political, comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation surrounding that country.

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Democratic Republic)

The international community is still witnessing the tension that prevails in the region of the Indian Ocean due to the intensification of activities at the Diego-Garcia air and naval base and the strengthening of the imperialist military presence there. It is highly desirable that the international conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, delayed once again because of the hostile attitude of certain countries, be convened no later than 1990.

The situation in Asia and the Pacific also is one of increased tension because of the neo-globalist policy pursued by an imperialist super-Power, which has resulted in the concentration of troops and nuclear arsenals in South Korea and certain other countries of the region. In addition to posing a threat to the peace and security of the peoples of the region, the situation of course jeopardizes their legitimate aspirations to co-operation and well-being.

The Lao Government associates itself with the efforts of the international community to transform the Asia-Pacific region into a nuclear weapon-free zone. In this context, it reaffirms its support for the proposals made by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at Vladivostok in July 1986, for the recent proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for progressive disarmament in the two parts of Korea, and also for the Rarotonga Declaration.

The peoples of South-East Asia, like those of other parts of the world, have long fervently aspired to a happy and prosperous existence free of conflicts and tension. But unfortunately the aggressive forces of imperialism and international and regional reaction have done all in their power to prevent realization of those

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noble aspirations. It is a secret to no one that Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea have worked sincerely for peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia and to make the area a nuclear weapon-free zone. They therefore reaffirm all the constructive and realistic proposals they have thus far put forward toward that end.

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The situation surrounding my country has not yet been one of genuine peace, in spite of the efforts that the Lao Government has made to achieve that end. The two rounds of negotiations held in past months in Vientiane and Bangkok to resolve the question of the sovereignty of the three Lao villages - an issue which the United Nations Security Council considered in 1984 - did not provide any final solutions. Worse still, last August other border incidents occurred in the same region and for the same reasons, thus making the situation at the Lao-Thai border even more tense. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic expresses its deep concern at this situation and, with a view to the restoration of good-neighbourly relations as soon as possible, appeals to the Government of Thailand to show its goodwill by deciding as soon as possible to resume negotiations with the Lao side, as we have proposed.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has firmly pursued its noble cause of national renewal and rehabilitation. The successes that it has won in this long-standing endeavour have been significant. Hence, taking the foregoing into account and moved by a spirit of exemplary generosity, the Phnom Penh Government recently made a public declaration on its policy of national reconciliation, in which all Kampucheans - with the exception of Pol Pot and his close collaborators - without any discrimination whatsoever based on ethnic or social origin, political opinion or religious belief, are invited to unite for the building of a progressive, egalitarian and just society in an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea, enjoying friendly relations with all countries, in particular its neighbours.

In this spirit, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have agreed to carry out in the very near future another partial withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from

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Kampuchea, an operation which representatives of a certain number of Governments, eminent personalities and the mass media will be invited to attend as observers. This policy, which is in line with the general trends of our day and the needs of all Kampuchians who want to see their homeland prosper, deserves the active support of the international community.

It is regrettable that certain countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) persist in supporting the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with its eight-point proposal, knowing full well that that is an unnatural alliance. Internal contradictions, conflicts of interest and squabbles, which are a constant feature of that heterogeneous Coalition, have meant that the latter is at present devoid of leadership. Therefore that Government is nothing but a fiction kept alive by certain countries and circles to serve their own interests by bringing about a return to power in Kampuchea of the genocidal Pol Pot clique. It is time for the leaders of those countries and circles to agree to face the facts and respect, first and foremost, the agreement signed in Ho Chi Minh City in July 1987 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, representing the ASEAN countries, and his Vietnamese counterpart, representing the countries of Indo-China.

Peace and security are meaningful for a people only if accompanied by tangible guarantees of well-being; hence the capital importance that the international community attaches to the economic aspect of security. It must be noted with regret that in this respect the gap between the rich and the poor countries has only widened, and this is due solely to the fact that the developed market economy countries are still refusing to renounce their selfish interests. Has the time not come for them to rethink their shortsighted policy and join in the efforts of the international community to find an effective remedy to the present world economic crisis, from whose harsh impact they, too, suffer?

(Mr. Sipaseuth, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

In this spirit, we recognize that the reasonably positive results of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held last July in Geneva, should temper our pessimism. We are pleased with the harmonious development of relations between our country and essential United Nations agencies entrusted with international co-operation for development. In this regard we pay tribute to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), whose role as a catalyst made possible the success of the Second Round-Table Conference, held under its sponsorship in April of last year.

My country pays tribute to the fervour and dedication with which the United Nations is endeavouring to accomplish its noble task of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security and guaranteeing to all peoples on earth a future of well-being, freedom, justice, equality and prosperity. All those ideals are doomed to failure if we do not participate resolutely and sincerely in the crusade against the socio-economic, political and other ills afflicting the majority of the world's population. Those ills are: poverty; hunger; disease; illiteracy; imperialist; colonialist and Zionist aggression; apartheid; economic plundering; and so on. The elimination of those military and non-military threats to the security of peoples is imperative if we are to fashion progressively a world free of violence and nuclear weapons. New ways of thinking and political reflection - in a word, a new vision of the world - should also be adopted by all the States of the world.

It is in that spirit that the Lao Government undertakes to join in the international community's efforts to create conditions conducive to the building of such a world. The Lao delegation hopes that this guiding principle will be given the attention it deserves at this session.

Mr. BARROW (Belize): I wish at the outset to extend my personal congratulations, and those of the delegation of Belize, to the President on his

unanimous election to his high office at the forty-second session of this Assembly.

He follows in the footsteps of a great diplomat and friend of Belize, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury of Bangladesh, to whom I express sincere appreciation for his untiring efforts to generate harmony among the representatives of the world during the forty-first session.

A special word of thanks is also due Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, our esteemed Secretary-General, whose guidance and statesmanship continue to sustain this Organization in its quest for peace in the world.

Assailed by the criticisms of its detractors and beset by the woes of financial crises, the United Nations system nevertheless continues to articulate the vision of its founders and to provide a moral and practical framework for the ideal of an enlightened world order.

The proliferation of new States and the awesome developments in the technologies of destruction have combined to make the management of international relations a far more complex business than the framers of the Charter could ever have imagined. The challenge for the United Nations system has been to keep pace with the requirements of the contemporary era and to become more than a political talking shop and more than a sprawling and soulless bureaucracy.

It is one measure of its responsiveness to changing circumstances that the United Nations has latterly been examining its financial arrangements in order to make the Organization more viable and to quiet some of the voices of discontent.

