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#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 3 October 1986, 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. CHOUDHURY

(Bangladesh)

later:

Mr. HERRENBERG (Vice-President)

(Sur iname)

- General departe [9] (continued)

## Statements were made by:

Mr. Abdullah (United Arab Emirates)

Mr. Lekhanya (Lesotho)

Mr. Tudor (Barbados)

Mr. Traoré (Guinea)

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

#### AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

#### GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ABDULLAH (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, on behalf of the United Arab Emirates it gives me great pleasure to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-first session. This election reflects the confidence of the international community in you and in your country, Bangladesh, with which we have relations of friendship and co-operation. We are fully confident that you will conduct the proceedings of this session wisely and ably.

It also gives me pleasure to convey my sincere thanks and gratitude to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, for presiding over the fortieth session with wisdom and competence. On behalf of the United Arab Emirates, I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm our confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his continued efforts to strengthen the role of the Organization, and for the initiatives he has undertaken with a view to settling disputes.

The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations reflected the interest of the world in strengthening and enhancing the role of the Organization, particularly through the structuring of international relations in a way that would lead to peace through negotiations and through the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace has been a source of hope for many people. However, an objective review of the events of this year does not justify optimism, since certain parties have been trying to weaken the United Nations and diminish its role, a development which poses a threat to the existing international order. There is no doubt that the present financial

crisis is but one aspect of the international political crisis. Although we believe it is necessary to introduce the necessary administrative and financial reforms, this should not be used as a pretext for undermining the effectiveness of the United Nations.

On the other hand, this year has been a year of tension in big-Power relations. Violence has been used and escalated in certain parts of the world and the threat of force and its actual use against certain countries have been resorted to, time after time. This year has also seen the possibilities of peaceful settlement of outstanding problems recede further.

The principles of our country's foreign policy rest on a firm commitment to the Charter. They also rest on the desire to strengthen the United Nations organs and support the peaceful methods prescribed by its Charter for the settling of disputes among States. Another basic of our foreign policy is respect for and adherence to the resolutions of the United Nations.

That is the reason why my country has always called for adherence by all States to the aims of the Charter. We should resort to its provisions as arbiters in our disputes instead of resorting to confrontation and violence in pursuit of ephemeral interests.

Proceeding from that belief, we endorse the proposals for strengthening the system of collective security and for enhancing the role of the United Nations. This strengthening of the United Nations should include use by the Security Council of preventive measures, and use of the Security Council as a forum for negotiation in urgent international situations and discussion of the problems and obstacles which have thus far prevented the Organization from performing its role and fulfilling the hopes and expectations of the international community.

We hereby emphasize that the United Nations should continue to play its vital role in defusing the serious manifestations of world tensions in the interests of détente, the halting of the arms race and the prevention of the acquisition of nuclear weapons whose proliferation threatens to annihilate humanity. The Organization should also be instrumental in achieving total disarmament and encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Continued international tensions and worsening conflicts and disputes between States are evident in the Gulf region, where the war is still raging between two Muslim neighbours, Iran and Iraq. This war, now in its seventh year, has expanded, and its consequences are no longer limited to the two warring parties. Its unending escalation has disastrous consequences for peace and security in the region and in the world at large. We have always been of the opinion that the only way to end the war and its destructive consequences is peaceful dialogue and the will to solve the outstanding problems between the two countries in a manner that preserves their national rights in keeping with the Charter and the principles of international law. My country has translated this belief into action through its participation in the various efforts undertaken to end the conflict. We are prepared to take part in any further efforts directed towards that goal.

We regret to find that this war is generating threats to expand its area. We therefore re-emphasize the grave dangers inherent in such a development. We also emphasize our opposition to the occupation of any piece of Arab land. Hence we urge the international community to intensify its efforts and adopt serious and effective measures that will put an end to this devastating war.

We appreciate the positive posture of brotherly Iraq towards the international initiatives and efforts undertaken to end the war, including its recent peace proposals and we appeal to the Islamic Republic of Iran to follow suit and show that it wishes to end the war in the interests of stability and security in the region, and to avert the danger of foreign intervention.

The situation in the Middle East still poses serious threats to international peace. There have been more setbacks and failures in the search for peace in the region. Events after the fortieth session of the General Assembly underscore two axiomatic facts.

First, Israel has continued to create obstacles in the way of peace through its policy of aggression, its continued occupation of Arab land, the escalation of its repression against the Palestinian people, the building of settlements, the confiscation of Arab lands, its sustained effort to vacate Arab and Palestinian lands and disperse their inhabitants, and the escalation and hardening of its conditions in the face of any attempt or initiative aimed at achieving a just and permanent peace.

Secondly, the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East conflict. No initiative or effort will ever succeed in transcending the realm of theoretical assumptions without finding a just and comprehensive settlement which would ensure the exercise by the Palestinian peoples of their inalienable rights, including the right of return, self-determination and the establishment of their independent State. This has been borne out by events, past and present.

Consequently, if Israel is really interested in peace, it should declare its readiness to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab lands, including Jerusalem, so that the Palestinian people may exercise their inalienable rights.

The only mechanism that inspires hope for the achievement of a just and lasting peace is the international conference on the Middle East that should be convened in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the full participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The situation in our sister Lebanon is still a cause of grave concern for us.

Lebanon has been suffering from the absence of security and stability over the past several years. Israel's intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon, its occupation of part of Lebanon's territory in violation of the resolutions of the

Security Council and the principles of international conduct, together with its continued threats and acts of aggression, are a major reason for the protracted Lebanese conflict. These Israeli acts have adverse effects on Lebanon's search for national unity.

