



General Assembly

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PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.29
10 October 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 9 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

(Spain)

Mr. BOUZIRI (Vice-President)

(Tunisia)

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President)

(Cyprus)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Lassou (Chad)

Mr. Beye (Mali)

Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda)

Mr. Hara (Malawi)

Mr. Akinyemi (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. LASSOU (Chad) (interpretation from French): Sir, it is a particular pleasure for me, on behalf of the delegation I head, to extend to you my most sincere compliments on your election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. Your wide knowledge of international affairs undoubtedly qualifies you for that high office. We wish you every success in your delicate mission.

I would also like to express to Mr. Paul Lusaka my delegation's gratitude for the tact and dedication with which he carried out his duties in presiding over the thirty-ninth session of the Assembly.

The delegation of the Republic of Chad wishes once again to pay a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who spares no effort in the service of peace and justice.

This session, which commemorates the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, gives us an opportunity to recall some of the goals our Organization set for itself in its Charter. The founding fathers of the United Nations, drawing upon the lessons of the war, resolutely resolved, inter alia,

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and

...

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained
..."

It is to those principles that nations of every continent and all ideologies desirous of working within the context of that document so essential to the realization of the ideals of peace, solidarity and independence and to the

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safeguarding of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State adhere.

Today, 40 years after the adoption of the Charter, the international situation continues to give rise to concern and our Organization is beset by numerous ills.

The vagaries of nature spare no region of the world: drought, desertification and famine rage in our countries in the African Sahel; typhoons kill thousands in Asia, and in the Americas earthquakes devastate cities and entire regions. But the peoples of many countries are also suffering from conflicts arising out of the unjust and aggressive behaviour of certain régimes; ideological conflicts, border disputes and acts of open aggression are all sources of tension and suffering.

The poorer countries like my own are particularly threatened by such acts of aggression. As the international public well knows, a typical example of such gratuitous aggression is the occupation by Libya of the northern part of Chad.

Notwithstanding the agreement signed on 17 September 1984 by France and Libya for the concerted, simultaneous withdrawal of their troops from Chad, only the French forces have withdrawn from my country. The Libyan troops have not pulled back an inch. At present they are occupying 550,000 square kilometres of our territory, or almost half the country. Worse still, the Libyan Army is constantly strengthening its positions, in defiance of the sacrosanct principles of the United Nations Charter and the charter of the Organization of African Unity.

In the northern part of my country Libya has concentrated several battalions of its army, equipped with assault tanks, heavy artillery and troop-carrying vehicles and supported by many fighter bombers and combat helicopters.

A gigantic support system is in place to supply that occupation force by land and by air. Libya has build landing strips at Faya, Fada, Aouzou and Ouadi Doum. In the locality of the last are the headquarters of the invading army and the longest landing strip, which is 4,300 metres long.

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The occupiers are proceeding with the systematic Libyanization of northern Chad. Our national flag has been publicly burned and replaced by that of the invader. The Green Book has become the only acceptable mode of thinking in the whole of Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti; the population of the occupied zone are forced to carry Libyan identity cards; only Libyan currency - the dinar - is accepted in Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, and the French language has been banned in the area. In order to wipe out any Chadian identity in the region, the Libyan army has destroyed historic monuments and burned archives. And, in order to establish a Libyan-style administration, a Libyan governor has been appointed to head the region.

The Libyan army, eager to complete its annexationist operation, is carrying out mass deportations. It collects people together under the pretext of distributing food to them; they are then marched off to airports, such as that at Ouadi Doum, from where transport aircraft take them to Libya by force.

In the face of such impositions, such daily harassment and inhuman treatment meted out by the Libyan soldiers, the inhabitants of Faya and of other localities in the occupied zone rebelled at the beginning of last month. The outcome of that unequal combat can be imagined.

With the deliberate aim of impeding the efforts at national reconciliation undertaken by the Government of Chad, Libya has made hostages of our brothers of Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, a region it is occupying and seeking to annex.

I take this opportunity once again to invite the Libyan Government to enter into sincere talks with the framework of Chad with a view to resolving our border disputes within the framework of bodies to which both of our countries belong, whether it be the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity. It is our hope that our neighbour and brother peoples will once again live in complete harmony and that Chad will regain peace and unity through national reconciliation in order that it may devote itself to rebuilding its devastated economy.

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The Chadian people harbours no hatred towards the Libyan people. Chad also makes no claim on Libyan territory. We are in favour of a negotiated settlement of all disputes and for peaceful coexistence based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each State.

My country, Chad, is among the least developed. Not only are we lacking in resources but indeed we must strive to close several gaps all at once. The President of the Republic of Chad, El-Hadj Hussein Habre, said on this score:

"The war Khadaffi is imposing on us compels us to make immense human and material sacrifices which, obviously, have adverse repercussions on all we do in seeking economic and social progress, hence it weakens our action, and by hampering the results we could legitimately expect, deprives us of the tangible results of our efforts."

The fact is that, on the one hand, we must cope with military aggression, financed by heavy doses of petro-dollars while, on the other hand, we must rebuild our economy ravaged as it is by war, drought and desertification.

Famine has killed several thousand Chadians yet again this year. Still others owe their survival solely to international humanitarian aid and the help of fraternal countries. Thousands of children will not experience normal growth because of the effects of malnutrition. The situation remains precarious notwithstanding the return of the rains over these last several months. The fact is that a single rainy season, however favourable, cannot overcome so prolonged a famine.

I should like here to thank all countries and all persons of good will who have provided and continue to provide assistance to the Chadian people during these trying times. I should also like to thank the countries, humanitarian organizations and financial agencies that demonstrated active solidarity towards

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my country, at the International Conference on Assistance to Chad, held in Geneva in November 1982. The help provided following that Conference devoted to emergency aid allowed us to meet some of the most immediate needs of our people. Moreover, thanks to the results of that particular Conference, we have managed to rebuild the infrastructure of our administration, devastated by war.

As the new season begins we hope to embark on the reconstruction phase of our economy. Our priority objectives will be as follows: stepping up agricultural production, developing human resources, fighting desertification and restoring roads and the industrial infrastructure.

With this in mind, Chad will organize a round table of creditors to be held from 4-6 December 1985 in Geneva pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 38/214 and 39/195. An interim development plan will be put before the donors and contributors of funds for financing. The success of this programme, quite obviously, will hinge on the financial backing of the international community. On behalf of the Chadian Government and people I appeal to the international community for its co-operation and solidarity, and invite all countries and international organizations to take part in that round table.

The particularly difficult situation facing my country does not cause us to forget the alarming insecurity and tension in southern Africa and the Maghreb, the Middle East, Asia and the Arab Persian Gulf.

In addition to the privations, violations of human dignity and harassment imposed in Azania by the policy of the big stick, the white minority régime has begun an operation aimed at extermination of the black majority. Since 21 July of this year an unwarranted state of emergency has been declared, not a day has gone by without deaths, almost always those of blacks killed by the police, for reasons so unjustified as funerals. The police kill a black, the day of his funeral the

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police kill still other blacks; the day of the funerals of the latter, it kills still more blacks, and the cycle goes on. It will not stop until the international community imposes sanctions compelling and restrictive enough to bring the racist Pretoria régime to give up its apartheid policy and to grant to blacks rights identical to those which the whites enjoy.

By the same token the international community must firmly bring pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to compel it to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to enable that Territory, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) finally to achieve independence.

In the Middle East the situation is equally alarming and threatens to extend to other regions as well. We believe that the leadership in the countries concerned must seek an equitable and lasting solution because only a political solution, in our opinion, can resolve this long-standing crisis.

As far as the conflict between Iraq and Iran is concerned, we support the efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, with a view to a negotiated peace.

The panorama of international relations is rendered gloomier still by the existing economic imbalance. What is obvious is that within so unfavourable a climate the situation of Africa cannot be other than catastrophic. That is indeed why, fully aware of the nature and scope of the crisis, the African States have just devoted to that topic the twenty-first summit of their Heads of State and Government, a summit during which a major declaration called the Declaration on the Economic Situation in Africa was adopted. That Declaration spells out the measures to be taken as well as the action to be launched.

In so doing, the African States have shown that the primary task of combating the crisis and restructuring their economies is incumbent above all on themselves.

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However, they feel their efforts will have no real impact on their economies unless they are supported by assistance from the international community.

On this, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we should welcome the fact that this Organization has managed to survive all the upheavals that have marked inter-State relations. Notwithstanding the aggressions of which our countries are victims, notwithstanding the natural problems that remain unresolved, Chad still places its trust in the United Nations and remains devoted to the humanistic and peaceful principles laid down in its Charter.

That is why, as we reflect on the major outlines of what we are to do in years to come, we must not shrink from coming to grips with weaknesses and shortcomings, so as to draw the lessons that will enable the United Nations to become an effective instrument for co-operation, solidarity, respect for the principles of independence, for non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, and for the territorial integrity of States.

Awaiting a better day we, in Chad, call upon the international community to induce Libya to withdraw its troops from our territory so as to enable the people of Chad finally to achieve peace and to recover its territorial integrity.

Mr. BEYE (Mali) (interpretation from French): Forty years ago the world had hardly emerged from the mortal peril of the Second World War. The horror had been such that some States thought the time had come to give some thought to establishing a new structure for peace. Thus, in 1945 we saw the birth of the United Nations system. Based on confidence in the future, it committed the nations to raise their sights beyond their own frontiers and to join in a common endeavour of peaceful co-operation.

The founders of the Organization knew that in order to prevent the outbreak of a new world conflict all nations would have to build their relations in a way which transcended their own individual visions of the world. Their idea was to bring to birth the will to act in common to attain the goals of international peace and prosperity common to all mankind.

Forty years ago, the objective in founding the United Nations was to safeguard peace, to make it permanent, to make it possible for everyone to achieve prosperity. Today, this objective remains unchanged.

My delegation reaffirms the attachment of the Government of Mali to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Inspired by political will at the highest level, the people of Mali and its leaders are totally committed to these principles, because they are entirely in keeping with our own ethic.

The indivisibility of peace, the protection of the political independence and territorial integrity of all States regardless of their internal system, their level of economic development and their military and political power, the prohibition of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament, the sovereign equality of all States, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the right to self-determination, decolonization, respect for human rights, the collective settlement of world problems - these constitute, according to the Charter, the bricks and mortar with which to construct the system of security of the world today.

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Unfortunately, we have to say that this vision of a world in which human civilization could develop in freedom and base its efforts on these freedoms has not been vindicated by history. On the contrary, the world is living under the nuclear umbrella of the great Powers, a prey to fear, to anxiety, to the grimmest forebodings. Indeed, while the underlying hypothesis of the Charter was the idea of justice and co-operation, so far short-term national interests have prevailed over the common weal.

We are very far from universal acceptance of the principles of the Charter as immutable rules of conduct in international relations. Proof of this is the large number of armed conflicts which have taken place in the world since 1945. The developing world has been the scene of these conflicts, and in fact the victim of most of them. This conflict-ridden climate shows the ineffectiveness of the system for safe-guarding international peace and security provided for in the Charter.

In recent years, many States, including Mali, have demonstrated growing concern at the quantitative and qualitative development of nuclear weapons and the instances of their use. It is a fundamental reality that the use of nuclear weapons constitutes by far the greatest danger to the future of the human race. It is also a fact that expenditures on these arms are swallowing up vast amounts of money. The enormous consumption of natural, technical and human resources for potentially destructive ends stands in grim contrast to the urgent need for the economic and social development to which those resources could otherwise been devoted.