My delegation therefore applauds the new consensus mechanism agreed on by the budgetary committee. The arrangements represent a workable compromise which reflects the concerns of the larger contributors while preserving the all-important principle of equality of Member States.

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

We can have no truck with the suggestion that small States should be limited in the exercise of their sovereignty by some diminished status in the United Nations system. Such an idea is antediluvian and regressive in the extreme. The notion of sovereign equality and the principle of majority rule are the very foundations of the moral authority of the United Nations system. And the right of developing countries to use their numerical strength to influence the world view expressed by this forum is the essence of an attempt at global democracy.

Nevertheless, it is a truism that every right carries a corresponding responsibility. Accordingly, the equality principle which informs the conceptual basis of our Organization must go hand in hand with the responsibility principle, which ought to underpin our decisions, resolutions and programmes of action.

The surest way to erode a right is to abuse it. And it is the perceived abuse of the process of majority rule that has generated the fiercest criticisms of this Organization. If the nay-sayers are to be silenced, the force of numbers - particularly in the General Assembly - must be used in an equitable fashion. The temptation to engage in strident and automatic name-calling must also be resisted so as to preserve pristine the moral force of our pronouncements.

Responsibility and restraint must once again form the basis of debate and resolution. Then there will be no room for the argument that those Western democracies whose views do not necessarily coincide with those of the third-world majority would do best to turn their backs on us. We will still be an imperfect institution in an uncertain world, but that admission should spur us all into a search for ways to increase the effectiveness of our Organization, not question its fundamental importance as the embodiment of international ideals.

The United Nations does succeed in playing a moderating role in world affairs by making use of its global recognition and the public relations strength of its imprimatur or sanction. It is churlish not to concede that the United Nations

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has at least ensured that we do not return to the long-abandoned days of avowedly Darwinian international politics. As a small country, Belize understands too well the significance of a truly international forum whose collective authority is the ultimate guarantor of the sovereignty, integrity and dignity of small States everywhere.

We do not expect the United Nations to provide all the answers or to substitute for those necessary bilateral arrangements which must still be concluded directly between developed and developing nations. But we do expect the United Nations generally to advance the interests and ideals of the world community and to endorse, facilitate and aid those national and regional initiatives which sustain the international order.

One such regional initiative that lends itself to United Nations approbation and support is the recently concluded Central American peace plan. That accord has emerged within the context of the Contadora initiative but is fashioned by the five States themselves involved in the Central American conflict. The plan has already advanced the peace process in Central America and has generally been hailed as providing the basis for a workable and just resolution to the region's problems.

It seems to us in Belize that if the future of Central America were to be left entirely in the hands of Central Americans, the agreements reached at Esquipulas could provide a real blueprint for the pacification of the region. But there are, as always, the complicating realities of geopolitics.

Indeed, external interests have already intervened to give an East-West dimension to a conflict whose origins are rooted in local conditions.

In these circumstances, it is clear to my delegation that all of Latin America needs to speak out in support of what is proposed by the region to solve a conflict in the region. External forces acting on the basis of ideological opportunism should not be allowed to defeat indigenous political will. The process of

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democratization in Central America must be worked out in situ, and not according to some received wisdom stamped "Made in the metropole".

The initial promise of success of the Central American peace accord owes much to the determination of the leaders and peoples of the isthmus. That such a breakthrough could have occurred signals the possibilities for solutions to other hemispheric crises.

Belizeans are profoundly concerned that national violence once again threatens to consume the independent Republic of Haiti. We understand the people's determination to participate fully in deciding the future direction of their country, and we are conscious that free and fair elections are the first step along the path to political stability, economic recovery and the reduction of social misery. We therefore urge the Government of Haiti to ensure that the already precarious transition to constitutional rule is not further imperilled.

A return to democracy is also imminent in the Caribbean nation of Suriname. Belize applauds that country's decision to allow international observers to be present at the elections set for November. We hope that the current difficulties can be overcome and the time-table set adhered to, so that political power can be handed back to the people as scheduled.

Of interest to us also is the recent initiative by Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines towards unification of the eastern Caribbean States. While full consultation with the people of those nations would be essential before any proposal for political union could be implemented, there are obvious advantages to be gained from unity.

Better use of regional expertise, a larger market for domestic goods and more effective and less costly representation abroad are all sufficiently important that they should not be countered with automatic and unthinking assertions about the pre-eminence of political independence.

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

In the case of my own Government, we have been encouraged to redouble our efforts to seek an honourable end to the long-standing problem with our neighbouring Central American State of Guatemala.

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After six years of uninterrupted enjoyment of independent nationhood Belize has forged its own international personality and established itself firmly among the nations of the world. There is no room in the contemplation of our continued existence for the encouragement of the pretension to all or part of our territory by another State.

With the passage of time, with the universal acknowledgement of our independent reality and against the background of the democratic transformations emerging in our region, my Government feels that there is now a favourable climate for some degree of normalization to take place in relations between Belize and Guatemala.

I say this despite the fact that the talks which took place in April of this year between the two countries failed to produce a breakthrough. Indeed, the Republic of Guatemala insisted on the cession of Belizean land as the price for a settlement. Comforted by the continuing support which enlightened nations of the world community give us, Belize totally rejected the Guatemalan position.

Nevertheless, we have agreed to continue talking. Developments have taken place in Guatemala which incline us to feel that the April position was no more than a temporary hiccup in the negotiating process and that the formula can still be found for peaceful and active coexistence between neighbours.

We look forward not only to a diplomatic accommodation with Guatemala but also to the economic co-operation that would surely follow. For the preservation and consolidation of political independence fulfil only part of the obligations of sovereign Governments. The quest for national dignity can succeed only when we satisfy the economic needs of our peoples: their need for food, clothing, shelter and jobs.

For its part the young nation of Belize has already embarked upon the process of diversification from mono-crop preoccupations. An expanded and export-oriented

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economic base has been created, and we have widened our commercial relations while narrowing our trade gap. The production of bananas, citrus fruit and cacao has been increased. We have commenced an expansion in tourism, bearing in mind the need to preserve our plural culture and our ecological heritage. We have also continued the balanced exploitation of our forest resources and welcomed a new aquaculture industry, while trying to broaden our maritime fisheries.

But even as we attempt to move ahead we come hard upon the realities of an inequitable international economic order. Markets for our products are unstable, commodity prices are low and protectionism has evolved from a device to a policy.