Thus the restoration of stability in Lebanon is tied to a large degree to Israel's withdrawal from the Lebanese territory that it occupies, and its abstention from intervention in Lebanon's internal affairs. We appeal to the various Lebanese factions to resolve their differences through political dialogue. That is the only hope for restoring stability to Lebanon.

The situation in South Africa concerns all of us because the racist régime in Pretoria is persisting in its policy of <u>apartheid</u>. It still occupies Namibia and commits acts of aggression against the African front-line States, thus violating their independence and territorial integrity in an attempt to destabilize their security and stability.

We condemn this policy which is a crime against humanity and an affront to human dignity. We also condemn the repressive and terrorist practices of the Pretoria régime against the African inhabitants, and demand the imposition of sanctions under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter on that régime, since the so-called policy of "constructive engagement" has demonstrated its utter failure in persuading the Pretoria régime to change its policies.

We look forward to the speedy implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We declare our support for the Namibian people's struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and our solidarity with the front-line States in their determined stand against the aggression of the apartheid régime. We strongly condemn the alliance between the racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel-Aviv and stress the similarity of their racist policies and repressive practices. We call on all States to refrain from co-operating with them in view of the threat that such co-operation poses to international peace and security.

The danger of war, particularly nuclear war, increases daily. This danger threatens not only our planet but outer space as well. Thus, the preservation of international peace and security, which is the main purpose for which the United Nations was established, is being undermined. The prevention of war must be the main concern of all States, particularly those that possess nuclear weapons. We hope that the negotiations between the two super-Powers, notably the forthcoming second summit meeting between their two leaders, will lay the necessary foundations for halting the arms race, thus paving the way for complete disarmament and the convening of an international conference on this subject, in which all States would participate.

My country supports the proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, especially for such a zone in the Middle East. We also emphasize our support for and adherence to the General Assembly resolution on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We hope that the obstacles that stand in the way of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean will be removed and that all the States concerned will be prepared to hold the Conference on the newly set date in 1988.

Just as we have always affirmed the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the non-use of force or the threat of force, and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, so we emphasize the need to reach a comprehensive political settlement in Afghanistan that will put an end to foreign intervention and guarantee complete respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

in regard to which we support the principles outlined by the Contadora Group for the settlement of the problems and conflicts in the region.

We urge North Korea and South Korea to settle their differences through open dialogue in order to satisfy the desire of their peoples for unity.

With regard to Cyprus, we are saddened by the obstacles that impede the efforts undertaken to settle that problem. We hope that the Secretary-General will persist in his efforts aimed at bridging the gap between the Greek and Turkish communities and reaching a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement within the framework of which the two communities can coexist, with full security, and the independence, security, territorial integrity, and non-aligned status of Cyprus will be guaranteed.

The state of the international economy is no different from that of world politics. The structural imbalances in the economic order have been accentuated, thus leading to sharp fluctuations in the prices of raw materials and a decline in the revenues derived therefrom as well as more protectionism, more discriminatory practices and more trade barriers to the exports of the developing countries. Moreover, those imbalances have triggered fiscal and monetary instability, fluctuations in exchange rates, a marked worsening of the problem of foreign indebtedness and interruption of the process of development. Needless to say, all

of this has had and will continue to have adverse effects on the developing countries.

In addition to economic instability, the continuous tensions that afflict international economic relations also cause us concern. We are also concerned about the lack of co-operation and serious efforts and the reduction of the role played by international organizations responsible for collective co-operation, while yet another cause of concern is the insistence of certain industrial nations on pursuing economic policies that are not in accordance with the goal of international economic development and do not lead to reform of the structure of the system of international economic relations.

In view of all of this, we reaffirm that the existing international economic order is not conducive to balanced and equitable development or just and equal relations among States. We must therefore continue the efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations so as to establish a new international economic order based on justice, equality, and mutual interest. To this end, the industrial nations must demonstrate a positive attitude and undertake serious negotiations with the developing countries with the aim of achieving international understanding and thus promoting the cause of development.

We emphasize the importance of strengthening the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as major forums for dialogue and negotiation on matters relating to international co-operation for development. We stress the need to abide by the principle of multilateralism and an integrated approach in dealing with the interrelated issues of money, finance, debt, trade and resources earmarked for development. We appeal to all States to honour the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and to refrain from using the imposition or threat of imposition of trade restrictions, embargoes or sanctions as a political instrument

in the conduct of economic relations, in violation of the Charter.

We hope that this session, together with the forthcoming session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will provide industrial and developing nations alike with the opportunity to make concrete progress towards a common strategy for solving existing economic problems and conducting international economic relations in a manner that will protect the common interests of all.

The significance of the United Nations lies in the commitment of its Member States to the Organization, as an embodiment of the will of the international community, in order to achieve détente and harmony between East and West and establish constructive co-operation between North and South. The continued existence of the United Nations is a <u>sine qua non</u> of our own existence and of our dealings with each other in this troubled world. We must therefore support the Organization and enhance its status so that we may be able to build the better world we all desire.

ADDRESS BY MR. JUSTIN METSING LEKHANYA, CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Head of Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho.

Mr. Justin Metsing Lekhanya, Head of Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Head of Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho, His Excellency Major-General Justin Metsing Lekhanya, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. LEKHANYA (Lesotho): On behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Lesotho and on my own behalf, I wish to offer you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Last year the Heads of State or Government assembled in this Hall to commemorate the fortieth birthday of the Organization, take stock of the achievements and failures of the United Nations system and, above all, renew their commitment to the noble ideals and lofty goals of the Charter.

We were gratified to note that all the leaders gathered here for the fortieth session held the common position that the lessons of the Second World War are as pertinent today as they were 40 years ago. In the aftermath of the war the world witnessed with hope the birth of the United Nations and the dawn of multilateralism. It was hoped that all nations would agree to subject their individual and nationalistic interests to the international consensus envisaged in the Charter. It was the overwhelming desire of the peoples of the world that the United Nations, through its Charter, should banish wars for ever from the face of the earth.