In spite of the efforts of the United Nations since the adoption by the General Assembly, on 12 December 1980, of resolution 35/156 A, on disarmament, results have been slight. Meanwhile, the Powers are outbidding each other in their efforts to accumulate arms.

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In recent years the situation of many developing countries has generally declined because of the continual decline of the world economy. The poor are getting poorer, hunger is on the increase, whole peoples are threatened with disappearance from the surface of our planet. Injustice is growing out of the ills of underdevelopment and new mortal scourges, such as drought and desertification, are assuming truly alarming proportions.

At this time of stock-taking, how can our world today remain indifferent to so many life or death problems? How can the international community react to such life-threatening anomalies? How can we build a better world if world public opinion remains silent in the face of the spectre of death which continues to stalk more than 800 million illiterates, more than 400 million people suffering from serious diseases, and more than 500 million chronically undernourished?

That is why only recently, in this very Hall in the Headquarters of the United Nations, the Head of State of Mali, President Moussa Traoré, so pertinently drew the attention of the world community, particularly the developed countries, to the tragic plight of the developing countries, especially those hardest hit, and the consequences of an intractable economic and social crisis aggravated by the scourge of drought.

The plight of Africa is a tragic one and calls for a specific response from the international community.

It is the responsibility of the international community to find new, original solutions to this situation. It is the responsibility of us all collectively to face up to this situation clear-sightedly and with determination, and not just to keep to the beaten track.

For its part, Mali intends to take an active part in defining a new approach to problems of development and, of course, the development of international,

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regional and local strategies. My country has committed itself unreservedly with all its human and material resources to this gigantic struggle.

There is no need to remind the General Assembly, following the recent meetings of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), of the efforts undertaken by the people and Government of Mali to think again about the very concepts of desertification and drought and to come to terms with these problems and their consequences.

On the national level, a whole strategy has been evolved on the basis of the experiences of the people of Mali and the fundamental idea that the most useful assistance is that which comes from the people themselves. This commendable option in no way excludes outside aid, which is considered as one of a number of inputs. It is from this sound and realistic standpoint that we call upon our partners in development.

Drought is not the only misfortune of the African continent. The crisis also results from the unfavourable international economic situation, marked as always by the disproportion between aid to development and armament expenditures, the continuing decline of the volume of development assistance, the intolerable weight of debt servicing, the continuing fall in primary commodity prices and the decline in the terms of trade, and the retreat from multilateralism.

However, it is appropriate here to express our satisfaction at the effective assistance from friendly countries, international organs and non-governmental organizations, to which my delegation wishes once again to express the profound gratitude of all the people of Mali. My delegation has already expressed its pleasure at the idea that the second International Conference on fund-raising for economic rehabilitation and development, to be held next December in Bamako, will bring even more partners in development together.

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Similarly, my Government hopes that all the development instruments within the United Nations system, in particular the irreplaceable emergency offices, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UNDP, will have more resources available to them at the forthcoming replenishment of the indicative planning figure.

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We cannot build a better world if the world economy is still suffering from the selfishness of the affluent, if the developed peoples cannot muster enough political will to grasp the realities of the catastrophe, to do something about it and to build a new economic and social balance in today's world.

These requirements must form part of any reasonable machinery for our collective survival in terms of human civilization. That is why, at the thirty-fourth session, my delegation stated that peace consists also, and perhaps mainly, of economic and social justice. Everyone is quite aware that peace is largely dependent on the solutions we shall together find for the serious imbalances in the world economy.

Poverty is not only a scandal that the peoples of the third world display to the affluent tourists; it is also a danger to the very equilibrium of the planet. As we confront this situation, which is almost indescribable, it is no longer enough simply to indicate one's good intentions in order to have an easy conscience.

Without any doubt, man, together with all his achievements, will perish from the earth if he fails to understand in time the requirements of interdependence for collective survival.

The first requirement remains the improvement of the world economy. The delegation of Mali is more than ever convinced that dialogue and consultation are decisive elements for the establishment without delay of the New International Economic Order. The establishment of that new order will require political determination to bring about a world without hunger, without fear, a world with greater freedom in which man will be reconciled with his own history. Without such political determination the problems we must continue to face together will remain in all their terrifying dimensions.

The year 1985 is significant also for another anniversary, just as famous and historic. This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting

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of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is only natural to link the two celebrations.

Clearly the relinquishing of all forms of political and economic domination still remains only an ideal. Nevertheless we can with some legitimate pride celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Indeed, since that Declaration of 1960 more than 100 colonial territories have regained their freedom and brought the number of Members of our Organization from 51 to 159. There can be no more eloquent testimony to the value of the United Nations system in this regard.

The victorious struggle of the colonized peoples, which have confirmed their historical identity, has powerfully contributed to the inevitable withering away of the colonial system towards the end of the twentieth century, and we are entitled to be proud of this positive record in the application of the principles and purposes of our Charter.

These ideals, purposes and principles are indivisible. They are the very bases of the foreign policy of my country. Mali is particularly proud of being a member of the Committee on Decolonization since it was first set up, and of having thus contributed to the restoration of the right of peoples to self-determination, a right inscribed by the struggling peoples in that historic Declaration. One of the most persistent and spectacular activities of the United Nations has been its efforts to contribute to the victory of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose emergence in the international arena has constantly influenced the course and the character of history. Yet the process of decolonization unfortunately remains incomplete. Today our world is still prey to the anachronism of colonial wars and the subsequent national liberation struggles, ordeals arising from colonialist manoeuvres and political distortions.

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Thus in spite of the progress already made, it is more than the strictly political and legal concept of the dependence of peoples that remains on the agenda at the end of the twentieth century.

My delegation would therefore like vigorously to reaffirm that no people should have its aspirations to self-determination and independence thwarted; no administering Power can be exempt from respect for the United Nations Charter in this matter, nor can it be exempt from its juridical, political and economic obligations laid down in the Charter as internationally recognized responsibilities.

Within the historic context of this anniversary, it would seem to be of the highest priority to condemn the abominable and hideous régime of apartheid that continues on the soil of Africa to trample underfoot the elementary rights of the African and to defy the international community with impunity. My delegation believes that any support for that régime must be halted immediately, to enable the majority of the population to express itself freely and to participate legally in public life in a society from which racism and the enslavement of man has been banished.

My delegation also believes that without the assistance given to that régime, outlawed and condemned by all the peoples of the world, the people of Namibia would have been able to sit with the nations present here and celebrate our fortieth anniversary. Unfortunately South Africa continues with unprecedented arrogance, to murder, torture and arrest millions of Africans who aspire only to live free on the soil of their ancestors. With blind hatred it is fiercely bent on destroying its African neighbours on the most spurious pretexts.

My delegation reaffirms with the utmost vigour and solemnity that the international community must impose mandatory sanctions to put an end to these violations of the universal morality, of the United Nations Charter, and of the

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relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We welcome the idea that every day resistance to apartheid and to the illegal occupation of Namibia are gaining ground, as is the international campaign, now becoming world-wide, against the racist régime of South Africa.

As was so eloquently pointed out here by His Excellency President Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali:

"We must fight by all possible means - diplomatic, political, economic and military - a system that is the shame of mankind, and we can no longer fail in this imperative duty."

More than ever, after the failure of the conferences in Geneva and Lusaka, Mali believes that only Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can serve as a basis for the final settlement of the Namibian question. Similarly my delegation unswervingly supports the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

My country, guided by the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and those of the Organization of African Unity, has been following with similar concern the conflicts that are rending apart our brother peoples in Chad, Western Sahara and the Horn of Africa.

In Chad it is only in the absence of any outside interference that the people of that country can resolve the crisis. Mali is encouraging fraternal dialogue between all citizens of Chad with a view to bringing about real national reconciliation, which is the only solution, the only means of bringing peace to that fraternal country.

Such a dialogue, fruitful because it is fraternal, is also necessary to find a final, reasonable and acceptable solution to the question of Western Sahara.

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At the nineteenth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, the Heads of State, in resolution 104, indicated ways and means of resolving this distressing crisis.

While we are happy to note that the parties concerned have all accepted the principle of a referendum on self-determination, that remarkable fact should be supported by a true reconciliation of hearts and minds.

It is this task which the leaders of Mali, as well as all the friends of the peoples concerned, have undertaken with such patience, determination and consistency.

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Outside Africa, Mali turns towards two of its brothers in Asia, Iraq and Iran, and urgently appeals to them to halt this insensate fratricidal war, which is contrary to the teachings of Islam, to the rules of international law and to the interests of our peoples. The lessons of history, the wisdom of nations and mere common sense demand a peaceful settlement to a conflict that is tarnishing the image of the third world, the non-aligned countries and the Islamic countries.

Peace has not yet returned to South-East Asia, in spite of the sacrifices and indescribable sufferings. In Kampuchea, too, fratricidal conflict has opened the way to outside interference, which the age-old genius of these peoples has always managed to avoid. Once again my delegation appeals to all the belligerents to seek reconciliation and dialogue, so that this troubled part of the world can at last be restored to the peace, tranquillity and security essential to the development of its resources.

Similarly, the tragedy of the Afghan people, of which requires a political solution, is still being uselessly drawn out. Peace in this country depends more than ever on a genuine political resolve to negotiate on the part of all the parties concerned.

In the Korean peninsula, too, artificial barriers continue to divide a single nation, to separate it, and to prevent it from realizing its plans and its deepest hopes. These unacceptable barriers perpetuate the image of a war that is long over. It is time for the valiant people of Korea to find tranquillity and unity.

It is also to reconciliation and dialogue that the people of Mali calls the two Cypriot communities, so that the Cypriot people can be reunited in honour and fraternity.

Year after year, my delegation together with the majority of States Members of our Organization, has reiterated that the question of Palestine remains at the

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heart of the Middle East crisis and that its solution is not to be found in the rattling of sabres but rather in the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular its right to independence and national sovereignty.

We shared these thoughts with this Assembly a year ago in this very place, and at that time I said that

"Despite the difficulties inherent in the protracted state of tension, Lebanon has entered a new phase of national reconciliation the success of which depends primarily on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from that territory. Peace derives strength from movements towards peace. The glimmer of hope that has appeared in Lebanon could extend to the whole of the Middle East if the reality of Palestine prevails." (A/39/PV.29, p. 33)

The most recent events in this area confirm the correctness of this analysis, and of the conclusion drawn, which should be understood both by Israel and by its allies.

Recent lessons of history teach us that no war machine can overcome the will of a people for independence. Indeed, what is happening in the Middle East and the inadmissible act of aggression committed against an independent and sovereign State Member of our Organization, Tunisia, is mere madness, and a crime against humanity. Nevertheless Mali still hopes to see a peaceful settlement of this conflict, which has such tragic dimensions.

This is in fact the essential purpose of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine called for in General Assembly resolutions 38/58 C and 39/49 D.

Mali is impelled to reaffirm its position on this question. There must be recognition of the national rights of every State in the area, including the

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recognition and guaranteeing of the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole authentic representative; evacuation of all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; non-interference in the internal affairs of States of the region.

In Latin America the situation is still a matter for concern in spite of many initiatives on the part of the Contadora Group, whose praiseworthy efforts should be continued and supported.

These are the fundamental bases for the pursuit of a true peace policy which, both in the Middle East and elsewhere, is threatened by the highly dangerous accumulation of arms and weapons of mass destruction.