Recognition of this situation points inevitably to the importance of multilateral co-operation in trade, money and finance and development. The need for strengthening the multilateral process as a means of ameliorating inequities in global economic relations becomes even more imperative when we consider the open advocacy on the part of some donor countries to tie bilateral aid to political conformity.

Barriers to reciprocal trade need to be broken down, and the developed world must open its markets to the developing countries. Only with guaranteed access for their products and realistic terms of trade can small States hope to meet their obligations and establish growth.

A new international economic order would also advance the cause of world peace, for it would remove many sources of national and international tension that have as their underlying causes inadequate responses to basic human needs.

The spectre of the migration of millions of peoples from their native lands, be it in Africa, Asia or Latin America, crossing into neighbouring territories seeking refuge, strains the imaginations and resources of the most well-intentioned. Most of our countries are already struggling with the intractable problem of distributing the limited resources available to our natural

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citizens. But, faced with the greater demands made on those resources by those whose only recourse for survival has been an exodus from their homes, the act of sharing can become almost unbearable.

Conditions must be created to make it an exercisable option for refugees and others deprived of their heritage to return to the land of their birth and fashion their own destiny. Political and economic strategies must be devised to give back the future to those wandering masses.

It is therefore pleasing to note that, for all the criticisms faced by the Organization, a large part of United Nations efforts has been directed towards the salvaging of countries from conditions of ignorance, deprivation and homelessness. Expenditures by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund have brought measurable advantages to peoples all over the world.

When doubts are cast on the usefulness of this body, many States can point to the improved agricultural techniques that have led to an increase in national productivity, to the programmes of education, immunization and sanitation that have improved the quality of life for their citizens and to the new skills and technologies that have enabled their policies to function and survive in the global village. Those are the tangible consequences of the United Nations system from which our constituencies benefit.

Even as we applaud the results of United Nations developmental actions, we bemoan the inefficacy of some of its political pronouncements. In particular we are deeply troubled by the inability of United Nations resolutions to bring any real comfort to the millions of South African blacks suffering under the inhuman yoke of apartheid. The time has surely come for all Member States to agree on the

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measures necessary to exorcise a Pretoria régime that has forfeited any claim to civilized regard.

We appeal particularly to those nations whose conceptions of realpolitik have inclined them to treat as less than urgent the misery of the oppressed. We ask that they act now in helping to extirpate the abomination that is apartheid.

Similarly, the independence of Namibia has been too long denied. Considerations of linkages cannot be allowed to stand in the way of Namibia's freedom, self-determination and dignity.

In the Middle East few would wish to contemplate the horrors that an expanded war in the Persian Gulf would entail. The Secretary-General's call for a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq must be heeded, and other interests would do well to reduce their military presence as one means of allowing United Nations diplomacy to take hold.

Every effort must be made to encourage the process of dialogue in other Middle Eastern affairs. It continues to be our hope that an international peace conference will be able to reconcile the need for a Palestinian homeland with the right of Israel to exist within secure borders.

The attention of the General Assembly shall remain focused on Afghanistan so long as the situation in that tragic country continues to create tensions that threaten international peace. Again, we call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and for genuine attempts at national reconciliation.

The power of self-determination must be conceded to the Afghan people so that the millions who fled their country may soon escape the misery and indignity of refugee life and return to their homeland.

The essential ingredient of the solution to the problems in Kampuchea also involves the withdrawal of foreign troops. In accordance with United Nations resolutions we continue to call for a cease-fire and internationally supervised

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elections as the means to a comprehensive political settlement which allows the Kampuchean people their inalienable right to independence.

The divided Korean peninsula must be reunited, and the process of reunification should take place through direct dialogue and negotiations between North and South Korea. It is imperative that the deeply rooted mistrust and hostilities between the two Koreas be replaced with the understanding and goodwill which are surely not beyond the capacity of a people whose culture is 5,000 years old.

The fact of worldwide drug abuse and illicit trafficking is no less a danger to international order than the prospect of military confrontation and war. The Secretary-General has stressed the need for a concerted, comprehensive and truly worldwide effort to combat the plague of illegal drugs. My own Government has been nationally militant in the fight against narcotics abuse, and we have also joined in the international United Nations-sponsored efforts aimed at eradicating this menace. Earlier this year we hosted a conference designed to produce more effective strategies for regional co-operation.

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Perhaps the greatest threat facing mankind is the possibility of a nuclear Armageddon. Accordingly, we welcome the recent potential breakthrough in the struggle to curb the nuclear arms race. The agreement in principle concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union will for the first time eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons, and perhaps signals a new era of super-Power co-operation in the long journey towards total nuclear disarmament.

The framers of our Charter were no unsophisticated Pollyannas, nor was their vision one of utopian unreality. They conceived a system that combined lofty ideals with functional pragmatism. They devised a mechanism to mediate the competing claims of the just and the strong. They carved a moral landscape out of a barren prospect.

Today, in a strife-ridden world, the United Nations system remains an assertion of our collective being, an affirmation of our humanity. We need to make the system work. We need to make it work or concede our civilization for ever to an encroaching jungle that promises only impenetrable shadows and darkness at noon.

Mr. JOHNSON (Liberia): It is for me a great pleasure to convey to Mr. Peter Florin, on behalf of my own President, Mr. Samuel Kanyon Doe, and the Government and people of Liberia, congratulations on his assumption of the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. His unanimous election to his high office clearly reflects the esteem in which he is held by the Members of our Organization. We assure him of our fullest co-operation and support, as we wish him every success in his important assignment.

I take the opportunity also to thank his predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, for the able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the forty-first session.

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We extend special thanks to our Secretary-General for his efficient management of the Secretariat and for his faithful and unrelenting efforts to fulfil the mandates entrusted to him by the Assembly. In particular we commend him both for his efforts to ensure implementation of the administrative reforms required of the Organization and for his latest report, which will be guiding our work during this session of the Assembly.

Multilateral co-operation for the betterment of the human condition is the principal corner-stone upon which this Organization was founded over 40 years ago. In an increasingly interdependent world, nation-States must expand and pursue opportunities to advance their common and mutual interests. Such co-operation implies not only a sense of shared responsibility, but also the need for a collective response to common problems.

The world society which we attempt to fashion through this Organization requires the pooling of efforts where resources of individual States are inadequate, the co-ordination of policies where unilateral measures may negate one another, and the provision of a framework for decisive action where uncertainty may inhibit concrete progress. Unfortunately, seething as it is with conflicts and hostilities, our world today falls far short of this perceived ideal of a wholesome environment in which global resources are devoted largely to socio-economic development.