A sober assessment of the role and performance of the United Nations in international affairs in the last 41 years will reveal that on the issues of war and peace the Organization has not acquitted itself too well. Since the end of the Second World War over 150 wars and skirmishes of varying intensity and duration have occurred in different parts of the world, bringing in their wake untold suffering to millions of people.

All these tragic events have called into question the effectiveness of the global machinery for the resolution of disputes. The Security Council, which is the supreme organ of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been unable to arrest situations leading to

war and has often remained powerless in the face of naked aggression. At times the collective will of the international community has been frustrated either by the lack of political will on the part of Member States or by the indiscriminate use of the right of veto.

The apparent tendency to withdraw from multilateralism and resort instead to bilateral diplomacy has weakened the international consensus, with the result that many regional and global disputes no longer lend themselves to equitable solutions.

The United Nations is the mirror image of the attitude of its Member States. Without the political commitment of Members to resort to the machinery of the United Nations to resolve disputes, and without the political will to abide strictly by the resolutions of the Organization, the problems of Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Central America, the Middle East and southern Africa will continue to undermine international peace and security.

The shortcomings of the Organization in the resolution of regional disputes through the peaceful process of negotiations should not detract from its notable achievements in the fields of decolonization and development. The United Nations has not only ushered many of our countries into independence and sovereignty, but also helped to avert a third world war. Never before has the world enjoyed more than 40 years of uninterrupted global peace. The United Nations has thus become a unique forum where States meet and exchange views on a basis of sovereign equality. The founding fathers of the Organization had the wisdom and vision to recognize that, unless hunger, ignorance and disease were eliminated, world peace was bound to be difficult to achieve. They therefore established the Economic and Social Council as one of the main organs, whose task it is to co-ordinate the developmental activities of the United Nations. It is in this area that the United Nations, through its specialized agencies, has recorded notable achievements in

the fight against hunger and disease, especially in Africa. Millions of refugees and other stateless persons around the world have found a home within the United Nations system.

We have noted with satisfaction the spirit of international co-operation that underlined the deliberations of the special session of the General Assembly on the economic crisis in Africa. African leaders have not only recognized the gravity of the economic crisis engulfing the continent, but undertaken to initiate structural reforms in their economies and also committed themselves to shouldering the major portion of the burden of financial resources needed to rekindle the flame of development in Africa. We commend the Member States of the United Nations, especially the donor countries, and also the Secretary-General for the concern they have demonstrated with respect to the crisis in Africa.

Lesotho, as a member of the community of nations, is also concerned about developments in southern Africa, particularly South Africa. We seek neither to interfere in the internal affairs of that country nor to participate in the racial conflict that is taking place there. However, the situation inside South Africa and the international community's reaction to it in the form of economic sanctions have become matters of immediate concern to us in Lesotho. As the Assembly is aware, Lesotho is completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa, therefore events in that country have an immediate and direct impact on Lesotho. We cannot afford the luxury of ignoring the sanctions issue by pretending that it is none of our business because there is no apartheid in Lesotho. We are aware that we shall be at the receiving end of whatever economic measures are taken against South Africa by the international community. I therefore take this opportunity to address, through you, Mr. President, an urgent appeal to the world community to put together a package of measures to cushion Lesotho against the impact of sanctions.

Lesotho, as a peace-loving country, advocates dialogue for the resolution of international and local disputes. It is in this context that we have always called on the people of South Africa, both black and white, to sit down together to resolve the racial problems now confronting their country. As violence escalates in South Africa, we have to offer asylum to an increasingly large number of South African refugees. We shall continue to receive these victims of apartheid in accordance with our obligations under the 1951 Convention on refugees.

Lesotho has, however, instituted, since 1983 a policy whereby refugees whose lives are in danger are evacuated to other countries far afield. In this respect we wish to register our thanks to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Governments of Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Zimbabwe for their assistance and co-operation in this effort aimed at securing the safety of the South African refugees. Our policy of evacuating refugees does not in any way indicate a lessening of our resolve to receive in our midst those fleeing from oppression and persecution. It is a policy based on a realistic appreciation of Lesotho's vulnerability and lack of means to defend itself. Since 1982 a number of Lesotho citizens have been caught in cross-fire during South African military attacks against refugees in our country.

The people of Namibia are yearning for freedom and independence in their own country. They have sought recourse to the United Nations in the fervent hope that the illegal occupation of their country will cease. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to bring independence to Namibia without pre-conditions or linkage to extraneous and irrelevant considerations.

In respect of the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, Lesotho wishes to reiterate its well-known position on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. For many years now, the Organization has passed resolutions demanding the

withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the complete cessation of external interference in the affairs of those countries so that their peoples can exercise their right to sovereignty and independence without fear of foreign intervention.

The Middle East, which is another hotbed of tension, has dominated the agenda of the United Nations for many years. We re gnize that the State of Isreal has the right to exist within secure and recognized pre-1967 borders and that, similarly, the Palestinian people have an inalienable right to a State of their own.

The signing of the Camp David accord between Egypt and Israel represented a significant attempt to address the issues of war and peace in the Middle East.

Leso tho will continue to support all efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

A close and probing look at the current disputes around the world, with the accompanying nuclear-arms race between the super-Powers, has revealed how precariously man stands on the brink of the abyss of total destruction. Since a nuclear war will never be fought because it cannot be won by either side, nuclear weapons have become unnecessary. Global peace cannot be maintained by subjecting the world to a perpetual threat of nuclear holocaust. The policy of deterrence is as unsound as the concept of a nuclear war itself. The vast array of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems now in the possession of the nuclear Powers far exceeds the requirements of the security of those Powers.