Previous speakers have described in sufficient detail the tension of the current international situation. The arms race which is the indelible brand of our world today continues to bring ever nearer the fatal catastrophe. For if no brake is applied in time, the accumulation of increasingly sophisticated weapons will inevitably lead to the blowing-up of our planet. It is thus the very existence of mankind that is at stake. The solution of the problem of the nuclear arms race is thus a matter of the utmost urgency and priority, because it is a condition for the very survival of mankind.

It is therefore encouraging to note the resumption of dialogue in the Conference on Disarmament, and above all the initiation of new talks between the super-Powers on nuclear and space armaments. These promising elements reflect a certain improvement in the field of disarmament.

My delegation hopes that this new beginning will lead to the triumph of clear-sighted political will over all the various difficulties and to the triumph of reason and of the fundamental interests of mankind. We believe that while the

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particular importance of this new attitude is clear to everyone, the United Nations should encourage and promote such negotiations without giving up its central role as an instrument for peace.

By rising above passions, selfishness and narrowmindedness, we can together build a better world, with hope for future generations.

My delegation would like to hope for the establishment of international relations based on mutual respect and dialogue among nations. We wish solemnly to reaffirm Mali's faith in the ideals of the United Nations Charter and to reiterate the determination of the people and Government of Mali to work for peace wherever it is threatened. We would recall that in order to safeguard world peace and consolidate international relations in keeping with the Charter and with active peaceful coexistence, the first step must be to reduce and eventually eliminate regional and local conflicts and ease tensions in international relations.

Therefore, the delegation of Mali would venture to hope that the manifesto that will emerge from these celebrations will focus attention on the struggle of the developing peoples for elementary justice and fundamental human rights. This struggle more than any other calls for a concerted international effort to deliver the world from an imminent threat to peace, and from an iniquitous system which is a parody of justice.

We have permitted ourselves these hopes because you, Sir, have been chosen to conduct our proceedings at this session, which has a special significance. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to your great country, which which my own country enjoys excellent relations. Your election represents a clear recognition of your skill, based on your long experience over the course of an exceptional career.

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Our hopes are also well founded because of the exceptional qualities of our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who, with his remarkable colleagues, is fully committed to the cause of humanity.

It is my pleasure also to reaffirm the great satisfaction of my delegation over the remarkable way in which your predecessor, President Paul Lusaka, a son of one of the front-line States, discharged his important function of conducting the proceedings of the thirty-ninth session.

And since we are celebrating an anniversary, my delegation would like to extend to the Organization its best wishes for long life and prosperity.

We would recall that just as the image of the world must be recreated again and again, so the search for peace, mutual tolerance and solidarity must be continually recommenced.

It is in this spirit that we must celebrate the anniversary of the great historic event of 1945 which for so many men and women meant the end of the dark night and the dawn of liberation.

I shall conclude my statement by quoting the Head of State of Mali, who in expressing the faith of the people of Mali in the United Nations, declared that

"The people of Mali is ready to act whenever action is taken, in the name of the Charter, to make our world a proper place to live in".

Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): Ever since its admission to the great family of the United Nations, the Rwandese Republic has constantly been striving to the best of its ability to contribute to the tireless efforts aimed at consolidating and strengthening the credibility of our Organization and bringing about favourable conditions for the promotion and effective realization of the fundamental principles embodied in its Charter.

Each year since 19 September 1962, the date on which Rwanda became a Member of this family - having regained its sovereignty, thanks notably to the impetus given by the United Nations to the decolonization process - my country has solemnly reaffirmed from this prestigious rostrum its commitment, determination and readiness to make its contribution to the task of building a world of peace and progress to which our Organization is dedicated.

The commitment that Rwanda has made in this spirit was resolutely reaffirmed, on behalf of the Government and the people of Rwanda, by Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and President-Founder of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, who, speaking at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, emphasized the overriding importance that our country attaches to the fundamental principles and objectives of the United Nations. In this connection, he declared that Rwanda counts on the United Nations to channel and co-ordinate efforts aimed at building an international community that would be "more just, more sound and imbued with a greater degree of solidarity" (A/35/PV.12, p. 16), our Organization being the ideal framework and the most appropriate forum for promoting the awareness of all the peoples of the world, by dialogue and consultation, of a concerted harmonious approach dedicated to these efforts.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

On the same occasion, the President of the Rwandese Republic paid tribute to our Organization, calling to mind the achievements it had recorded since its creation. He thus voiced his deeply-felt appreciation for the role played by the United Nations in peace-keeping, promoting international relations based on equality and mutual respect among States, as well as solidarity and complementarity among peoples. The President of the Rwandese Republic stressed that this very keen appreciation went hand in hand with the satisfaction he felt in noting that the spirit which seeks to replace confrontation by concertation and exploitation by equitable sharing represents, without a shadow of doubt, an achievement that the international community owes to the efficacy of the United Nations.

Recalling the analysis on which the President of the Rwandese Republic drew in his statement to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, I would emphasize that it is this very same analysis which underlies the tribute which, on his behalf and on behalf of the Government of Rwanda, I am paying here to the United Nations on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary.

This anniversary lends a very special importance to the current session of the General Assembly. It constitutes a major milestone, an event which will go down in the annals of our Organization, an event which we must observe in a very specific way. Indeed, it marks a significant stage, after 40 years, in a noble venture which is moving us closer towards the ideal which mobilizes and brings our peoples together, the ideal which was present at its creation.

This is a very special occasion which affords me a special opportunity to renew our common faith in this ideal and our firm and unswerving commitment to spare no effort in the promotion of the goals that stem therefrom. At the same time, this fortieth anniversary offers an opportunity to take stock of what our Organization has done so as to be able to shape its future activities in the light

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

of the challenges that it must, as in the past, enable us to meet. These challenges imply the need to remain active and vigilant, so that peace, the result of order based on justice, can be consolidated and strengthened.

We must, within our great United Nations family, strive to make this fortieth anniversary a turning-point at which, more than in the past, the determination to act in concert becomes apparent so that this decisive stage in the life of our family can mark the beginning of a new era of peace and progress legitimately associated with the activities of the United Nations, in the spirit reflected in the motto chosen for this anniversary: "The United Nations for a better world". This fortieth anniversary therefore offers us an opportunity to reflect about the role our Organization has played and the role that it can and indeed must play in keeping with its assigned mission.

The United Nations has, with the passing years, asserted itself and continues to assert itself as the special forum where peoples of all nationalities, all races, diverse creeds and different ideologies have fortunately become accustomed to examining together problems of concern to the international community, with a view to exchanging ideas and achieving complementarity within the framework of a constructive dialogue.

When, at the end of the Second World War, it was decided to establish the United Nations, it was "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". In this context, peace has constantly been in the forefront of our Organization's discussions; indeed, peace is the ultimate objective of the United Nations and it should be guaranteed by respect for its fundamental principles.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Even if the spectre of war has not been banished once and for all from our minds, the international community is fully aware of the generally positive nature of the efforts made by the United Nations to avoid the conflict situations and tensions which since 1945 have marked world history from turning into a new world conflagration. But the international community is also aware of the need to step up its efforts. At the same time, our Organization has actively striven to deepen and broaden the dimensions of peace by closely associating this concept with the second purpose embodied in the Charter, that is, the promotion of international co-operation - a co-operation conceived in such a way as to allow Member States mutually to enrich one another by drawing on their resources as well as on their respective experience gained in this long-term undertaking which is social and economic development.

Thus, in a number of various fields, the United Nations has dedicated itself to fostering co-operation inspired by the unswerving determination to establish and practise solidarity and complementarity, notably through its specialized agencies.

On the eve of the International Year of Peace, whose theme will be taken up in the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, the Republic of Rwanda once again declares itself to be a party to the efforts aimed at enabling the international community to meet victoriously the double challenge of creating a climate of peace and concord throughout the world and promoting effective complementarity among the peoples in championing development.

These are the reflections the Republic of Rwanda wishes to share with its partners in the United Nations family, without seeking thus to take complete stock of the results achieved by our Organization. These are reflections in the form of

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

a tribute in which we express our satisfaction at the universality of our Organization. These matters will be further elaborated upon by the delegation of Rwanda in the debates of this session which are designed to take stock of the situation and to deal with the major problems of current concern to the international community, the settlement of which is part of the noble and lofty mission of our Organization.

The Republic of Rwanda is participating in these debates with the legitimate pride of being associated with the undertaking launched 40 years ago by 51 countries - whose number has now reached 159 equal partners, thanks mainly to the process of decolonization in which the United Nations has played a decisive role.*

In this regard, it is a particularly happy coincidence that this fortieth anniversary should be celebrated at the same time as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), a resolution which assumed tangible form in the vast movement in which most of the African States gained independence, making it possible for the African peoples to be present and make their feelings known in the international arena as a vibrant reality. This element must be singled out as being particularly significant and decisive as we take stock of what our Organization has accomplished in its first four decades and as we seek to refine and perfect its work in eliminating the last few bastions of colonialism. That is worth stressing as we pay tribute to the United Nations, thanks to which the peoples of the third world, refusing to resign themselves and taking a realistic view, are participating actively in international life and world politics.

* Mr. Bouziri (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

What would be the impact of ceremonies marking the fortieth anniversary of our Organization if they were accompanied by complete satisfaction as to the achievement of objectives inherent in its mission and ultimate purpose? We must recognize that we are celebrating this anniversary against a background in which realism demands that we recall - without yielding to despair or to excessive optimism - the concerns that must be addressed with regard to the challenges remaining to be overcome in the political arena, without failing to recognize also the barriers to international peace and security, and in the social and economic area, given the wide range of difficulties confronted notably by the third-world countries as they seek to promote their development.

While recalling these difficulties which define the dimensions of the tragedy many countries are enduring, particularly in Africa, I wish to renew to friendly countries and also all international bodies that have supported the people of Rwanda in their development efforts. Our most sincere gratitude for their contribution, which we fully appreciate and which we are striving to utilize as judiciously and rationally as possible.

Notwithstanding the emergence of certain precarious and uncertain signs of recovery in certain industrialized countries, the world economic crisis continues. It exacerbates the imbalance characterizing international economic and financial relations. It hampers the progress of the third-world countries in promoting their development. In this regard, allow me to cite the example of Africa. In that continent the deterioration of economic conditions at the present time is such that a large number of African countries find themselves confronted with particularly painful problems, with a food crisis that is compounded by an economic and financial crisis of grave proportions.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

In Africa, where most of the countries classified by the United Nations as least developed are to be found, food problems occurring at the same time as ecoclimatic upheavals have aggravated a situation which was already precarious and critical, a situation inherent in an asphyxiating international economic crisis in which all the third-world countries in varying degrees suffer, while the least developed countries find themselves confronted with even more acute adverse repercussions. This crisis, which is also affecting the industrialized and developed countries, has brought about a dangerous recession, provoked a particularly drastic decline in development throughout the third world, precipitated a worsening of internal and external indebtedness and brought about a reduction in levels of co-operation.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Faced with this crisis, it is time, in order to open new horizons to the countries being overwhelmed by the crisis and to fill them with the strength to survive and regain their momentum towards development, to create and promote a realistic and evolutionary concept of international co-operation, to confront, in a perspective of effective soliarity and complementarity, taking into account the interests and needs of all parties, the challenge of development and to enable the United Nations to meet and to continue to meet in this context the challenges imposed upon it by history.