Whether it be due to the bankrupt policy of apartheid in South Africa, the frustrating denial of self-determination to the people of Namibia or the persistent crises in the Middle East, the Gulf region, Asia and Central America or elsewhere, the deep hatred created by such conflicts continues to impede the will to collective responsibility and collaborative effort in their resolution.

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It should therefore be no surprise that many of the issues before this Assembly have remained perennial agenda items, with hardly any solution in sight. In this context, the racist South African régime's persistence in the pursuit of the policy of apartheid has posed one of the most serious challenges to this Organization's declared aim:

"to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

There can be no doubt that apartheid also contravenes the objective of the United Nations to build a world society free from all forms of segregation and discrimination.

That is why my Government has consistently rejected South Africa's apartheid policy and calls upon those that give support and encouragement to the racist régime not only to consider the serious consequences of their action but also to reconsider their position on the adoption of sanctions against South Africa.

Regardless of what is said about the merits or demerits of sanctions, the fact is that the inadequacy of the sanctions imposed thus far has apparently had the effect of rendering the racist régime all the more ruthless and intransigent in its oppression of the black majority of the population. Consequently, my Government remains convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter constitutes the last viable peaceful means of ending this ugly and explosive situation in South Africa, a situation which continues to destabilize the entire region and constitute a threat to world peace and security. My delegation takes this view not unmindful of the importance of negotiations and dialogue, but because of the long-standing refusal of the

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South African Government itself to meet and to negotiations with the leaders of the liberation movements.

As regards the related question of Namibia, Liberia cannot accept the continued defiance of the authority of the United Nations, and considers South Africa's recalcitrance to be a grave challenge to the credibility of this Organization. It is most regrettable, in this connection, that three decades after the commencement of the decolonization process in Africa Namibia should still be languishing under the yoke of colonialism. Our frustration is further heightened by attempts on the part of the racist régime and its collaborators to insist on linking the proposed withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola to the question of Namibia's independence.

My delegation therefore calls for the unconditional and complete withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia so that that Territory can at last gain its full independence, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and take its rightful place in this Organization and elsewhere. We submit in this connection that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the most viable basis for the attainment of this objective.

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There are other regional conflicts which are also the subject of continuing dialogue and negotiation within the international community. That is as it should be, since we are enjoined by the Charter to pursue the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

Accordingly we must commend the Secretary-General for his ongoing efforts to restore peace and stability in the Persian Gulf. The war between Iraq and Iran, which has lasted for nearly a decade, has taken a very heavy toll on human life and property, disrupted freedom of trade and navigation in the region and even escalated to the point where chemical weapons have been used against civilian targets, including women and children. We must once again urge all concerned to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which calls for the cessation of hostilities and the opening of negotiations between the two parties.

In the Middle East the question of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and the right of Israel to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries continues to be disputed by the parties. Those rights must of course be recognized and upheld through peaceful means. In this connection an international conference on the Middle East could prove useful, provided that it facilitated the evolution of a solution acceptable to all concerned.

While taking note of recent political developments in South Korea we wish also to encourage the resumption of dialogue at ministerial level towards the reunification of South and North Korea. Furthermore, my Government believes that membership in the United Nations of North and South Korea should broaden the scope for a peaceful reunification of that divided country.

It is a fundamental right of peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose whatever political, economic and social systems they may wish, free from outside interference or constraints of any kind. Equally, sovereignty,

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territorial integrity and political independence are all inviolable attributes of nations. In this connection the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from both Kampuchea and Afghanistan should be accelerated to enable those countries to exercise fully their freedom.

By the same token we consider the establishment and maintenance of peace in Central America to be the prime responsibility of the Governments in that region. We therefore welcome the recent Guatemala Agreement as a useful foundation for genuine peace and stability in Central America and call on the international community to lend its fullest support to that Agreement.

On a similar note, my Government also invites the international community to lend its support to current initiatives of the Organization of African Unity towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict between Libya and Chad.

Most of the conflicts and hostilities are fuelled by an arms race that is consuming a disproportionate share of the world's scarce resources. Because the international community can ill afford to continue on such a course, we welcome the historic international Conference held recently on the relationship between disarmament and development. That Conference could be viewed as a first step not just towards a safer world but also towards a more judicious utilization of the earth's resources. Having said that, my delegation believes that any appreciable level of disarmament should be buttressed by workable guarantees for States, through effective arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

In this connection my Government notes with satisfaction the recent agreement in principle concluded between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. We urge those nations to continue their negotiations to a successful conclusion.

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In addition to the issues of war and peace which we have highlighted here there are also a number of serious problems plaguing the global economy, problems that continue to defy and frustrate traditional solutions. In practically every forum of the world today such issues as those concerning the need for monetary and fiscal reform, the increasing volume and cost of third-world debt, the declining level of real official development assistance, the drastic fall in third-world commodity prices, spiralling inflation, the deteriorating terms of trade, the increasing protectionist tendencies of industrialized countries, are all finding their way to the very top of the agenda. These and similar problems have been generally identified with, if not considered as, the direct root causes of unemployment, sustained poverty and overall negative growth in most third-world countries.

However, what is truly noteworthy, as we know, is that these problems have arisen and persisted not because the world lacks the raw materials or the technological capacity to produce enough for its growing population, which has now reached five billion and is increasing by the second, but largely because our States have as yet not been able to agree on a fairer and more rational system of managing the world's economy.

As some speakers before me have pointed out, the old alignments and configurations of the international economy will no longer suffice. For instance, no concept of development can be accepted today which continues to condemn the majority of the world's population to starvation, malnutrition, substandard living conditions and despair.

The widening gap between rich and poor countries has often been traced to the industrial revolution and to slavery and colonialism, in which the development of industry in the Western world was said to have been facilitated in great measure by massive infusions of resources, both human and material, from what is now referred

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to as the third world. That, parenthetically, raises a most interesting question about the unrelenting pressures now being exerted on third-world countries to repay their debts: is there not another debt that we are forgetting, that may not have been fully repaid, or even considered?

The point, however, is not that industrialization did not increase the wealth of Europe and North America, or that slavery and colonial exploitation did not retard the development of the third world; the point is simply that this situation, which has remained essentially unchanged notwithstanding the great wave of decolonization that has seen the creation of nearly 100 new independent States over the last 40 years, is no longer a tenable or acceptable proposition.

The traditional, almost stereotypical, division of labour which relegated third-world countries to the status of primary producers must now give way to a new arrangement that should not only enable developing countries to engage in the manufacturing of finished and semi-finished products but also require the developed economies to consume more of those products. We commend and completely agree with those, among them the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, who have called here for the age-old one-sided relationship between developed and developing countries to be restructured.