In any case, we are informed that each of the super-Powers is capable of destroying humanity many times over; and yet it has always been found sufficient to destroy life once only. The question that comes to mind is why so much human, technological and financial resources is being expended on a pointless and wasteful arms race. At a time when the world economic situation is far from encouraging, with deepening recession and mounting indebtedness in the developing world, vast resources critically needed for development are being squandered on the arms race.

My country stands for complete and verifiable disarmament. We recognize the need to reduce the level of tension and mistrust that have characterized relations between the super-Powers. We hope that the second summit meeting between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union will make noticeable progress on the issue of nuclear disarmament and its bearing on international peace and security.

I cannot conclude without saying a few words on the decolonization process and the piv tal role of the United Nations in it. Twenty-five years ago, in 1960, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514 (XV). When the Declaration was adopted the majority of the countries represented here had not yet shed the colonial yoke. Even as we look back with some satisfaction at the progress made in decolonization under United Nations auspices, we notice with dismay that there still exist pockets of colonial domination in Africa, the South Pacific and other areas of the world. The peoples of the remaining colonies and dependencies deserve their place in the community of sovereign nations.

I have previously alluded to the world economic situation and it is my intention to make some additional remarks on the subject on this occasion.

We regret that the process of global negotiations on the new economic relationship between the industrialized countries and the countries of the third world have been suspended, with no sign that they will soon be resumed. The rising tide of protectionism, the negative flow of resources between the North and the South, high interest rates and the increasing indebtedness of the developing countries are the biggest challenge of our time. The threat of a trade war involving two or more of the industrialized countries hovers over the horizon with catastrophic implications for world trade. One of the most urgent tasks of this decade is the creation of an international régime for the regulation of trade on an equitable basis and the setting up of an efficient financing system for development and trade.

The development of peace and stability in the world depends largely on the eradication of poverty and mass starvation. The widening gap between the rich and poor must be bridged. The economic disparity existing between developed and developing countries makes the establishment of the new international economic

order a compelling necessity. From the standpoint of international solidarity there is no justification whatsoever for the continuation of the present order, which is characterized by injustice and gross inequities.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Head of Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Justin Metsing Lekhanya, Head of Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho, was escorted from the General Assembly rostrum.

Mr. TUDOR (Barbados): I should in my first words, Sir, express pleasure at your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. May I therefore, on behalf of the Government and the people of Barbados, extend our warmest congratulations on the fitting honour conferred upon you.

Our countries, Bangladesh and Barbados, have much in common: a fraternity in the Commonwealth and our aspirations as new and developing States. Bangladesh's firm resolve in the face of great odds is a sterling example of sovereign integrity.

I should also like to express my pleasure at the return to office of the Secretary-General, whose restoration to health and his customary vigour is most welcome.

It is also fitting for me now to pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Don Jaime de Piniés of the Kingdom of Spain, for the high level of proficiency with which he managed the deliberations of the momentous fortieth session, from which many noteworthy decisions emerged.

Peace remains the cornerstone of the foreign policy of Barbados: peace in the Caribbean, peace in this hemisphere, peace in the world. Two decades ago the first - and now again - Prime Minister of the newly sovereign State of Barbados, the Right Honourable Errol Barrow, standing at this rostrum proclaimed to all the foreign policy of our country in words which I feel compelled to repeat:

"We are exponents of the diplomacy of peace and prosperity. We will be friends of all, satellites of none."

The Government and the people of Barbados remain unimpressed by the enticements of hegemony, unseduced by the bias of ideology and undaunted by any coercion from any quarter.

Barbadians have learned from their history as an island community that there is a special challenge which nature presents to those on small islands.

From our island outpost in the waters of the Caribbean we see much that is at enmity with peace - famine and poverty, disease, injustice, oppression and terror.

These war with peace because they are the enemies of growth and development.

The most imminent menace to peace in our times is the arsenal of destruction which is deployed over the globe. We watch bemused as the ritual of destruction is rendered before us in the litany of acronyms that are both cryptic and cruel: SAM, MIRV, SDI and, quite fittingly, MAD.

Indeed we watch as what is now so glibly called an arms race is destroying all around us the norms essential for international fraternity. We watch as mortal danger and fear settle over the heads of the less powerful and the weak. And we watch as the earth's atmosphere, mysterious and good, is steadily and systematically despoiled. So the signs around us are ominous.

But I do not believe that our doom is inevitable. What I do believe is that the noble experiment which this Organization reflects was not attempted in vain. The members of this body need to ponder in earnest the ideals of its Charter and do what is necessary to free the world from the menace that draws near. This is the responsibility which should be assumed by those States which sat in San Francisco and declared their commitment to a new order in the world.

In the field of regional co-operation the States of Europe, with their history of bloodshed, have led the way with initiatives in this particular endeavour. The steady growth of European regionalism must suggest to the world that enmity need not be perpetual and that swords may indeed be beaten into ploughshares.

We salute too the efforts, painful though they be, which African States have made towards the unity of their continent, and I am confident that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) will ride over all those obstacles which such efforts

encounter and become in time the strong voice of Pan-African integrity and pride.

Equal praise is due to the members of the Association of South-Bast Asian
Nations (ASEAN), whose initiatives have already produced some easing of tensions in
a region from which conflict has seldom been absent.

We also welcome the timely movement in the Pacific States to place firmer bonds around their common interests.

In this hemisphere, Barbados, by virtue of its association with the Organization of American States (OAS), has acquired an enlarged perspective of our regional potential as neighbours once thought distant have become the staunchest of allies.