To meet these challenges, the international community must spare no effort to bring more equity and balance to the present international economic order, marred as it is by inequality and structural imbalances. It must avert the tragedies inherent in the poverty that remains the main problem as we near the end of the century, while demonstrating the energy and determination required by the need to check conflicts and tensions between peoples and States.

In order to succeed in building a world in which there is real solidarity at the level of the international community, our Organization must show imagination and persistence in contributing actively to the radical transformation of present relationships that are contrary to the objectives of solidarity and complementarity to which the States represented in this Assembly have subscribed by accepting the United Nations Charter.

Openness and concern for other peoples and nations, as in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, our common reference, should make it possible for that part of the world which lags behind to emerge from destitution and reach in its turn a level of prosperity.

In this connection, the path has been indicated by the calls increasingly heard from all sides for the establishment of a new international economic order based on solidarity, in order to create a more just and humane world.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

It is in this spirit that the peoples of the third world are rebelling against the machinery that allows the rich to become richer at the expense of the poor, who are becoming poorer still.

The growth of the economy of the industrialized countries is dependent on the survival and development of their third-world partners. It is an illusion to dream of well-being for the peoples of the developed countries alone, and acknowledgement of this fact is tantamount to an appeal to all peoples to show consistent solidarity in promoting their respective interests.

This acknowledgement requires that the international community take specific measures to enable third world countries to master their development problems on the basis of present realities and within the perspective of the mastery of developments to come. In this spirit, it is particularly necessary to address the problem of co-operation in new and resolutely innovative terms with a view to reinforcing the impact of development assistance in the framework of a concept that takes into account the contingencies of the moment as well as the need constantly to guarantee the best possible results in the promotion of social and economic progress.

It is necessary to ensure relations of co-operation designed to enable each partner to benefit, in the conviction that the development to which all peoples aspire will always depend on their efforts to work together in the preparation of a better future, resolving the problems inherent in the present situation, militating in favour of a genuine North-South dialogue and dedicating themselves to giving practical effect to the policy of co-operation which our Organization is striving to make effective, in particular through the development programmes of its specialized agencies.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

The Rwandese Republic is convinced of the need, within the framework of action and initiatives aimed at fostering the establishment of a more just and balanced new international economic order, to promote and further strengthen horizontal co-operation among third-world countries. This conviction is expressed in the efforts undertaken by the Government of Rwanda in the context of the objectives set by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) concerning the social and economic integration that will enable Africa to achieve collective self-sufficiency based on effective complementarity and active solidarity.

These objectives were solemnly reaffirmed at the 21st Conference of Heads of State or Government of OAU member countries in the hope that the international community would mobilize actively, in particular under the leadership of the United Nations system, to give Africa all possible support in carrying out its priority programme designed to enable it to confront the crisis it is facing and at the same time assure itself of the conditions necessary for the growth of its economy at the level of each individual country and at the level of the continent as a whole.

In this connection, Africa intends to give priority to increasing its agricultural production so as to guarantee self-sufficiency in food, while devoting the necessary efforts to the promotion of other sectors, such as those of transport and communications, industry, trade and finance, which are also of basic importance in the development of its economy, which has been hard hit by the world recession, which has exacerbated the harmful effects of the natural disasters with which many African countries have been faced.

The Rwandese Republic shares with its African partners the hope of meeting the double challenge of survival and development within the framework of the strategy of integration advocated by the Organization of African Unity.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Success in giving practical expression to that strategy will hinge on the efforts that the African countries devote to its effective implementation at the national, sub-regional and regional levels, and on the support they count on receiving within the framework both of their bilateral and multilateral co-operation with the industrialized countries and of horizontal co-operation among the countries of the third world.

Even if the recovery registered in certain industrialized countries spreads, as we hope it will, to all the countries in that group and becomes stabilized, the chances and prospects of seeing this trend affect the countries of the third world in a lasting way are relatively slight in the short run.

This situation can be attributed essentially to the imbalances that characterize international economic relations at the levels of production, investment and trade, imbalances that persist, at the expense of the poor countries with limited resources.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Among these countries, those which like Rwanda appear in the category of least developed deserve special attention and even more active support, to enable them to reduce the constraints and overcome their special development problems. The international community has recognized the need to make special efforts to help those countries, and this is the aim of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s adopted by the United Nations Conference held in Paris in September 1981.

The Rwandese Republic has great hopes of the implementation of this programme which is part of the promotion of relations directed to the consolidation of the progress of all peoples along the path of development.

As well as the social and economic challenges to which I have referred, the international community finds itself faced at the same time with political crises and tensions that lead to a climate of insecurity in the world. The Government of Rwanda remains concerned over these crises and tensions which are generally the result of conflicts of interest or actions aimed at blocking the legitimate and natural aspirations of oppressed peoples, who are determined, at all costs, to affirm and promote their most elementary and fundamental rights, in particular their right to freedom and independence.

We are compelled to recognize today that little has happened to change the causes of the concern voiced on this subject at the last session of this Assembly. In taking up yet again these problems in various parts of the globe where misfortune appears to have chosen to establish itself, I should like on behalf of the Government of Rwanda to emphasize that the fate of the peoples thus stricken cannot be ignored by those countries which profess their full support for the ideals which our Organization has been striving to promote for the last 40 years, in accordance with the aims embodied in its Charter.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

As we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the situation prevailing in southern Africa reduces the scope and depth of our rejoicing and tarnishes the lustre of this anniversary.

Since the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), each year the international community has hoped to celebrate the liberation of Namibia and to welcome that country as a fully fledged member of this Organization, but each passing year has forced us to suffer the bitterest of disappointments. In fact, each passing year the racist minority régime ensconced in Pretoria has grown more obdurate and increases its challenges to Africa and to the whole international community.

In this regard, we have witnessed delaying tactics directed to dealing with the Namibian question outside the appropriate framework established by the United Nations in 1978.

The Security Council itself has had to deal with the arrogance of this impenitent régime, which is promoting and implementing outworn precepts based on a racism as obsolete as it is odious, not hesitating to move from threats to deeds, as it has done in establishing the so-called "provisional" government at Windhoek, in defiance of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

The international community must ensure that the "provisional" does not continue to take the place of what should, in accordance with the pertinent resolutions and decisions adopted, in particular, by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), be the normal and definitive situation in Namibia, where the people have been waiting and struggling for so many years to see their aspirations to self-determination and independence realized.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Make no mistake, the establishment of a puppet government in Namibia constitutes a new challenge to, a new violation of, the settlement plan laid down by the United Nations to lead that country to independence.

How much longer will the international community remain content to express its indignation at the challenges being flung down so arrogantly and cynically by the white minority in power in Pretoria whose racist practices and rules, enshrined as the official doctrine, are an insult to the conscience of mankind?

In South Africa, systematic repression is gaining in scope. It is accompanied by administrative devices and constitutional manipulations designed to deceive international public opinion by persuading it that the cosmetic reforms within a system based on the concept of apartheid, a system which both by its nature and its aims remains intrinsically incapable of genuine reform.

To carry out their iniquitous and perfidious designs to perpetuate the domination of a racist minority seeking to impose its law and to substitute the right of force for the force of the law both in Namibia and in South Africa itself, the South African leaders are increasing their resort to threats, intimidation and aggression against the front-line States. No State in southern Africa is safe from their piratical expeditions: Angola, Botswana and Mozambique in particular are constantly subjected to the most brutal expressions of South Africa's contempt for the principles that govern international relations.

In the circumstances, can there be any grounds for believing in the peaceful intentions of the Government of Pretoria, or for gambling on the prospect that it will mend its ways in terms of either the principles or the carrying out of its policy, while its aim remains to impose its will by force in order to establish its hegemony over peoples weakened or brought to their knees? What reaction should there be to the challenges which the Pretoria régime obdurately continues to fling down before the international community?

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Within the country, the resistance to oppression and repression is gaining ground and is acquiring the means of achieving the legitimate aspirations of the majority, under the aegis of genuine liberation movements recognized internationally. The racist minority in power will not succeed either in breaking their resolve or reducing the scope of the struggle undertaken to wipe out the odious system of apartheid.

Outside South Africa, the international community must mobilize even more actively to impose upon this loathsome and impenitent régime concerted coercive measures to bring it back to reason and to set it on the right path, the path marked out by the principles and precepts dictated by the international morality which this régime so obstinately refuses to accept.

In order to attain the goals it has set itself with a view to eliminating the last bastion of colonialism in southern Africa, and to promote the advent of a democratic régime that would respect the legitimate rights and aspirations of the majority in South Africa, the international community must bring relentless pressure to bear on the régime established in Pretoria.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Moreover, it must give further tangible expression to its duty effectively to support, on all levels, the liberation movements fighting against that régime as well as supporting the front-line States which are the direct target of the policy of destabilization and aggression pursued by Pretoria.

In the face of the obduracy and arrogance of the minority racist South African régime, which flouts the orthodox principles of morality and international ethics, the Republic of Rwanda optimistically dreams of the day when, in consonance with the inexorable forward march of history, Namibia will indeed be independent and South Africa will be reconciled with the international community, having renounced its shameless and anachronistic apartheid policy so as to ensure the emergence of a society that will reflect the principles of democracy.

I should like to dedicate this dream, a dream which corresponds to the hopes of all peoples represented in this Assembly, to our Organization on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary. Our hopes rest on the firm conviction that the time has come for the South African leadership to renounce their outmoded principles that are the basis of their ideology, which is digging a deep chasm between them and other peoples. In that context, the international community will not be deceived by the mere appearance of reform; it will continue to demand the total eradication of the odious system of apartheid and will support and endorse the struggle of the freedom-fighters who are directly challenging a régime whose policy and practices have triggered the deepest revulsion.

Only the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations will enable the Namibian people, under the banner of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to realize its profound and legitimate aspirations for peace, freedom and independence, with respect for its unity and territorial integrity.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Again in Africa, another people, the Sahraoui people, likewise aspires to peace and intends to achieve its right to self-determination, a universal right which is rooted by international ethics and morality.

The Republic of Rwanda believes that an equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara can be brought about only by a dialogue entered into with sincerity and with the political willingness scrupulously to respect the right of self-determination. It is in that spirit that the two parties to the conflict should, as the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations have invited them to do, commit themselves without further delay to direct negotiations aimed at the holding of a referendum which would enable the Sahraoui people to decide freely on their future.

Last year from this same rostrum, in deploring the burdens weighing heavily on fostering of a climate of security in Africa, I pointed out that the continent in no sense had a monopoly on situations of tension and conflict. Thus, in the Middle East, the martyrdom of the Palestinian people has been going on for over 30 years and, as in the case of South Africa, the State of Israel has hurled one challenge after another, flouting the principles duly established by international law by pursuing an unacceptable and arrogant policy with regard to the Palestinian people and to neighbouring countries which are confronted by its threats and acts of aggression against their territorial integrity.

In this context, we should indeed recall the situation obtaining in Lebanon, stressing that, in solidarity with the people of Lebanon, the Republic of Rwanda supports efforts aimed at ensuring the internal security of that country, with respect for its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

At the same time, the Republic of Rwanda remains convinced that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question requires first the recognition of and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, to be freely exercised under the aegis of its genuine and legitimate representatives as gathered within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as well as by the unconditional withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied by force by Israel since 1967. The quest for such a settlement must also be guided by justice and must take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people based on international legality.