As regards the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in economic development we must, of course, commend them for their untiring efforts in research and information, in policy analysis and practical action and in technical assistance, where they have contributed to the development activities of third-world countries.

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Only last year the United Nations convened a special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. Since then, many African countries have undertaken strong measures to fulfil their commitments under the economic recovery and development Programme adopted at that session. For example, in its own economic recovery programme, Liberia, under the leadership of President Samuel Kanyon Doe, has embarked upon a number of measures to improve the management of the public sector, to restore to its proper place the key role of private initiative and enterprise in economic growth and development and to design strategies for integrated rural development, with emphasis on agriculture and food self-sufficiency, through a green revolution programme.

But, as was recognized by the special session, the international community was expected to complement the resources and self-help efforts of third world countries for their economic recovery. Unfortunately, most donor countries have so far done very little to demonstrate, much less fulfil, their commitment to the Programme. This, my country and Government find most regrettable and disappointing.

Indeed, our world today is over-burdened with political and territorial disputes and with serious economic and social crises, all of which threaten the very foundations of peace, security and development on our planet. In the circumstances, there can be no social responsibility more important or task more weighty than that of the search for efficient and lasting solutions to these problems. And in this onerous task our most urgent need is for strong leadership and a new vision, tempered by a greater sense of collective moral responsibility and a complete change of attitude based on a rededication to international solidarity.

Indeed, this global village which is our common heritage will be neither a better place in which to live nor a worthy legacy to bequeath to posterity unless

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we can urgently return to the fundamental values of love and charity and the proposition that each one is his brother's keeper.

International relations can no longer be based solely on a delicate balancing of conflicting interests, or on the unremitting and fierce competition of nations to achieve material objectives and superiority at all cost. These relations must now be founded firmly on the universally accepted principles of justice and fair play, tolerance, protection of the weak and freedom from domination by the strong. Of course, these are not new values or concepts in the United Nations.

Over the years this Organization has emerged as the authentic voice of humanity's collective conscience. There is now, however, a dire need to strengthen our moral capacity and reinforce our political will to enable the United Nations to tackle more effectively its many complex problems, to which, in some cases, normal political approaches may not be applicable or even feasible.

It cannot be denied that there is a moral and ethical dimension to the struggle against ignorance, disease and poverty, against such social ills as drug abuse, prostitution, slavery, child labour and torture; and that there is such a dimension to programmes such as those which provide for the immunization of children, better housing and medicare for the people, a greater role for women in development, food security for all and the protection of the environment. The same humanitarian spirit as recently mobilized and co-ordinated international assistance to Ethiopia, Sudan and Mexico, among others, should now be cultivated and fully extended to other areas of need in the world.

In this connection, and referring again to the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, my delegation submits that there might be an even more poignant relationship to be considered, namely, that between disarmament and disease. Let us take the real case of the current AIDS (acquired immune

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deficiency syndrome) epidemic. Very soon the global effect of that deadly epidemic could reach proportions comparable only to the devastation that could result from a nuclear explosion, which knows no national boundaries. There is no doubt that much more could be done to intensify the search for a vaccine and/or a cure for the AIDS epidemic if a relatively small portion of the billions of dollars now spent on arms could be placed at the disposal of the scientific and medical community for this purpose.

Two other areas of concern that the United Nations could tackle as a moral imperative are the problem of third world debt and the combined questions of the liberation of South Africa and independence for Namibia, to which we referred earlier.

For reasons already recounted here, the problem of debt truly poses a moral challenge to the developed world and to institutions for international development assistance. Nothing short of a substantial, if not total, conversion into grants of the debts owed them by third world countries may be required to enable many of these countries to survive even marginally while their serious structural problems and the inequities of the international marketplace are redressed. My delegation firmly believes that the United Nations could play a vital role in sensitizing the creditor nations and institutions to the need for urgent relief action.

As for man's inhumanity to man, wherever found and whether it assumes the form of genocide, slavery, colonial exploitation or the displacement of peoples, it has always been morally indefensible. In this connection, the continuing existence of apartheid in South Africa constitutes an affront to the collective conscience of mankind. Regular reports and accounts of the brutal excesses of the apartheid régime contain disturbing overtones of torture camps in recent history. The world must surely act now to end apartheid.

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For its part, Liberia reaffirms its determination to carry on the struggle until the last vestiges of colonialism and all other forms of exploitation are removed from southern Africa and every other part of the world where such human rights abuses are found.

It is our fervent hope that the United Nations will continue to be not only a forum in which to engage in dialogue on global matters, but also a forum in which to galvanize our collective political will and moral courage to secure the long-term interest of mankind.

Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): The forty-second session of the General Assembly takes place against the background of some encouraging developments in international relations. It is Guyana's hope that the Organization will be able to play its part in accelerating this positive trend. We are confident that during Comrade Florin's presidency he will deploy his well-known skills and tact in guiding our deliberations so that we may together reach conclusions which will redound to the benefit of mankind as a whole. In offering Comrade Peter Florin, an eminent son of the German Democratic Republic, our warmest congratulations on his unanimous election, I pledge the ready co-operation of my delegation in our search for global understanding and agreement.

Let me take this opportunity also to extend felicitations to his predecessor in office, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, for his admirable conduct of the Assembly's business during the past year.

As we contemplate the many major issues which are before the Assembly, we cannot but be struck by their interrelationship and by the fact that the solutions to them must be based on a global approach. This is in acknowledgement of the reality that we live in an increasingly interdependent world, one in which it should be the aim of this Organization to advance in an equal way the interests of all Member States.

Peace, as we all know, is indivisible. So too, I contend, is development. Many of the issues related to development, some of which are topical, affect us all, rich and poor. Debt, drugs and disease are not indigenous to any one people. They are ubiquitous. If we are to ensure global stability, it would be foolhardy to seek their eradication in certain areas while they flourish elsewhere. There are after all no frontiers or boundaries that can halt their wider proliferation.

Whether the issue we consider is political, economic or social, whether it pertains to peace, underdevelopment or the environment, national or unilateral

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action alone would not suffice. The action to be taken must be concerted and must involve all States.

Since last we met, the dialogue on nuclear disarmament has advanced. Unhappily, however, the expectations that had been engendered with regard to international economic co-operation have not materialized; and the principle of multilateralism remains to be fully embraced. It is salutary to observe, however, that the willingness of regional States to solve conflict situations in their areas and to promote economic and functional co-operation, has strengthened.