Of particular significance, however, is the regional integration achieved by Caribbean States over the last decade. The Caribbean Community, or CARICOM, had its beginnings in the Treaty of Chaguaramas, which was signed in 1973. It now comprises 13 States, from the Bahamas in the north and from Belize in the north-west to Guyana in the south. In a dozen years of maturity the people of the Caribbean have grown increasingly assured that their development will come not from the over-zealous exercise of nationalism but from the patient and continuous pursuit of inter-territorial co-operation.

I have made references to regionalism to suggest that the solution to what we now regard as the modern problems of man may well have its source in regional movements. Regionalism, we believe, can be a potential counterweight to the politics of superiority which holds that weak States should be silent and should be manipulated at will. It can engender renewed interdependence among States and beat back the retreat from multilateralism which we are witnessing these days.

The context in which the people of Barbados address the question of human rights is empirical and not theoretical. We have no authority in our country except that which is lawfully constituted. Those who administer the legal system

are not the same persons as those who make the laws. No citizen can be punished or deprived of his freedom except he transgressed a known law, and because of this there are no prisoners of conscience in our country, there is no detention without trial and no exemption from the rule of law.

Constitutional authority in our country is exercised only by those upon whom it is lawfully conferred in free elections in which citizens, either individually or in political associations, choose their Governments. Opposition to government is not only possible in the ordinary sense but is safeguarded in the Constitution, which recognizes the right of a citizen to be believe what he wishes and to assemble with other citizens to criticize and oppose Governments so long as this is done within the bounds of law and common decency.

Other freedoms are institutionalized - freedom to hold, possess and bequeath private property, to worship one God or none at all, and to organize. Now I cannot say that this system is superior to all others. I merely assert that it is inferior to none.

When, therefore, my delegation raises its voice in this Assembly to promote or defend human rights, it is not because we wish to interfere with other people's privacy or to dictate how they should live, but because we are persuaded that such a dispensation is the firmest foundation for the preservation of peace. My delegation therefore regards the rapid extension of human rights to all peoples not now enjoying them as an activity to which the whole wide world must rapidly turn. The régime in Pretoria - contemptuous, arrogant - has systematically deprived South Africa's majority of the means they require to achieve human dignity. The outrage felt by Barbados at this has already been voiced throughout the corridors of this Organization.\*

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Herrenberg (Suriname), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The real danger in this situation is that those States that fumble and hesitate in their policies towards Pretoria may themselves - I believe quite unconsciously - have been smitten by a mild attack of racism. I say unconsciously because anxiety to achieve a good end is often tainted by traces of self-righteousness. So those that resist the application of full sanctions against Pretoria express their concern that black babies will starve. I do not sneer at that sentiment, because what they fear is quite possible. It is therefore necessary for me to address this issue with some seriousness.

In the first place, if the situation is such that the application of harsh measures against Pretoria can harm only blacks and not whites, and if this is a reason for hesitating to apply pressure, then apartheid is being endorsed as an unconquerable system, and unwillingness to tackle it is yet another concession to the theory and practice of white supremacy. Therefore, the reason given is blatantly racist.

Secondly, if it is true that a determined assault upon that régime will be particularly detrimental to the interests of the blacks, should not the nature and scope of the assault be so planned that the régime and its closest supporters share some of the perils facing the blacks?

I should like to imagine an entirely different scenario. Suppose there were in that country a situation in which 4 million blacks ruled 24 million whites in the same way as in the reverse situation we see today, would we hear that sanctions would hurt white babies? Would there be a policy of constructive engagement with the black minority régime? I wonder - I dare hardly suggest it, but I wonder - would there not be world-wide pressure to destroy such a black régime by incessant disruptions of the black-controlled economy, by a trade embargo, by sabotage and by concentrated and concerted intelligence activity? And - here is the litmus test - would such a régime be allowed to imprison the white nationalist leader for 25

years on the unproved ground that he was a Communist? That is not all. If the black régime promised to reform apartheid and to share power with the whites, would there not be a contemptuous roar of disgust and scorn from some States represented in this Assembly?

I really do not need to apologize for any feeling of discomfort I might have stirred, for the scenario I have just depicted would not, simply because the colours are reversed, change this delegation's attitude to racism. Racism in any form, practised by anyone, is odious and detestable.

More than 100 new States have come into being since 1945. Nearly all of them are inhabited by dark-skinned humans, simply because the white populations of the globe had, for various historical reasons, not only organized themselves into sovereign States in previous centuries but in most cases included within the confines of their States territories and peoples from other continents. Thus, it was left to the twentieth century to witness the upsurge of nationalism and the channelling of that nationalism into the creation of new States across the continents.

However, the régime in Pretoria is not part of that historical phenomenon. It is, rather, a mutation of the historical process, for it is the successful effort by a white minority, whose right to live in South Africa cannot be questioned, to have escaped British colonialism while fully inheriting its legacy. The régime is therefore an international outlaw.

A South African black cannot vote. He cannot decide where he will live. He cannot choose where he will work. He cannot dive into a swimming pool before he looks at a sign, He exercises no choice in the education of his children. He cannot move from one place to another without a pass book. It is this odious system that blacks can no longer endure in their own country. To destroy it, they are willing to surrender their lives, for even if dying is their only passport to freedom, they intend to be free.

My delegation pays a tribute to the courage of those States which have chosen not to hide behind the sufferings of the African majority. We also pay a tribute to the Congress of the United States, which only yesterday, in recollection of its own country's early revolutionary traditions, rescued the honour of the American people from the fetid embrace of the racist régime. Likewise, my delegation pays a tribute to the steadfastness of the front-line States. The peoples of Botswana, zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique must be regarded as full allies in this struggle. Those States must be strengthened by the provision of markets for their goods and by the establishment of such machinery as would strengthen their economic and strategic interests.