Concerned by the fate of the Palestinian people and by the persistent instability in Lebanon, the Republic of Rwanda also feels concern over the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran, a war which is taking on ever more alarming dimensions. The Government of Rwanda is encouraging initiatives and efforts of mediation aimed at putting an end to that fratricidal conflict.

In Asia, the objective of promoting peace and security has been seriously compromised by the persistence of a climate of crisis and tension in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. In this connection, the Republic of Rwanda reaffirms its adherence to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and associates itself with the relevant decisions taken by our Organization, inspired by the need scrupulously to respect that principle.

It is that same principle as well as that calling for the peaceful settlement of disputes which should remain our watchword in the face of situations of tension and conflict found in other parts of the world, particularly in the third world, so that the international community can ensure the peace and security which are the only guarantors for success in efforts undertaken to promote the prosperity of peoples in understanding and concord.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

In the same spirit, referring to the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization, the Republic of Rwanda deeply appreciates and supports efforts aimed at promoting the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in the hope that those efforts will make it possible to give tangible expression to the legitimate, lasting and strongly felt aspirations of the German people to regain its unity. Those efforts mark a major contribution towards the promotion of détente, on which the creation of a climate of peace and security throughout the international community continues largely to depend.

Our Organization recognizes that divided nations are entitled to seek ways and means to restore their unity through dialogue and free from outside interference or pressure. It is from this standpoint that Rwanda also supports specific initiatives and action aimed at ensuring the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

The United Nations was created for the fundamental purpose of ensuring the consolidation of peace and security in the world, social and economic development and the promotion of human rights. Viewed thus, disarmament is part and parcel of the concerns felt by the international community.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

In this connection, and in the opinion of the Rwandese Republic, disarmament is intrinsically linked with the promotion of development, and also with the need to adopt effective and tangible measures within the framework of a constructive dialogue, so as to obviate any risks stemming from "oneupmanship" in the arms race and from the resistance of tension throughout the world. It is of the opinion that these measures must be part and parcel of a strategy aimed at releasing the resources that so many countries, deprived of their rightful heritage, need to resolve their distressing and acute socio-economic development problems.

In a day and age when scientific and technological achievements have made possible feats bordering on the miraculous, and when nothing any longer seems to be Utopian or impossible for human creative genius, how can we endure any further the intolerable incongruity between the agonizing tragedy of the peoples of the third world - and particularly those of Africa, ravaged by famine and poverty, asphyxiated by the burden of their external debt, crushed by their encumbered heritage and plunged into total uncertainty about their future and, indeed, their very survival - and the scandal of enormous human, scientific, material and financial resources being drained away to produce increasingly sophisticated weaponry in a rivalry which is liable to lead humanity to its own destruction?

On the eve of the International Year of Peace, and inasmuch as peace cannot be conceived of or become a reality without justice - which presupposes the equitable sharing of the resources of all humanity - the gift that the United Nations most richly deserves on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary is for the international community to become more aware of the intrinsic linkage between disarmament and development, between the demands of security and the aspirations of peoples for well-being and prosperity.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Having emphasized the concern that the Rwandese Republic shares with all other countries devoted to peace, freedom, equality and justice - concern which is inherent in the economic crisis which is compounded by a wide variety of political tensions - I should like to echo the eminent speakers who have preceded me on this podium, and in my turn, and on behalf of the delegation of Rwanda, address our most heartfelt and sincere congratulations to Ambassador de Pinies of Spain personally, as well as to all the officers with whom he was elected to guide the work of this current session of the General Assembly, which is being held in a specific context involving the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization.

At the same time, I should like to pay tribute to Ambassador Paul Lusaka, who presided with much verve over the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, and that of the Preparatory Committee for this anniversary, thus reflecting great credit on Africa in general and on his own country, Zambia, in particular.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his part, deserves the warmest congratulations, which I address to him today on behalf of the Government of Rwanda, and I would once again express to him our great appreciation of the dynamism and competence with which he promotes the objectives of our Organization and strives to ensure that it not only remains but develops even further as the special setting in which are expressed the noble aspirations and fundamental values of peoples, and that a salutary convergence of their interests and a perfect symbiosis of their behaviour and policies, inherent in the complementarity of their interests, take tangible shape.

In this spirit, the Rwandese Republic hopes that the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will indeed offer us an opportunity to take stock quite

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

objectively of what has been achieved over the past four decades, so as to provide an accurate picture of what we can all do to bring our undertaking to a successful conclusion and to attain more fully our common objectives, guided by the determination to hold high the standard of the ideal that inspired the authors of the Charter signed in 1945 at San Francisco.

In this spirit, this fortieth anniversary must, for each Member State, be the occasion for reaffirming its commitment to the promotion of this ideal, so that the international community can take steps to safeguard its future, by ensuring a real and lasting peace and by enabling the countries of the third world to escape the cycle of underdevelopment and to benefit from an effective reduction of the tensions of which they only too often constitute the stakes.

Thus, in addition to declarations of principle aimed at taking note of this community of interests among all peoples and proclaiming the need for a new impetus to promote the policy of détente, concord and co-operation, we must ensure that this anniversary becomes a decisive stage in the strengthening of the role of our Organization in the face of the challenges the international community must take up in order to influence the course of events in such a way as to avoid the reefs on which it could founder were it to abandon the collective determination to translate into reality the objectives laid down in the San Francisco Charter.

The people of Rwanda, firmly convinced that on this subject its determination and faith are the same as that of the peoples with whom it shares the aspirations expressed in 1945, solemnly reaffirms its commitments under the Charter, whose principles offer the best guidance for mankind as it seeks peace, security and prosperity.

May the United Nations endure in its respect for its fundamental principles, and may it attain its noble, indeed, sublime objectives.

Mr. HARA (Malawi): Sir, on behalf of my President, His Excellency Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, the Government and the people of the Republic of Malawi, and on my own behalf, it is with great pleasure that I congratulate Ambassador de Pinies on his election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am convinced that his professional qualities, backed by years of diplomatic experience, uniquely qualify him for the high office of President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that, under his guidance, the General Assembly will be able to complete its work efficiently and successfully.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

I should also like to pay my country's tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. John Paul Firmino Lusaka, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Zambia to the United Nations, for the able manner, wisdom and unparalleled diplomatic skills with which he presided over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I wish him well and the best for the future.

On behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Malawi I convey to the Government and the people of Mexico our heartfelt sympathy for the loss of life and property they suffered as a result of the recent devastating earthquakes which hit that country.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, deserves special commendation for his efforts to bring peace to war-torn regions and for his personal mediation efforts, notably in the Iran-Iraq war and in Cyprus.

The fortieth session of the General Assembly should be considered as the most important and unique session since the Organization's inception. This session of the General Assembly will go into the annals of history as one of the most important events. It is important because the world body is commemorating the fortieth anniversary of its existence. During those four decades the United Nations has made it possible for the world in general to enjoy the longest period of peace without another global war of the magnitude that was witnessed during the two world wars. This long period of peace and tranquillity is attributed to the untiring efforts of the world body, without whose intervention the world would have once again experienced another ghastly, savage and destructive war employing the most modern weapons of destruction.

The world body was founded to maintain international peace and security based on the community of interests and concerted international endeavours to avoid a third world war. Thus the founding fathers were determined to prevent another

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global war, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which had twice brought untold loss and suffering to mankind and to uphold the fundamental right of each person to live a free life and to enjoy the protection of the law in his or her country.

My delegation is aware that the maintenance of international peace and security is a complex and multifaceted goal that impinges upon many different areas of human activity. In the quest to achieve international peace and security the nations of the world solemnly undertook to be tolerant of each other and to live as good neighbours, thereby affording the peoples of the world a happier life.

The States Members of the United Nations have conferred upon the Security Council, one of the principal organs of the world body, primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter empowers the Security Council to deploy combat armed forces supplied by Member States to restore and maintain international peace and security.

On many occasions the United Nations has been called upon to prevent dangerous and volatile situations from assuming proportions likely to start conventional wars. Despite many handicaps, setbacks, frustrations and lack of co-operation from Member States, the United Nations has continued to play an important role as a peace-making and peace-keeping Organization.

While my delegation appreciates the role the United Nations plays in the maintenance of international peace and security, including through the Security Council, we are gravely concerned by the manner in which some States Members often freely, blatantly and flagrantly violate the decisions made and resolutions adopted by the United Nations. In order to enable the Security Council to implement its decisions and resolutions, all States Members have an obligation to render the Security Council their maximum co-operation.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

During the entire period of its existence the United Nations has adopted many resolutions on major issues, but implementing those resolutions has proved difficult, if not outright impossible, because of lack of political will on the part of Member States. Sometimes we have blamed the veto power exercised by the five permanent members of the Security Council as being responsible for rendering United Nations decisions and resolutions powerless and ineffective. Permit me to mention that it does not necessarily follow that majority resolutions and decisions are always practical. In this regard, use of the veto could be considered as positive.

Through the United Nations States Members are afforded the opportunity to meet, to hold frank, construction discussions and to share views on problem-solving. I believe that over the years the United Nations has made great and significant contributions towards world peace and prosperity. Through its various specialized agencies the United Nations has served as a catalyst in stimulating and promoting action elsewhere. The world's socio-economic sectors have undergone profound changes and have now become interdependent. This interdependence, added to the complexities of the problem, leads at times to intense differences of views among the various groups of countries. But at the same time, they have underlined the mutuality of interests and the need for understanding and co-operation. We should therefore best commemorate the fortieth session by affirming the common desire of all Member States to continue to make sustained efforts to raise the standard of living in all countries. This is, in essence, the *raison d'être* of the specialized agencies.

I should like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General and to all those countries that have, in one way or another, assisted the countries of sub-Saharan Africa. The countries of that region have been severely affected by acute food shortages as a result of unprecedented prolonged drought, accelerating

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desertification, floods and adverse climatic conditions, as well as other natural disasters. Despite its great size, diversity and enormous economic potential, Africa still remains the least developed of all the continents. However, in accordance with the provisions of the Lagos Plan of Action, African countries have individually and collectively recognized the need to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and supply, collective self-reliance and sustained development. The efforts of the international community with regard to food grants, emergency-relief operations and related foreign aid are welcome and commendable, although they constitute temporary solutions to Africa's food crisis.

What Africa requires is financial and technical assistance to enable the continent to improve its agriculture, train its agricultural personnel, conduct more research to improve crop yield, adopt modern methods of farming and move away from subsistence farming.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

If I may be permitted to digress a little, I should like to speak briefly about my own country. As the General Assembly may be aware, Malawi is predominantly an agricultural country with no minerals that can be exploited economically or commercially. However, I am pleased to inform this Assembly that we are self-sufficient in food production and our economy is largely based on agriculture and agro-based light industries. Malawi's self-sufficiency in food production and modest economic progress have been achieved because of the people's positive response to our leader's constant call for hard work in the fields and the peace and political stability prevailing in the country. The primary goal of Malawi's development policies is to continue to raise and improve the standard of living of the entire population, especially those in the rural areas, who constitute 90 per cent of the country's population.

The agricultural production derives principally from two sub-sectors, notably, smallholder farming on customary land and estate or commercial farming on leasehold land. Smallholder farming takes up about 70 per cent of the country's cultivable land area, while commercial farming covers only 5 per cent. The main role of the smallholder sub-sector is to produce sufficient food crops for local consumption while the surplus is sold. The smallholders also produce cash crops for export and for local agro-based light industries. On the other hand, the estate sub-sector is the major foreign exchange earner, exporting tobacco, sugar, tea, tung oil, coffee and macadamia nuts.