If the results of our efforts have been uneven, one thing remains constant. It is the yearning of the vast majority of mankind for a peaceful international environment and for the creation of conditions that can best secure and sustain their economic development.

In the area of the international economy, world output last year, as a measure of our combined productive effort, remained positive; and inflation continued its downward trend. These developments encouraged the expectation of further improvements in the performance of the world economy and of a better quality of life for the many in the developing countries. Sadly, these favourable indications have not been maintained, as output is not growing at the anticipated rate. As a consequence, there is increased concern over the prospects for developing countries and the ability of the world economy to withstand further stress.

Current trends therefore leave us little option but to maintain a troubled view of the condition of international trade; a factor which is so critical to sustained recovery. Not only is its rate of expansion disappointing but there is the real possibility of its contraction, in the light of the intensification of protectionist measures. Indeed, Guyana knows only too well of the damage that protectionist measures could cause to exports. It has seen the access of one of its major exports, sugar, to an important market, progressively reduced in a short

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period of time. The intensification of these measures by industrialized countries, is inevitably injurious to the best efforts of development. I venture to say that those who harbour the thought that they are protected from its worst repercussions may awaken too late to its real adversity. Similarly, as regards the terms of trade for primary commodities, the situation is still far from hopeful, despite the upturn in the prices of some commodities and the recent multilateral attempts to salvage international co-operation in this area.

Last year, in one of its resolutions, the General Assembly placed in its proper perspective the requirements for resolving the debt problem. Those decisions represented an attempt to grapple with a difficult and politically sensitive problem and promised a more positive outlook. Current economic trends, however, especially those relating to output and trade, reinforce apprehension about the extent to which the goal of alleviating the debt burden can be realized. Despite this, we need to build on that determination in the light of the emerging appreciation of the full dimensions of the effect of the problem on national and international policies.

Beyond that, the current difficulties in the global economy warrant a more concerted approach by the entire community. Indeed, what is required now is the urgent realization that, in economic and social matters, prosperity is very much like peace - integral and indivisible. It is clear that, unless the international milieu favours equitable development among all nations, the welfare of all of us is in jeopardy. Yet the imperatives of co-operation have not been fully heeded. Policies continue to be pursued by some without full consideration of the situation prevailing in the rest of the world. Nowhere is this more evident than in relation to the international monetary system. There remains, unfortunately, an avoidance of global solutions. Instead, selective but limited reforms are pursued. Some of these are in the right direction.

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In relation to the International Monetary Fund, for example, the mix of policies should be more widely varied in recognition of differing conditions between countries. Where unanticipated or unavoidable factors give rise to adverse growth trends, resources should be made available to support growth programmes; and finally, more flexibility should be employed with regard to quantitative targets and longer periods allowed for demand adjustment policies to take effect.

The reforms, however, need to be extensive. Unless this happens, the principles of interdependence and mutual responsibility would be further eroded. A recommitment to multilateralism is essential to any solution of the current economic crisis.

One positive development in this respect has been the resolve of developing countries to encourage and expand economic co-operation among themselves. Progress in this direction is appreciable, as was evident at the recent Pyongyang meeting of non-aligned countries. The United Nations system can play a valuable role in assisting the promotion of economic co-operation among developing countries. We urge it to do so.

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The threats to international peace are manifold. These include not only underdevelopment, to which I have alluded, but also regional conflicts and, importantly, adversarial relations between the super-Powers. That is why the improvement in relations between the super-Powers constitutes a significant step towards the diminution of tension and the creation of an atmosphere propitious to the improvement of interstate relations. In this regard, we applaud the efforts being made by the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on the removal from their arsenals of certain categories of nuclear weapons. Such an accord may not be significant in quantitative terms. It can, however, if pursued with sincerity, represent the beginning of a process which could lead to further agreements on nuclear disarmament. Hopefully, it can also usher in a new relationship between the two States, based not on confrontation but on healthy competition within the framework of collective international co-operation, and based upon respect for each other's social system.

The United Nations must however maintain total and complete disarmament as an issue of central concern. Preparations for the third special session on disarmament must proceed apace to benefit from the current momentum and to ensure that the outcome goes beyond the meagre results achieved in the past.

If all these efforts are successful, resources which are allocated to the preparation for war would naturally be released for other purposes. Such resources should be used for development, especially of the developing countries. In this context Guyana believes that, limited though they were, the results of the recently concluded Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development provide a basis for further dialogue and agreement. We urge all, each Member State, to join in that dialogue.

(Mr. Jackson, Guyana)

In the meantime, however, conflicts continue to prevail in several regions of the world. Some of them have so far proved intractable. Others offer solutions on the basis of dialogue and negotiation which take into account the interests of the concerned States.

To speak of the region to which Guyana belongs - Latin America and the Caribbean - the process of a political negotiated solution is now in the ascendency. That this is so is due in no small measure to the undaunted diplomacy of the Contadora and Support Groups. The agreement signed by the five Presidents of Central America in Guatemala, following the initiative of President Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica, if scrupulously implemented and universally respected, will offer a reasonable chance for peace in the region. We therefore urge all concerned parties, both inside and outside the region, to respect the Guatemala agreement and to co-operate fully in its faithful execution. The agreement is of transcendental significance, and we believe that the United Nations can play a helpful role in the process of implementation.

Earlier this year the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at a special ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held in the capital of my country, devoted much attention to the situation in Central America and issued the Georgetown appeal for peace in the region. In his welcoming address, the President of Guyana, Comrade Hugh Desmond Hoyte, observed that "peace in Central America is essential to the security of the whole region". Guyana therefore welcomes the positive developments that have since taken place.

It is not without interest that in their attempt to implement the various accords the parties have issued an appeal for immediate economic and technical assistance. This call is in clear recognition that the situation in the area

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stems not from ideological differences but from the chronic social and economic condition which the States in this region have for so long endured.

Central America is therefore in many ways a microcosm of the third world which, by and large, suffers from structural deficiencies and which, as a consequence, is generally prone to upheaval.

The linkage between stability and underdevelopment is, in Guyana's view, self-evident. It is not difficult to see that many political crises originate from essentially volatile economic and social conditions.

The search for political negotiated solutions to conflicts is being pursued in other regions. The involvement of the United Nations in such negotiations is a source of satisfaction to Guyana. In this regard, we commend the Secretary-General of our Organization for his tireless efforts in the discharge of the many mandates with which he has been entrusted. We wish him every success.

The continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq is a source of distress to us. We support the most recent resolution of the Security Council, which calls inter alia for a cease-fire, and other efforts which enlarge the prospects for peace in the region.