Nowhere is South Africa's contempt more noticeable than in its treatment of the people of Namibia. It is now nearly 70 years since the League of Nations entrusted to the Union of South Africa responsibility for preparing Namibia for political independence. But, not content with its subjugation of black South Africans, the architects of apartheid have stealthily embarked on the annexation of Namibia. In blatant betrayal of international trust, they have openly defied the efforts of the United Nations to rescue Namibia and they claim with audacity that the issue of Namibia is now an internal matter for the Government of South Africa.

The Government of Barbados has declared its support for the efforts being undertaken by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and it calls on the international community to pressure South Africa into ending this disgraceful hijacking of the Namibian people.

The principal ingredient of peace in the Middle East is the courage to accept two realities which contentious rhetoric cannot conceal. One such reality is that Israel exists. As such, it has the right to live and to live with others in peaceful security in a world of peoples.

But the Palestinian people present us with our second reality. They too exist, and they too have an undoubted right to their own home, and they too are entitled to exercise their legitimate rights in that national territory.

My delegation believes that, in an atmosphere of good will and moderation, the edifice of peace in the Middle East can be completed. There is an understanding that the destruction of either party is not a prerequisite to peace, and there are signs, now emerging, which appear to indicate a willingness on the part of both sides to talk with each other, if a formula can be found for adjusting the problems of representation. This is a time for boldness and all the delegations to this forty-first session of the General Assembly should press forward towards it. I pledge the support of my delegation to this end.

My delegation also condemns the deterioration in international conduct and wishes to see terrorism halted in the shortest possible time. We are persuaded that no political objective is worthy of support if, in furtherance of it, it becomes necessary to put imnocent lives at risk. Such actions, whether resorted to by States, organizations or individuals, are crimes and, as such, are punishable under the laws of most countries.

In a year of peace, such as this one is proclaimed to be, it cannot be irrelevant for the international community to appeal for restraint and moderation in all political disputes so that differences may, wherever possible, be reconciled by discussion and consensus in preference to the use of violence as a means of solving political disputes.

My delegation believes that durable solutions to the problems of the world economy can be found only through a partnership between developed and developing States.

Unless developing countries are able to sell their goods and products at remunerative prices, they will be hard pressed to pay their international debts; and no amount of rescheduling of debts, no amount of new lending to consolidate all debts and no amount of the reduction of interest rates will address the fundamental causes of the debt crisis facing them. Such measures have their place, but only in the short term to relieve pressure on developing States.

My Government therefore believes that the long-term solution to the debt crisis depends on the reactivation of a vibrant international trading system. In this connection we are pleased at the recent decision, reached in Punta del Este, on the start of the new round of global trade negotiations. It is our hope that the new round will be able to agree on concrete measures to bring about the standstill and roll-back of protectionist measures and will address all outstanding aspects of the international trading system.

The report of the Group of High-level Inter-Governmental Experts, which reviewed the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations, has generated a level of attention and concern unprecedented in recent times. And with good reason. Because what is at stake is the very existence of this Organization and the way in which it functions. So amid all of the deliberation, consultation and negotiation, two things seemed to be accepted by all of us: first, that it is important for all of us to settle this matter quickly and quietly; secondly, that whatever happens, the United Nations will never be the same again.

My delegation believes that the report represents an excellent foundation on which to develop a series of reforms with a view to cutting the fat, tightening the belt, firming the muscle and generally improving the health of the Organization.

Beyond that, a package of reform, based on that foundation, might even lead to an

improved process of decision-making that would satisfy the interests of all Member States, complying with the concept of universality and generally uphold the principles embodied in the Charter.

It is unnecessary to say that any serious attempt at improving the operation of the United Nations should concentrate only on the working of the Secretariat.

Member States must be prepared to accept some of the blame or credit, as the case may be, for the present situation. Non-payments, late payments and withholdings can in no way be attributed to the Secretariat. The political and other pressures that influence the selection of staff could hardly be countermanded by the Secretary-General who is himself appointed by Member States. The lack of co-ordination in the system could hardly have been achieved without the concurrence of Member States which are by and large represented in all the specialized agencies. Let us not tackle the mote before we have dealt with the beam.

The situation in Central America is cause for disquiet in our region.

Barbados wishes once again to record its support for the Contadora process and the work of the Lima Support Group. We call on all parties to dismantle all obstacles to the peacefully negotiated settlement of outstanding disputes.

We observe with satisfaction the extension of the democratic process within the region and we trust that its continuance will lead to the consolidation of genuine good-neighbourliness and hemispheric solidarity.

Our concern extends as well to other troubled areas of the world: to
Afghanistan and the violence being done to its ancient civilization; to Kampuchea,
where innocent civilians daily pay the price for an ideological conflict; to the
Koreas, where the demonstrated desire for reconciliation and unity is being
frustrated by a boundary; to the Persian Gulf, where a fratricidal war has taken a
toll which defies calculation.

We trust that good reason will eventually prevail in the efforts now under way to end tersions in all of these areas. And we are calling for direct negotiations between the relevant parties, since we are convinced that those directly involved are best equipped to find the solutions to their specific problems.

The manufacture and consumption of illegal drugs have now reached the proportions of an international crisis. Under lethal attack are the lives of hundreds of millions of young people and the civil order of every known society.

Small island societies, like ours in the Caribbean, are particularly vulnerable to this fast-spreading menace since we are dependent upon a successful tourist industry and are ill-equipped to counter the sophisticated methods now being used by traffickers who ply this nefarious trade.

The Government of Barbados thoroughly condemns this sinister enterprise and pledges its full support to the United Nations efforts to arrest the flow of illegal drugs. Barbados is also willing to co-operate with all States in the exchange of information and the institution of such measures aimed at the mutual protection of our societies.

This annual general debate is in my view most important, for it provides a splendid opportunity for those who desire, as strict guardians of the Charter of the United Nations, to give an account of their stewardship and to become firm craftsmen of world peace.