The critical economic situation prevailing in Africa and in many developing countries calls for immediate attention. It is a matter of deep concern to my delegation that four decades after the end of the war the just demand of developing countries for the eradication of economic backwardness, domination and exploitation and for the achievement of equitable development and progress has remained largely

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unfulfilled. Despite their best efforts, the pace of development has been seriously set back in many developing countries and, indeed, reversed in the least developed and poorest among the poor, where deprivation and abject poverty remain the daily plight of hundreds of millions of people. This is why we have been appealing for the establishment of a new international economic order.

In his address to the Economic and Social Council last year, the Secretary-General warned the world in the following words:

"The economic survival of many countries in Africa is now at stake. Unless the international community responds urgently and adequately, the consequences for Africa will be very serious. But the consequences will be equally serious for the world as a whole."

My delegation would therefore like to take this opportunity to appeal to the developed and industrialized nations to provide the developing countries with more technical and financial assistance to enable them to overhaul and revamp their economies, which have been seriously hit as a result of high interest rates, indebtedness and low prices for their export commodities, coupled with the generally worsening economic climate. We appeal to the developed countries to consider the developing countries as partners in progress, because their development and well-being are closely linked with the development and well-being of the developing countries. It would, indeed, be a most welcome humanitarian gesture if the lending countries were to consider the possibility of converting official loans and development aid into grants in order to alleviate the economic burden of the low-income countries. We further appeal to all potential and traditional donors for more assistance to Africa. We believe that the world community is capable of rendering generous assistance to Africa, which is ravaged by food shortages, financial hardships, balance-of-payments problems, drought, hunger, desertification and acute transport problems.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

I should like now to say something about matters affecting our region. I refer specifically to the political situation currently prevailing in southern Africa. Our region is yearning for peace. We are aware that there exists a close relationship between peace and development and that these two elements are not mutually exclusive and cannot be pursued in isolation one from the other. Indeed, progress in the achievement of one facilitates the achievement of the other and vice versa. The interrelationship between peace and development is particularly crucial and relevant in the circumstances currently prevailing in our region.

My delegation is obviously concerned over the unresolved political impasse in Namibia. While the process of decolonization has reached its final and most decisive phase, we note with great concern that the people of Namibia have not as yet attained their rightful independence. The war that is raging in that part of our region has claimed, and continues to claim, many innocent lives on both sides, and in the process property worth millions of dollars has been destroyed. The Government of Malawi firmly supports the call for independence and self-determination for Namibia and fervently believes that the only viable solution to the problem is through the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The independence of Namibia should not be linked to any extraneous issues which are outside the ambit and framework of the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Any deliberate action or move aimed at undermining and frustrating attempts at finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the Namibian problem not be accepted by any of the peace-loving nations.

My delegation welcomes any moves in our region that are geared towards the achievement of peace and peaceful solutions to our problems. The importance of peaceful coexistence cannot be over-emphasized. Indeed, hostilities between

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neighbouring countries should not be encouraged. We believe that through co-operation a new epoch of peace and security could be ushered into our region.

I believe that the problems facing our region can best be solved through the policy of contact and dialogue. At the moment, we are concerned about the apparent failure to find a just and lasting solution to the problems facing our region. My Government does not believe in the use of force or violence in solving problems and disputes. Equally, we do not subscribe to the policy of isolation and boycott.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

The General Assembly is aware that the international community is now pressing for disinvestment and mandatory sanctions in order to bring about change and meaningful political reforms in South Africa.

I strongly appeal to the proponents of this philosophy to reconsider the matter on the grounds that economic sanctions are bound to be detrimental and are bound to cause more hardships to the majority of black people than to the minority white population. Indeed, as South Africa has itself predicted, the economic repercussions and reverberative effects would also adversely affect the neighbouring countries.

With regard to conflict areas in the Middle East, Asia and South-East Asia, we appeal to the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices in order to find just and lasting solutions which would be acceptable to the parties involved. I believe that negotiated settlements in these regions should be speedily pursued because international peace is the concern of my Government. In this connection, I would like to take the liberty to applaud the efforts undertaken by several peace-loving nations in the search for durable peace in these regions. My delegation believes that the total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from these regions would certainly enhance the chances of finding durable and just solutions to the problems. I would like the peoples of these regions to be afforded the opportunity to choose their own leaders and to determine their own destiny without foreign interference and intervention in their internal affairs.

The question of Cyprus also deserves mention by my delegation. My delegation calls for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus. We would like to see peace prevail in Cyprus, and this could best be achieved if the two communities were afforded, without foreign intervention, the opportunity to hold further inter-communal and proximity talks. In this regard, we believe that a solution acceptable to both communities might be worked out.

(Mr. Hara, Malawi)

My delegation would like to point out that there is a close dynamic interrelationship between peace and international security and disarmament. I am, therefore, calling for effective measures to halt the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race. I equally support all efforts, bilateral and multilateral, aimed at genuine nuclear disarmament and arms limitation. My delegation's concern is in respect of the probability of unleashing a nuclear war which would be extremely catastrophic. Huge sums of money are spent on nuclear weapons, and I appeal to the developed nations to channel these funds to other developmental activities in the developing countries in order to improve the health, education, nutritional status, and the general standard of living of their peoples.

May I be permitted to reiterate once more my Government's belief in the policy and philosophy of contact and dialogue as the only practical way of solving most of the world's political problems and conflicts. Therefore, Malawi believes passionately in the noble ideals for which the United Nations stands, which are world peace, international security, and justice. These fundamental ideals could be realized through peaceful discussions among nations and not through threats, violence or war.

During the last 40 years of its existence, the United Nations has done commendable work in the promotion and maintenance of international peace, and I appeal to all the members of this Assembly to rededicate themselves to the noble principles and purposes of the Charter and to support effectively our Organization.

Finally, may I be permitted to assure the General Assembly that the constructive efforts of our Organization, in its search for peace, security and justice, will always enjoy the full support of the Government of the Republic of Malawi.

Mr. AKINYEMI (Nigeria): Mr. President, in the name of the Nigerian delegation, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the President warmly on his election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. His long and distinguished experience in the United Nations gives us confidence that he will most competently guide the deliberations of the Assembly. I wish him every success in the months ahead.

I would also like to pay tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In the same vein, permit me, Mr. President, to express my thanks and appreciation to our distinguished Secretary-General, for his untiring efforts in the service of the international community.

My Government has already expressed its deep condolence to the Government and people of Mexico on the recent earthquake. May I, however, take this opportunity to appeal to the international community to show solidarity with Mexico in the true spirit of human brotherhood.

Throughout the world the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is being observed with mixed feelings. There is much to cheer and applaud in the record of the United Nations. Forty years after its founding, the world is much better off with, than without, the United Nations. The Organization has achieved a lot in the areas of decolonization, human rights, health, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance. The specialized agencies in the system have improved the quality of life of millions of people throughout the world, within their areas of competence.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

These accomplishments, however, are overshadowed by the threat to human existence arising from super-Power nuclear rivalry, the unsettled political situation in almost every part of the world, and the constant decline in the economic condition of the majority of the world's population. Yet, the effectiveness of the United Nations to cope with these global problems seems to be at an all-time low. The Organization is being gripped by a paralysis which is indicative of the determination of some powerful Members to avoid the constraints of multilateralism, the more easily to be able to impose unilateral solutions to international problems.*

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

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

The United Nations is at a cross-roads. Its Members are faced with two options. We can continue along the present path of rendering the Organization increasingly ineffective and irrelevant to the crucial issues of our time. That is a choice that can lead only to catastrophe. Alternatively, we can choose to revitalize the Organization, to enhance its effectiveness and to make it live up to the hopes conceived by the founding fathers. The requirement of survival dictates that we choose this second option. The United Nations must be revitalized and strengthened. For this to happen we have to confront collectively the political as well as the structural crises afflicting it. Since the Organization is a structure of our own creation and a tool in our own hands, it can be effective only to the extent that Members allow it to be. This fortieth session should be an opportunity for us all to demonstrate the political will that is the basic ingredient of revitalization. The permanent members of the Security Council, who, under the Charter, have the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, will particularly have to demonstrate the will to find a new approach more consonant with the universal hope reposed in the United Nations.

The time is ripe for new initiatives to prevent this Organization from being paralysed and to prevent cold-war suspicions and considerations from holding back the evolution of solutions to the pressing problems of mankind. Let us never despair of building bridges between protagonists. Let us never despair of thinking thoughts and dreaming dreams in an endeavour to bring sanity to the world. This responsibility does not rest with the big Powers alone; it rests with all of us.

The primary purpose of the United Nations is the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. In its 40 years of existence no world war has broken out. That is something worth cheering. However, there have been and still are several localized wars in many parts of the globe. These wars have claimed more lives than the Second World War. Moreover, they have been and are being

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fought in the Third World, in areas least able to afford the accompanying destruction and devastation. Even when the signs of the outbreak of such wars are seen, the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, is rendered incapable of taking preventive action in accordance with the Charter. The Organization therefore often looks on helplessly while wars break out and are fought for as long as the antagonists want. Collective security, which was predicated on a degree of consensus among the major Powers, has given way to a polarization of the world into two rival alliances each of which has developed the concept of security based on the competitive accumulation of nuclear weapons. As a result of this arms race, the world is faced with the ultimate peril of total destruction.

For the first time in the history of the human race man has within his power and capability the means by which he could annihilate many times over the whole of life on earth. Rather than enhancing security, the accumulation of nuclear weapons has become the greatest source of global danger. Yet the super-Powers that are responsible for this very grave situation are not disposed to show any serious commitment to reducing the levels of such weapons in the interest of the survival of humanity. Let it not be said that the United Nations has not constantly drawn attention to that danger. In two special sessions devoted to disarmament and in countless resolutions adopted at its regular sessions the General Assembly has not only characterized in vivid terms the danger posed by nuclear weapons but drawn up several programmes of action for the attainment of general and complete disarmament.

The response and reaction of the super-Powers have been in stark contrast to the urgency of the situation. To be sure, they make a lot of motion about negotiations. However, the international community cannot be blamed if it now sees these negotiations as no more than exercises in public relations. In some cases these efforts are even designed to buy more time to design and manufacture more dreadful weapons of mass destruction.

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Nuclear disarmament is a global issue in which all States have a vital stake. It cannot and should not, therefore, be left exclusively in the hands of the two super-Powers. The United Nations, representing the peoples of the world, should keep up the pressure to bring about a halt to the nuclear arms race and to proceed to nuclear disarmament. The very survival of all our countries and all our peoples is at stake.

Another major threat to international peace and security that has defied United Nations efforts is apartheid, that iniquitous practice which has rightly been termed a crime against humanity. The danger inherent in the practice was first brought to the attention of the United Nations General Assembly at its third session. Since then apartheid has thrived on the support of certain powerful Members of this Organization whose concern for high returns on investments in South Africa outweighs their global responsibility. By a series of oppressive laws and the naked practice of State terrorism, successive régimes in apartheid South Africa have violated every conceivable law of human decency. In the process also the Pretoria clique has constituted itself into a veritable menace to the neighbouring States, disturbing the peace and security of the entire southern African region. My Government has condemned in no uncertain terms the latest violation of the territorial integrity of Angola by South Africa. Nigeria pledges its unflinching support to those sister African States that are victims of the racist régime.