As regards the Middle East, the quickening of the process towards the convening of the international peace conference, involving the Palestine Liberation Organization, is urgently required if peace is to come to the region. For this peace to be just and durable, the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland in Palestine must be respected, as must the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, and the right of all States in the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

(Mr. Jackson, Guyana)

Likewise, Guyana wishes to encourage the Secretary-General in his patient search for a settlement in Cyprus. The causes of strife, including the continuing presence of foreign troops, must be fully addressed.

Similarly, in Korea, where a long divided people yearn for peaceful reunification, efforts must be intensified to pursue the promising signs of an eventual reconciliation.

Guyana also supports the efforts of the United Nations in bringing about political negotiated solutions to the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. These solutions must be in consonance with well-known principles of this Organization, especially those relating to sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination.

Turning to the situation in South Africa, I am reminded that during his trial on the trumped-up charge of treason, Nelson Mandela declared that he was fighting "for a society of equal opportunity". That still remains the objective of the oppressed masses in South Africa. For 75 years they have maintained a resolute and passionate struggle, first seeking change through peaceful means, but later driven by the intransigence of the racist régime in Pretoria to engage in armed struggle. The overall struggle of the South African people has been supported by various States and other sectors and forces in the international community.

Since the last major initiative by the Commonwealth to bring about peaceful change was contemptuously rebuffed and sabotaged by Pretoria, there has been no amelioration of the situation. In fact it has worsened. And the state of emergency has become the norm.

An increasing number of erstwhile supporters within South Africa of so-called separate development are now challenging the efficacy of the system of apartheid. Its collapse is inevitable. At this particular juncture, it therefore becomes

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even more important to support fully the South African freedom fighters and to continue to give material support to the front-line States, against which Pretoria is prone to unleash its military machine. It is also necessary to strengthen and expand existing arrangements, including sanctions, in order to further isolate South Africa, and weaken and eventually eradicate apartheid.

This same abominable system of apartheid and plunder also holds the people of Namibia captive. This Organization has long determined the steps to be taken for Namibia's liberation. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will, if implemented in all its aspects, speedily and effectively achieve that objective. The scofflaws in South Africa have however remained intransigent. Unfortunately, this attitude is not being discouraged by other States which have a vested interest in the exploitation of Namibia's rich resources and in supporting South Africa's so-called strategic position.

(Mr. Jackson, Guyana)

Victory for the struggling masses of South Africa and Namibia is not in doubt. We owe it to them, both in this Organization and outside it, to bring the strongest pressure to bear on the racist régime of Pretoria for an early demission from power. In anticipation of the peoples' victory, we should seek as well, as my President counselled at the eighth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, in Harare, to assist the people of South Africa and Namibia in preparing themselves to take their rightful place in the international community and to enjoy the full fruits of their independence.

There are also other issues which lend themselves to concerted global action if realistic solutions are to be found. One of those is the protection of the environment. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development now before the Assembly calls for an immediate return to multilateralism. As the Commission's report states:

"The unity of human needs requires a functioning multilateral system that respects the democratic principle of consent and accepts that not only the Earth but also the world is one". (A/42/427, para. 53)

The awareness of the fragility of the eco-system which has been so dramatically demonstrated in the report must, in Guyana's view, inevitably give new meaning to the concept of collective economic security. The arguments are persuasive and should lend urgency to joint action in resolving the overwhelming problems now confronting us.

In devising appropriate programmes for action, however, there is a need to ensure that developing countries are not penalized for their co-operation; nor should their right to a balanced economic growth be sacrificed. Indeed, when it is considered that the eco-system of the developing countries is necessary for the welfare of the developed world, it is not far-fetched to contemplate some form of

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compensation for this clear benefit. I urge the relevant committee of the Assembly to give due consideration to this idea as we endeavour to manage the environment properly and thereby ensure the survival of the human race.

Another issue of concern to all of us has already proved susceptible to global co-operation. I refer here to our efforts to combat the dangers of drug abuse, a matter which needs to be addressed in all its aspects - production, trafficking and, importantly, consumption. The results achieved at the Vienna Conference earlier this year demonstrate the value of collective action. The follow-up measures which these results require should not be allowed to languish. We must reinforce joint and national endeavours to find disincentives to the continued production and use of noxious substances.

We have begun the task of reform of the Organization in acknowledgement of today's realities. The prime objective must always be efficiency and the need to make the best use of resources in the interest of all Member States. What will create difficulties is if the process of adjustment is used to achieve or maintain narrow political advantage. Adjustment must be in the interest of mankind; it must be done with a human face, sensitive to the needs of suffering people and responsive to the imperative of equitable development.

Over the years there has been a maturation of the concept of an interdependent world. Nation States themselves are undertaking programmes of structural adjustment, not only to promote the welfare of their own people but also to harmonize their relationships in the wider international community.

For this process of structural adjustment to be fully effective, new concepts of national and collective security would have to be formulated. In such a scheme of things, confrontation should give way to co-operation, and the needs of humanity should be our foremost concern. Put another way, the war ethic must be replaced by

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one rooted in peace, multilateralism strengthened and greater reliance placed on dialogue and negotiation for conflict resolution. In this context the importance of sovereign equality cannot be overstressed since it should be the axis on which a democratic system revolves.

Enormous obstacles will be encountered in furthering the process. We should not however desist from pursuing our objective, which indeed has become imperative. Guyana is fully committed to this goal. The prospects are exciting. Let us go forward together.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): A number of representatives have asked to make statements in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401 statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Miss BAILEY (United States of America): My delegation completely rejects the false accusations levelled against the United States today by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe. Indeed we lament that he has seen fit to adopt an adversarial stance in this forum. The assertions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs were particularly unseemly and inappropriate in view of the definitive forward-looking exposition of United States policy towards southern Africa given in this very city of New York this very week by the Secretary of State of the United States. Indeed Secretary Shultz reiterated the essential points of our views at a luncheon in honour of the Organization of African Unity, of which Zimbabwe is an honoured member, only yesterday. I commend your attention, Mr. President, and that of all representatives to Secretary Shultz's outline of the precepts which can, with responsible international co-operation, support progress towards equal

(Miss Bailey, United States)

political, economic and social rights for South Africans without regard to race, language, national origin, or religion.

The United States reiterates its support for the full and complete independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As Members of the United Nations are well aware, the United States is seeking with persistence and patience to create conditions of security in the region of southern Africa which will permit political change not only to occur but also to be sustained.