I have shared with this Assembly some of the experiences Barbados has had in its practice of government and some of its perspectives in its survey of existing world problems. Our presence here also offers us an opportunity to deepen our faith in the Charter of this body; to meet with colleagues and explore avenues for productive co-operation among our several countries.

In 1987 Barbadians celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of their political independence. In 1987 we also celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the social revolution that initiated our orientation to nationhood. In 1988 we observe the 150th anniversary of the final phase of the ending of slavery in the British Empire. In 1989 we shall rejoice in the 350th anniversary of the founding of our Parliament, which except for periodic elections has met continually since 1639. These events we regard as important milestones on our way to national development; and my delegation pledges to the Assembly that our country will continue to welcome to our shores all those for whom human dignity, tranquillity and order are the outstanding characteristics of our human family.

Mr. TRAORE (Guinea) (interpretation from French): Please allow me, like preceding speakers, to extend to you, His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, on behalf of the people of Guinea and of General Lansana Conte, Head of the Military Committee for National Recovery, President of the Republic and Head of State, our warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the forty-first session. I am convinced that his mastery of international issues, his wisdom and his outstanding personal qualities constitute a quarantee that our deliberations will be successful.

I should like also to extend my whole-hearted congratulations and appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, who so competently and diligently guided the proceedings of the fortieth session.

My delegation would like also to pay a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar for the perseverance and foresight he has demonstrated in defence of the cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter, always with the object of giving the Organization the impact commensurate with the noble aspirations of the international community. His annual report this year objectively describes the current situation of our Organization.

The political and economic evolution of the present-day world certainly does not inspire optimism. On the contrary, in spite of legal instruments developed by Member States to make their relations sounder in an atmosphere of harmony and sincers co-operation, we are witnessing a multiplication of hotbeds of tension, acts of aggression, an unbridled arms race and mistrust in international relations. In the economic field, a rising tide of protectionism, injustice in trade and a worsening of the foreign debt of the developing countries all threaten international solidarity and hinder the development of the third-world countries.

The system of collective security established by the Charter is constantly obstructed, since the normal functioning of the Security Council, the organ that has the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, requires in the first place a minimum of trust among the great Powers. Rare are the issues on which the Council succeeds in reaching a decision; and when it does succeed it is not able to implement its own decisions. This is the tragic case with Namibia and also with the Middle East.

Furthermore, while it was created in order to prevent conflicts and to stop tensions from mounting, the United Nations is no longer able to alleviate the consequences of those conflicts, being unable to tackle their causes because of the

paralysis of the Security Council. Thus Africa, Asia and Latin America have today become the distressing arena of tension and rivalry in the contemporary world, prompting many States to arm themselves even beyond their means and thus heightening insecurity throughout the world. In fact, behind a facade of international gatherings and in spite of a degree of consultations never before seen in history, the community of which we form part seems engaged in a retrenchment towards isolated national entities.

The United Nations is confronted with an unprecedented political and financial crisis which makes it more difficult for it to carry out correctly the tasks entrusted to it and which narrows its field of action. It is time, here as in other areas, for the international community to assume its responsibilities with a view to ensuring respect for the Charter. Therefore genuine political will is required on the part of all, in order to bring about positive changes which may inspire greater trust in international relations.

I should like now to turn my attention to a few specific problems to which my country, the Republic of Guinea, attaches great importance.

Indeed, Guinea is convinced that the policy of détente will remain devoid of real significance if it is limited in its geographical bounds and its scope.

Peaceful relations between the East and the West are certainly a necessary condition for international peace and security but they are not enough unless complemented by peaceful relations in the rest of the world.

For that reason, on the African continent, the obduracy of the Pretoria

Government in carrying out its policy of racial repression, in spite of the

relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, constitutes
an affront to our Organization.

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In the case of South Africa we are faced with a unique paradox. The only régime in the present-day world which is Fascist in inspiration, it benefits nevertheless, almost unconditionally, from the support of certain countries which at the same time proclaim themselves indefatigable guarantors of respect for and promotion of human rights and democratic principles.

It is because of the multinational firms and the support of certain countries that the Pretoria racists have been able since 1948 to maintain that anachronistic system of apartheid. We are convinced that a combination of internal and external pressure through the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, remains the only way to make it possible for a democratic and multiracial society to be established peacefully in South Africa.

The Republic of Guinea, while strongly condemning the repeated acts of aggression by the hateful Pretoria régime against the neighbouring and front-line States, once again expresses its unconditional support for and solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa under the guidance of its different national liberation movements. We request the unconditional liberation of Nelson Mandela and all other political detainees.

As far as Namibia is concerned, resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council remains the sole framework for the settlement of the Namibian question. It is up to the United Nations to ensure that it is fully and unconditionally implemented and thus to prevent all attempts to distort the process of decolonizing the territory. In this respect it is important to recall that Namibia is no sense a question of East-West relations, as some try to have us believe. It is purely and simply a question of decolonization, in which the international community has a great responsibility. Bearing this situation in mind, the Republic of Guinea will continue to give and strengthen its support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its national liberation struggle.

We also believe that that independence must in no way be linked to a prior withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which is, as far as we are concerned, a question of national sovereignty.

In addition to southern Africa, there are many other focal points of tension on the African continent. In connection with Western Sahara, only the organization of a referendum on self-determination for the Sahraoui peoples, in accordance with the resolution of the eighteenth session of the summit conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, could make it possible for a definitive solution to be found to the crisis. In this connection, my delegation appreciates the efforts made by the OAU and the Secretariat of our Organization, which have mediated between the different parties to the conflict.