As if to emphasize their disgust at the failure of the United Nations to take effective action against apartheid, the people of South Africa have decided to make whatever sacrifice is required to liquidate apartheid. As a result of the spontaneous uprising of the past few months, it now appears that the count-down to the collapse of apartheid has at least started. Oppression by the white rulers has reached the point where it has forced all segments of the oppressed to rebel.

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This is not the first time that blacks have reacted to their subjugation. What is different is the evident determination, even in the face of panic emergency measures, to press on. It is significant that the trigger-point to the current wave of mass action was the so-called constitutional reform whereby the apartheid régime thought it could perpetuate its oppression by granting some meaningless concessions to the Coloureds and the Asians. Characteristically, the apartheid régime thought it could, without reaction, continue to ignore the 21 million blacks. That was its crowning folly, for it totally misjudged the mood of the black people of South Africa.

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The mass revolt which has involved workers, students, even school children, and the clergy, has caught the apartheid régime off guard. Its response, again true to character, was to introduce more draconian laws in the form of declaring a state of emergency. Two points should now be clear to the apologists for the apartheid régime: first, that the racist régime is in no mood to seek a peaceful accommodation with the majority blacks for a framework for the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa based on equality of all races. Mr. Botha's long awaited speech of 15 August 1985 gave not the slightest indication of a disposition towards meaningful change. Those States Members of the United Nations, which rather than support effective action against the apartheid régime delude themselves about possible persuasion of the régime, should by now see that they are mistaken. The ruling clique in Pretoria will not give up except as the result of concerted pressure of international action in support of the internal revolt of South Africans.

Secondly, the continuous mass actions of the black Africans, despite brutal police and military killings, should by now have convinced outsiders that no sacrifice is considered too great to make for their liberty and human dignity. It is especially important to emphasize this point since unwillingness to support effective economic sanctions against South Africa is often camouflaged by the spurious argument of its effects on black South Africans and on neighbouring countries. The present economic system in South Africa is based on the deprivation of blacks and the exploitation of their labour. It is one of the pillars of the apartheid system. To dismantle apartheid, a change in the system is inevitable. Let those who oppose sanctions but protest their abhorrence of apartheid know that they are guilty of double-talk.

On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations let us resolve to bring hope to the oppressed South Africans. Let the Security Council meet and impose

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mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Let all the permanent members of the Security Council support sanctions in discharging the onerous responsibility bestowed on them by the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Let all Members of the United Nations give total support for sanctions, bearing in mind that the alternative will be a bloodbath of unspeakable proportions. Today I call upon the principal trading partners of South Africa to co-operate and assist the process of genuine change in South Africa that may still be achieved without mass bloodshed.

Nineteen years ago on 27 October 1966 the General Assembly, under resolution 2145 (XI), terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility over the Territory. Since then the United Nations, through the General Assembly and the Security Council, has adopted numerous resolutions and decisions all aimed at finding a peaceful, just and acceptable solution of the Namibian question. The landmark of these efforts was the adoption by the Security Council in 1978 of resolution 435 (1978) which embodied a plan for the independence of Namibia.

Despite all the efforts of the United Nations, the question of Namibia remains unresolved and the racist Pretoria régime continues to occupy Namibia illegally and to exploit its human and natural resources in contravention of Decree No. 1 enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia. Unfortunately, South Africa has been able to count on the support of a powerful Member of this Organization in its continued defiance of the United Nations over Namibia. By linking Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban defensive forces in Angola, South Africa has been provided with a cover with which to perpetuate its atrocities in Namibia.

Insistence on extraneous and irrelevant issues as a precondition for the independence of Namibia is totally unacceptable to my Government. Namibia to us is a classic case of colonialism that must be resolved as such. It should not become

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a victim of the ideological rivalry of the super-Powers. The South African presence in Namibia must be seen for what it is. It is an illegal occupation by a latter-day imperialist Power that seeks every excuse to perpetuate its illegality and deny the Namibian people their right to self-determination. South Africa must be compelled to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing resolution 435 (1978).

Another area where the United Nations has failed to achieve a solution is the Middle East. It is a problem as old as the United Nations itself. Yet we appear to be no nearer to a solution today than we were in previous years just because some of those involved do not face the realities of the situation. How can the Palestinians be ignored if there is to be a viable solution? Just as the security of all States in the region is an indispensable element in a durable solution, so also should be the recognition of the inalienable rights of all people in the region. That includes the Palestinians. A solution that is just, fair and equitable will have to recognize, inter alia, the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination. An international conference on the Middle East is widely considered as the most appropriate forum for such a negotiated solution. Nigeria appeals to those countries which continue to oppose such a conference to reconsider their position. If the present stalemate is to be broken, all concerned should appreciate that unilateral measures are no substitute for the collective wisdom of the United Nations.

Other trouble spots abound to remind us of the danger posed to peace and security in various parts of the world in this fortieth year of the United Nations. Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Central America, for instance, are sad reminders of unacceptable big Power intervention and interference in the affairs of small neighbours. This is an appropriate juncture in the annals of the United Nations to call for strict adherence to the principle of sovereign equality

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of States and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State, big or small. Nigeria therefore reiterates its support for the efforts aimed at establishing in Afghanistan and Kampuchea a stable and durable peace based on the withdrawal of all foreign forces and strict respect for the right of the peoples of those two countries to choose through free elections their Governments and re-establish firmly their non-aligned status.

As for Central America, it behooves us all to support the efforts of the countries of Latin America to find a solution to problems in the subregion. All acts of aggression, overt or covert, must cease. All forms of economic sabotage directed against any country must end. The Contadora Group must be encouraged to pursue its initiative, which represents an important step towards lasting peace. We therefore urge the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to show the political will to conclude negotiations on the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

At a time when the increasing interdependence of countries calls for greater co-operation between them in the spirit and framework of the Charter that was adopted 40 years ago at San Francisco, we are instead witnessing the painful abandonment of those noble and worthy goals of the United Nations. We are witnessing a steady erosion of confidence in the multilateral system created in the post-war period. Further, we are witnessing a relentless attack on the United Nations system, which is at the centre of existing multilateral arrangements. Today the role of the United Nations in providing a universal forum for economic problems facing the international community is continuously disrupted, bypassed and even ignored. Indeed, it has become more apparent than ever before that the United Nations system is the focus of the current challenge to multilateralism. Violations, often flagrant, of the principles and norms which underpin the multilateral system have helped to weaken its ability to provide a viable framework for international economic co-operation for development, as envisaged by the Charter.

A concomitant feature of the decline in multilateralism has been the marked resurgence of unilateral approaches to economic problems that have global ramifications. What is of the utmost concern to my delegation is the adverse impact on the developing countries of the unilateral decisions and acts of the powerful actors in the global economy. Such actions, by definition, are bound to be arbitrary and extremely self-serving. It is therefore not surprising in the least that they tend to violate basic economic agreements and concepts which they themselves have invested with the cloak of sacred economic doctrine and international law. Some of these unilateral actions include high interest rates, volatile exchange rates, protectionism, measures that result in deteriorating terms

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of trade for the developing countries, and refusal to view with sympathy the external debts of developing countries which have resulted in the net export of capital to the developed countries.

All those factors are symptomatic of a dangerous movement towards a new de facto multilateral economic framework quite incapable of dealing with the great global economic problems of our time, both in their medium-term and long-term prospects. We reiterate that global problems, be they in the areas of trade, commodities, money and finance, or debt, demand global solutions. To achieve this goal we must effectively employ the mechanisms and instruments that are available to the international community, namely, the institutions of the United Nations system. We must go back to the true spirit of the Charter of the United Nations in ensuring and sustaining vibrant multilateral economic co-operation. Nigeria believes that the occasion of this fortieth anniversary of our Organization is an appropriate time for the renewal of and rededication to the multilateral spirit.

In reaffirming our commitment to the multilateral approach, Nigeria calls for the resumption of an honest and serious North-South dialogue on issues of international economic co-operation for development. During the last decade we witnessed, with profound regret, many missed opportunities resulting in the lack of significant progress in all sectors. Clearly there is an urgent need to create, nurture and sustain a favourable climate of genuine dialogue and consensus. There is a need to allay unfounded fears of each other's intentions. We believe that flexibility in our various positions, coupled with the necessary political will, is required to permit the restructuring of the world economy in a mutually advantageous manner, as called for in the new international economic order. Global negotiations, stalled as a result of one ruse after another for the past five years, in spite of the sincerity demonstrated by the Group of 77, must be launched immediately.

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The world economic situation continues to be fragile even though we are in the third year of the recovery. It is now generally agreed that the recovery, which at best remains uneven and unbalanced, has failed to have any visible positive effects on world trade and the economies of the developing countries, thus proving beyond any doubt the ineptness of the trickle-down theory. There are uncertainties about the immediate prospects as protectionist pressures and attitudes in the major industrialized countries refuse to abate, giving rise to policies which can only further choke the feeble growth signals in the developing countries. We are therefore concerned about the adverse effects of the general macro-economic policies of the major industrialized countries on the economies of the developing countries. It is obvious to all that there is no effective surveillance over the major industrialized countries whose policies have the greatest impact on the international economy and whose unilateral actions and policies continue to destabilize the multilateral régime. We must realize that a world where the many are poor and the few are rich is a world of iniquity; it is a recipe for instability. So let us together examine seriously ways and means of bringing about prosperity, not for a few, but for all. Let us re-examine the international financial institutions with the purpose of making them purveyors of prosperity rather than economic and political ruin.

The burden of debt which has become unbearable in financial terms for many developing countries need not be further compounded by social and political upheavals. How can a developing country like mine spend about 45 per cent of its export earnings on debt servicing and still be expected to satisfy the basic needs of its teeming population as well as achieve sustained economic growth? Our creditors must realize that it is in their interest as well as ours that we survive.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

Let me now turn to the special challenge which the critical economic situation in Africa poses for the conscience of mankind and the international community. By adopting a Declaration on the situation at its thirty-ninth session, this Assembly recognized the gravity of the terrible tragedy that was unfolding on the continent and the need for the whole world to stand up as one to combat the situation. One year has elapsed and we cannot pay enough tribute to the tremendous response by the international community to the relief aspect of the crisis. The overwhelmingly sympathetic and active public opinion in the donor countries not only attests to the brotherhood of man but has also helped to keep interest in the situation alive and to permit sustained action by their home Governments. The generosity of which the human spirit is capable when aroused is a welcome testimony to the goodness that mankind is capable of. A great amount of food aid and allied requisites were provided and, without question, numerous lives were saved. We applaud the manifest international goodwill which this relief assistance has exemplified and hope that this will be intensified in the future as the situation in many African countries still remains critical and life-threatening under the spectre of starvation and hunger. Indeed, at the present time, emergency requirements of over \$1.5 billion for 1985 are still unmet for the 18 most seriously affected countries.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

While on the whole the donor response to the emergency dimensions of the crisis has been commendable, it is much to be regretted that very little, if any, effort has been directed towards the longer-term and structural problems of the African economy. We view with enormous concern the reluctance of the international community to deal with the fundamental problems of economic development faced by African countries. As the Nigerian delegation pointed out at the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, in July, when this item came before the Council for the second year in a row as its priority item, it is precisely in the vital area of long-term measures that the response of the international community and the United Nations system has been the weakest. No serious and co-ordinated effort has been made to interface the current global response to the emergency situation with the longer-term development needs of the African continent.