We oppose the presence of foreign troops, which have a destabilizing influence on the region of southern Africa. The issue of removing foreign troops from Angola and ending the South African occupation of Namibia is but a recognition of current international reality.

The United States delegation thus emphatically rejects not only the Foreign Minister's twisted interpretation of the United States role in the region but also his falsification of United States objectives.

We also condemn the spurious and scurrilous allusions to blackmail and hostage-taking, which serve only to discredit the authors of the allusions. The United States, a principal architect and founding Member of the United Nations, yields to no country in its record of substantial and essential moral, political and financial support for the United Nations.

(Miss Bailey, United States)

We believe that the statement of the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe delivered here today does no credit to this Organization, which is collectively ours, and abuses the tolerance of all Members.

Mr. CHEA BUNNY (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): In supporting what was said here by the representative of Viet Nam on the situation in Kampuchea two days ago, the representative of the Vientiane régime carried out a painful duty that he could not escape because of the position in which his country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic finds itself, transformed into a Vietnamese colony pending complete Vietnamization, as was the Islamic Kingdom of Champa in the seventeenth century. Since the so-called treaty of friendship and co-operation, signed in July 1977, between Vientiane and Hanoi, the frontiers between the two countries have been practically abolished to allow the Vietnamese colonists to establish themselves in the hundreds of thousands, not to mention the 60,000 Vietnamese troops stationed there to put down any patriotic resistance to the Vietnamese occupation by the Lao people. Viet Nam has thus carried out the first part of the plan for its empire, otherwise called the Indo-Chinese federation, which is to include, in addition to Viet Nam and Laos, our country, Kampuchea.

At the present time, while Viet Nam, faced with the patriotic struggle of the entire Kampuchean people, is becoming embroiled deeply and irremediably in the battlefields of Kampuchea, it is trying on the international scene to succeed no matter what the cost in its anachronistic colonial enterprise by manoeuvres, with the following objectives.

First, it wishes to bring about recognition of the Vietnamese fait accompli in Kampuchea, the Phnom Penh puppet régime installed since December 1978 as the sole legitimate representative of our country and people. Through this manoeuvre Viet Nam seeks to disguise its aggressive war in Kampuchea.

(Mr. Chea Bunny,
Democratic Kampuchea)

Secondly, it wishes to present its war of aggression against and its occupation of Kampuchea by a Vietnamese expeditionary force of 160,000 men as a civil war. By this manoeuvre Viet Nam is trying to stop the General Assembly considering the situation in Kampuchea and thus avoid the international community's condemnation, of which it has been the object for almost nine years. In this way the Hanoi régime wishes to render null and ineffective all of the eight resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly on the situation in Cambodia and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, in which the Assembly has forcefully and emphatically repeated its appeals to Viet Nam to put an end to this war and withdraw all its forces unconditionally from Cambodia so that our people may decide its destiny through free elections under the supervision of the United Nations and Cambodia may become independent, neutral, peaceful and non-aligned.

Today, to achieve this goal, the Hanoi régime claims that the problem of Kampuchea can be settled politically by so-called national reconciliation between the Kampuchean parties under the leadership of the puppet régime of Phnom Penh and in conditions imposed by the aggressor. In fact, as we know, this Vietnamese style so-called national reconciliation which was hastily organized barely three weeks before the opening of the General Assembly, is intended to serve the purpose of the diplomatic manoeuvres of Hanoi and, in the framework of the occupation of Kampuchea, simply to demand that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea lay down its arms, and abandon its just struggle and relinquish its position as the legitimate representative of our country and our people, for the benefit of the Phnom Penh puppet régime and in order to perpetuate the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

(Mr. Chea Bunny,
Democratic Kampuchea)

My delegation would like to recall once again the determination of our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to adhere to the just and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and its eight-point peace proposal as the basis for a political settlement of our problem. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, our President, who is present in New York, stated in his message on 28 September to the Assembly:

"If we stray from that path or lack resolve we shall lose for ever our motherland, our freedom and our national identity.

"It is for the Hanoi leaders to decide whether they will continue the occupation of Cambodia, in the framework of their policy of an Indo-China Federation and in keeping with their strategy of regional expansion, and maintain their hostility towards the countries of the region and the rest of the world or agree to heed the international community's repeated calls to reason urging them to withdraw all their forces from Cambodia, abandon their expansionist policy, re-establish good relations with all the countries of the region and once again become a part of the family of nations."

(A/42/PV.15, p. 15)

In conclusion, our delegation appeals to all the countries of the world that cherish peace and independence to continue to give firm support to the just struggle of our people by massively supporting again this year the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, which will shortly be considered by the plenary Assembly. In this way our Assembly can make its noble and inestimably valuable contribution to the quest for a complete and lasting political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, to the survival of our people and to the cause of international peace and security.

Mr. MUDENGE (Zimbabwe): The representative of the United States has seen fit to characterize the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe as false, adversarial and unseemly. She was kind enough to point out that her Government still believes in the policy of linkage. It wants the removal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola to take place before Namibia can become independent.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

The Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, this very Assembly and the Security Council, in numerous resolutions, have stated that the presence of Cuban internationalist troops in Angola is extraneous and irrelevant to the independence of Namibia. Only the United States of America holds to the view that these two issues are linked. That was my Foreign Minister's statement: that only the United States is holding the independence of Namibia hostage to its policy of linkage, and that the United States is ostracized, by itself, a pariah on this issue. It is important that that point be kept in mind.

If we were addressing the subject of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, we would be able to point the finger at Washington as the reason for bringing the Cubans into Angola. It was South Africa and the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that supported UNITA and wanted to remove the Government of Angola; they were the first to be there, and there is evidence of this. The CIA station chief in Zaire, Mr. Stockwell, has written it all down: he was responsible for it. That is history, and it is unnecessary to go through it all again.

I would therefore say that the representative of the United States was somewhat arrogant and irrelevant in her description of the Foreign Minister's position.

I wish to end by saying that as concerns the United Nations we remain totally committed to the democratic nature of the Organization. We cannot accept any Member country holding this Organization to ransom by not respecting its obligations under the Charter, whoever that Member may be.

Miss BAILEY (United States of America): I hope that members will note that there is no paper in my hand; I speak from my heart. I am consistently amazed as a human being at this state of affairs. When we walk in through these doors in the morning we say hello and smile. What a pity that by seven o'clock - or five of - we cannot smile when we say goodbye.

I have no written reply, but I have an oral reply: I said what I said; I meant what I said. This is my country; the representative of Zimbabwe has his country; we all have a country.

I stand upon what I said.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.