With respect to Chad, the Government of the Republic of Guinea believes that the withdrawal of all foreign troops and non-interference in the internal affairs of that country constitute a prerequisite for the establishment of a climate of peace, harmony and reconciliation among our Chad brothers. We commend all the efforts made by the Government of Chad in this noble effort at reconciliation under OAU auspices.

As for the Horn of Africa, the talks that have been undertaken between Somalia and Ethiopia allow a measure of optimism that peace may be established in the sub-region. While Guinea encourages such initiatives, it feels that peace will be lasting only if the States of the sub-region overcome their differences in the higher interests of their respective peoples.

Given the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people, the Republic of Guinea reaffirms its staunch support for that martyred people in its struggle for recognition and the exercise of its right to existence and national identity under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole and legitimate representative. We support the appeal made for the urgent convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the effective participation of all parties concerned and, especially, that of the PLO.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq remains of concern to the international community and especially the Member States of the Islamic Conference. As a member of that organization and of the Islamic Peace Committee, the Republic of Guinea sincerely hopes that the parties to the conflict will demonstrate goodwill so as to put an end to that fratricidal war.

In connection with the guestion of Cyprus, my country, while it hopes for the restoration of a climate of understanding and harmony in Cyprus, continues to gives its complete support to the positive action of our Organization for a just and lasting solution.

The situation prevailing in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea constitutes a source of concern to the international community. The Republic of Guinea, faithful to the guiding principles of non-alignment, the Organization of African Unity, and the United Nations Charter, opposes all foreign interference in the internal affairs of those two States, which should be allowed in full freedom to determine the political system of their choice.

In this respect, we believe that the eight-point document prepared by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea may constitute a basis of negotiations for a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

In connection with Korea, my delegation hopes that an atmosphere of brotherhood and understanding will be established in that country in which the people, who have suffered division and mistrust for a long time, have accomplished notable progress towards reunification. The people of Guinea and its Government welcome the many initiatives taken to ensure the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, as well as the transformation of the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peaceful zone.

Likewise, in Central America the peaceful settlement of conflicts should go side by side with regional guarantees for security with respect to the sovereignty

of States. May the Contadora and support groups be assured of the support and esteem of the people of Guinea for their efforts towards the restoration of peace and socio-economic development in the region.

I wish at this time to touch on economic issues which are of more concern than ever before. We deplore the fact that efforts of the international community to structure more equitable relations between the developed and the developing countries have not been more successful. In fact, forced to curb their development efforts because of the combined effects of the decline in the prices of exported goods and the increases in the cost of imported industrialized goods, most of the developing countries have recorded a considerable reduction in per capita income, and some of them are on the brink of economic bankruptcy, with disastrous consequences on the economic and social progress of their population.

The factors that have made their situation worse and led to a standstill and even a considerable decrease in production are now familiar to all. They are primarily a drop in the real value of public aid to development, monetary instability, fluctuation of exchange rates, a high interest rate, a steady deterioration in the terms of trade, and a virtual disintegration of the multilateral trade system, strict lending policies on the part of financial institutions, the heavy debt and debt servicing burden, as well as protectionism on the part of the developed countries.

The North-South dialogue has become bogged down and has reached a dead end in all forums of the United Nations system. Some countries have even pitted some organs of the system against others, as though deliberations on international trade, industrialization, finances - for example, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) - were encroaching on the competence of the General Agreement

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on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) or the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while in fact the activities of all these organizations are complementary and closely interrelated.

Such an attitude reflects a challenge by many countries to multilateralism and their relegation of the fundamental problems of underdevelopment, to second place in their concerns.

It is because of the distressing situation which our continent faces that, in May, the special session to consider the critical economic situation of our continent was held. It gave rise to great hope for our peoples and Governments, and provided an appropriate framework to further sensitize world public opinion on the problems confronting Africa.

We urgently appeal to the entire international community to make the contribution requested of it to ensure effective implementation of the priority economic recovery programme for 1986 to 1990 that the peoples and the Governments of Africa are committed to carrying out.

# (Mr. Traoré, Guinea)

The demands of development in our various nations make it more than ever necessary to commit ourselves to resumption of the North-South dialogue and global negotiations and the promotion of South-South co-operation, especially in the fields of science, technology and technological expertise, so as to encourage the kind of dialogue that will ensure for our States collective self-reliance and harmonious, balanced, interdependent development.

I should like to express my Government's appreciation to the international community and international institutions, from which the Republic of Guinea has had active support in the implementation of its economic and institutional recovery programme.

Another equally disturbing subject is that of disarmament and international security. Astronomical sums which could be used for economic purposes are used each year for the production of new, more sophisticated and more destructive weapons at a time when millions of human beings throughout the world are dying of hunger, disease and malnutrition. It is essential that the nuclear Powers begin genuine negotiations in an atmosphere of complete trust with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament, and that outer space is exploited for peaceful purposes only.

With this position in mind, my country encourages and desires more contacts and negotiations among the nuclear Powers to promote détente in international relations, especially between East and West.

Furthermore, my country believes that, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, Africa must be kept outside the arms race.

It is the fervent hope of the Republic of Guinea that the future of human beings in a more calm international atmosphere, free of any nuclear threat, will be guaranteed.

# (Mr. Traoré, Guinea)

In the course of its 40 years of existence the United Nations has done effective work to reaffirm the purposes and principles of the Charter. The role and importance of the Organization in an international atmosphere of conflict have been sufficiently demonstrated. That is why we believe that it is more necessary than ever before to strengthen the role of our Organization to enable it to be both more effective and operational.

The democratic order which we cannot renounce and which is based on the equality of all sovereign States finds its ideal expression in the multilateral system. It is in this conviction that Guinea reaffirms its support for the United Nations as an instrument in the service of the higher interests of mankind as represented by a world of peace and progress in which man develops in freedom and justice.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.