We call for urgent action by the international community addressed specifically to such structural problems as food and agricultural production, drought and desertification, declining financial, particularly official development assistance, flows and, last but not least, the heavy external debts of the African region. We firmly believe that the rehabilitation and restoration of the process of growth and development is impossible in the absence of intensive and effective action on these major long-term problems faced by African countries. We call strongly for the adoption of a new development consensus by the international community on behalf of Africa to pave the way for this concerted global action. We believe that this is a call without equivocation and that it should be possible for donors to accept this challenge nobly and liberally in the same manner as they demonstrated in meeting the requirements of the emergency. We further believe that the capacity to do so exists. We therefore call for the necessary political will to make this possible.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

It should be clear, since there can be no mistake about this, that African countries accept that the primary responsibility for dealing with the critical economic situation and for relaunching the development process in the continent lies with them. The 21st session of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in July and devoted mainly to the discussion of the critical economic situation of their region, demonstrated the commitment of Africa's leaders and peoples to the economic development and self-reliance of the continent. Accordingly, the summit meeting adopted both a Declaration and a far-reaching five-year priority programme of action for the accelerated development of Africa. We commend this action programme for the sustained support of the international community and in this light we welcome the positive tone of resolution 1985/80, on the critical economic situation in Africa, adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session. In addition, we wish to highlight the appeals made by the summit meeting for the convening of an international conference on Africa's debt and a special session of the General Assembly to discuss Africa's critical economic situation. We believe that these are extremely important calls from Africa which deserve the full support of the international community.

I should like to state again that, in spite of its shortcomings, the existence of the United Nations in the past 40 years has made the world a better place than it was in the pre-United Nations years. But a lot more needs to be done. Confidence in the Organization has eroded; the Organization has been ignored and heavily criticized. Its effectiveness has consequently been sapped. We need to revitalize the Organization by rededicating ourselves to the ideals enshrined in the Charter, in particular by collectively demonstrating in a practical way the political will to act.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

We must restore confidence in the United Nations as the main framework for multilateral co-operation in the world. We must collectively revitalize the Organization and create a political atmosphere that will be conducive to the pursuit and realization of global peace and security, as well as the promotion of economic growth and development.

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

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): It is with considerable regret that I have asked for the floor in order to respond to the statement made this morning by the Prime Minister of Vanuatu. I say "regret" because that is how we felt as we listened to the disparaging remarks and slurs he uttered when referring to my country and my people, which only reveal the peculiar bias - or is it myopia? - of his perceptions regarding Indonesia.

The Prime Minister again repeated the well-worn half-truths, distortions and outright falsehoods about the situation as regards East Timor. I shall on this occasion, however, refrain from commenting on this particular part of his statement, for during this general debate others have also made similar references to this question, and my delegation wishes to reserve its right to reply to all of them at the same time at a later stage.

I do want to respond, however, to the remarks of the Prime Minister in referring to that part of our country which he has a curious penchant for calling by its colonial name - and, by the way, even in this he is incorrect, as Irian Jaya was never called "West Papua" but rather "West New Guinea".

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

As all members know, Irian Jaya was part of the former Dutch East Indies. For scores of years, the people of Irian Jaya waged the same struggle for independence in unity with their brothers and sisters in the other parts of Indonesia against their common colonial ruler; and it is only because of a neo-colonial trick, on which I shall not elaborate, that the people of Irian Jaya were temporarily prevented from joining their Indonesian compatriots in a free and independent Indonesia. Hence, even after our independence was internationally recognized, the Indonesian people had to wage another long struggle, here in the United Nations and outside it, in order to achieve the restoration of the total integrity of its sovereign territory. With the assistance of the United Nations, that struggle was finally crowned with victory on the basis of an act of free choice by the people of Irian Jaya which reunited it with the rest of the Republic in 1962. Subsequently the act of free choice was endorsed by this world body in 1969 in resolution 2504 (XXIV).

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

These are the facts concerning Irian Jaya. They may not conform to the particular perception of the Prime Minister, but they are the facts none the less. To continue to describe this process using words such as "annexation" and "expansionism" reveals either shocking ignorance or deliberate malicious intent. Frankly, we are at a loss as to which of these it may be in the case of Vanuatu.

The territory of the Indonesian State is vast enough, its resources rich and varied enough and its manpower numerous enough in order to enable the Indonesian nation to achieve peacefully, and within its own borders, its national goal of developing into a just and prosperous society. Hence, to depict Indonesia as a land-hungry and greedy expansionist power, ready to pounce on and I quote the Prime Minister's words "smaller and more vulnerable neighbours" (A/40/PV.28, p. 51) is simply ridiculous.

Thus, on this issue of Irian Jaya, it is not that Indonesia would want people to forget. On the contrary, we would want people to remember what has actually transpired during the long struggle that the Indonesian people have waged to secure their territorial integrity.

What, in effect, is the Prime Minister suggesting to the Assembly? Stripped of its anti-colonial verbiage, what he is in essence proposing is that one part of a sovereign country ought to be separated from the rest of the nation. And this he would do on the spurious basis of ethnic or racial considerations. If his astounding proposal were to be seriously entertained, would he then suggest on the same basis that we should have another look at the borders of other existing States of the third world because they, too, were arbitrarily drawn by the former colonial Powers and subsequently bequeathed to the newly independent States? Would he try to rearrange them along racial and ethnic lines?

Indonesia is a multi-ethnic, multiracial society which bases its notion of a nation-State, and proudly so, on a common philosophy and way of life, a common

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

heritage of cultural and political values, a common history of principled struggle and a perception of common destiny, not on the colour of our skin, the texture of our hair, the way we dress, the dialect we speak - and there are numerous dialects in Indonesia - or the religion we profess. As is well known, the ethnic origins of the Indonesian people are a composite of Malay, Polynesian and Melanesian strains and in total numbers there are in fact more people of Melanesian stock within Indonesia's borders than in the entire South Pacific.

Last year, the Foreign Minister of Vanuatu expounded the same theme. In our response we pointed out how irrelevant and dangerous the implications of his notions were. We deeply regret, therefore, to hear the same theme repeated today. We ask the Prime Minister the same question as we then posed to his Foreign Minister: by what right does Vanuatu attempt to speak for our citizens in the province of Irian Jaya?

The Prime Minister, in his statement, rightly lauded the role of the United Nations and the sacred principles enshrined in its Charter. May I respectfully remind him that among those sacred principles are those of respect for the territorial sovereignty and integrity of States and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. As these are cardinal principles enshrined in the Charter and cherished by the Non-Aligned Movement and by all civilized, peaceful States in the world, no nation can remain indifferent to what amounts to a blatant call for their contravention. Nor can Indonesia. We continue to hope that the Prime Minister's remarks and his distorted vision of Indonesia are based simply on an unfortunate misunderstanding and misperception of the situation and are not a veiled incitement to separatism.

We stand ready to assist him in arriving at the right understanding of the affairs in our region, in which we share so many common interests and responsibilities. We have no other wish but to co-operate peacefully and constructively with all our neighbours in South-East Asia and the Pacific - and that

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

most certainly includes the Republic of Vanuatu - in the development of our respective nations and in the maintenance of regional peace and stability. But, at the same time, we must also tell him quite candidly and firmly - and without calling him names, which, indeed, we have never done - that we shall never accept and categorically reject his views on Irian Jaya.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I should like to respond to the statements made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea and by the Prime Minister of Vanuatu on the subject of French nuclear testing and New Caledonia.

First, I shall address nuclear testing. Only a few days ago I had occasion to recall to this Assembly the conclusions of international scientific missions that were able with complete freedom to carry out measurements, investigations and sampling at the Mururoa Centre. The conclusions of their reports are known and have been set forth in detail once again before the Special Political Committee. It should be no surprise that they established that the tests were harmless, and that over the long term. After all, the people primarily concerned by the testing are French people of metropolitan as well as local origin and the Assembly can be sure that the common concern of those people and of the authorities would not tolerate the health of the inhabitants of those islands and their environment being threatened in any way.

Our authorities have always taken care to ensure that no danger of this nature would ever weigh on the people there. It is therefore clear, as was acknowledged - and I note this with satisfaction - by the two speakers to whom I am responding, that the criticism of my country is primarily and basically political in nature. The Prime Minister of Vanuatu himself said that what he criticizes France for is that "It ignores our moral objections to nuclear weaponry."

(A/40/PV.28, p. 43) That is a different dimension.

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

Realistically, France obviously cannot take account unilaterally of those objections, which should rather, and primarily, be addressed to other Powers. The French deterrent force is exclusively defensive in nature and capacity. It is, moreover, the foundation of the security of my country, which was invaded three times in the space of 100 years. How can one ask a sovereign State to abandon its means of defence when care is taken to avoid asking the same of those with a capacity 100 per cent greater?

How, lastly, can the position of France be described as arrogant because, in accordance with its rights and in the full exercise of its sovereignty, it is conducting in French territory action which is essential to its security and which, I repeat, does not affect peace in the region, the security of States located there, the health of the people or the environment?

Does the word "arrogance" not apply rather to those who, constantly and without taking account of the open-minded approach of the Government of France and its frequently expressed desire for dialogue, seek to impose their views on lands and populations situated thousands of kilometres away from their own countries? Does it not apply, rather, to those who conduct themselves with regard to an entire continent with vast seas as if they were the owners - and by what right and on what basis - thus reviving claims and practices that have gone for ever, and doing so in contravention of the most elementary rules and practices of international law?

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

As far as the future of New Caledonia is concerned, my delegation cannot accept the implications made by the aforementioned speakers, particularly the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea, regarding the intentions of the French Government. When it comes to the exercise of the right to self-determination and the practice of democracy, who in this Assembly can fault us? France, which has proclaimed the right of peoples to self-determination, has remained completely faithful to that principle and intends to respect the freely expressed wishes of all the inhabitants of its territories, in New Caledonia and elsewhere.

As far as concerns New Caledonia, the French Government has begun a process which will enable the people of that territory freely to express themselves on their future. That process, which respects the rights and interests of all the communities, has been approved by the French Parliament. As is known, it provides for the organization of a vote on self-determination before the end of 1987 and the establishment of provisional institutions.

The new status, which is adapted to the pluri-ethnic character of Caledonian society, has established four largely decentralized regions with major powers and, at the level of the territory, a congress and an executive council.

The regional councils were elected on 29 September last in elections in which all the political groupings submitted candidates in all areas and which were carried out in tranquillity and in an exemplary and proper manner - as everyone noted - with a very high participation of more than 80 per cent. Hence they have political significance of the highest importance. Advocates of independence won in three regions out of four and have a majority in the executive council. Their adversaries - who cannot be said to be all of European origin - won a majority in the fourth region and in the congress of the territory.

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

In establishing these new institutions, the French Government has thus created conditions for balance and for dialogue among the various communities of New Caledonia. It is now up to the democratically elected representatives of those communities to work together and agree on the future of the territory, with a view to holding the vote on self-determination.

This process must be preserved; and my Government wishes to see it completed. Wisdom calls for its being carried out in tranquillity, freedom of expression and full respect. Any interference can only jeopardize the process.

Mr. VUROBARAVU (Vanuatu): My delegation wishes to reserve for a later date the exercise of its right of reply in response to the statement made in right of reply by the representative of Indonesia.

Mr. LOUMA (Papua New Guinea): My delegation would simply like to reserve for a later date the exercise of its right of reply to the sentiments just expressed by the Ambassador of France.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.