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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 8 October 1986, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. CHOUDHURY

(Bangladesh)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Chagula (United Republic of Tanzania)
Mr. Kafe (Comoros)
Mr. Tovua (Solomon Islands)
Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): Allow me first, Sir, to congratulate you on your well-deserved election as President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that, as was the case during the fourteenth special session of this body, you and your colleagues on the General Committee will guide our deliberations during this session of the Assembly to a successful conclusion.

We are also delighted to see the Secretary-General back at the helm of our Organization in better health and ready to guide the multifaceted work of the Organization. We wish him continued good health, particularly at this time when our Organization is undergoing an acute political and financial crisis such as it has not experienced since its inception 41 years ago.

Last year we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, and all Member States - big and small, rich and poor - reaffirmed their support for a stronger and better United Nations based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, human dignity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Many leaders also expressed their concern at the escalation of the arms race, the increasing number of regional conflicts, the increasing use of threats by some Powers throughout the United Nations system, the deterioration of the world economic situation, the advance of an anti-internationalist climate and attacks on multilateralism in international economic relations, the problem of rapidly mounting debts and inequity in the international monetary system, the violation of basic human rights and the continued existence of colonialism, oppression and exploitation, to mention only a few of today's problems.

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Regrettably, all those concerns are still valid today as they were last year. In fact, the grounds for those concerns are getting stronger every month that passes. Indeed, there is now a very ominous cloud hanging over multilateralism, international economic co-operation and world peace and security.

One of the explosive issues threatening our Organization's integrity today is the continued practice of the obnoxious policy of apartheid in South Africa, a political system which has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity, an affront to universal conscience, and the root cause of the political instability in southern Africa.

The sufferings of the majority of black South Africans under the repressive Pretoria régime has been no less dehumanizing than its predecessor, nazism - a system still admired and emulated by the architects of apartheid. The black people of South Africa over the years have been subjected to brutal exploitation, dehumanization, arbitrary arrests, detention, torture and killing. These oppressive policies have become much worse during the past two years as a result of the nation-wide uprisings by the black South Africans against the draconian laws of the Pretoria régime.

The accession to independence by Angola and Mozambique shattered the Pretoria régime's myth of the perpetual existence of a buffer zone between its borders and the black-ruled independent African States. The Soweto uprisings of 1976 and the national uprising of June 1984 were a clear signal to the world from the black people of South Africa of their determination to overthrow the repugnant and abhorrent apartheid régime.

All those developments provided the Pretoria racist régime with an excuse to mount a sustained destabilization campaign against neighbouring independent African

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States which has cost those countries billions of United States dollars, apart from the loss of thousands of innocent lives.

Over the past two years more than 2,000 black South Africans have lost their lives at the hands of the ruthless and bloodthirsty Pretoria racist régime for the sake of their freedom, and the declaration of any number of states of emergency or siege by the régime will never stem this uprising by the majority of South Africans. Thousands will continue to die every year until apartheid is dismantled. It is now an internationally acknowledged fact that negotiations with the apartheid régime will not end the policy of apartheid. That has always been our belief, and it was recently reaffirmed by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which unequivocally concluded that the apartheid régime was not ready for any internal dialogue that could lead to a peaceful settlement of the political problem in South Africa. The subsequent utter failure of the British Foreign Secretary's mission to South Africa also confirmed that fact.

As many representatives who have spoken before me at this session, including those from African front-line States, have exhaustively detailed the intransigence, crimes and sins of the South African apartheid régime - which have also been very adequately covered by both the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Congo, and the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe - and in the interest of economy, my delegation will not repeat what has already been very competently presented during this general debate. This is the more necessary in view of the fact that my Government participated fully in the recent International Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, the subsequent Vienna International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia, the most recent

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Summit of the Organization of African Unity, the Eighth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare last month, and the fourteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Namibia which preceded this general debate, at all of which the question of the apartheid, racist régime of South Africa featured very prominently. However, in lieu of that, my delegation would like to reaffirm once more its firm and continued support for all past resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, and all the international conferences and seminars recently held on the racist régime of South Africa which form a very adequate basis for concerted international action against the South African apartheid régime.

I come now to what form this concerted international peaceful action against the apartheid régime of South Africa should take. Very briefly, from the resolutions and recommendations of the Organization of African Unity, the recent Harare Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Paris International Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa and other recent relevant international seminars, my delegation very strongly believes that the early imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is the only effective peaceful and concerted action left for the international community to take. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the United Nations Security Council will, in the near future, take a decision to this end, given the recent and growing world-wide demands for sanctions against racist South Africa.

As the liberation struggle will have to continue in South Africa even after sanctions have been applied against the apartheid régime of South Africa, we very strongly appeal to all United Nations States Members, individually and collectively,

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to increase their moral, political, diplomatic and material support to the national liberation movements of southern Africa. Equally important, we appeal to the international community as a whole to increase significantly its moral, economic, diplomatic and military support to the front-line States and to the member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which are already suffering from the destabilizing effects of the Pretoria régime.

It was only three weeks ago that our Foreign Minister addressed the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Namibia and, obviously, my Government's views could not have changed within such a short period. However, in view of the importance that we place on the independence of Namibia, I shall briefly reiterate some of the points our Foreign Minister made at that special session.

For 20 years now the South African apartheid régime has continued to occupy the Territory of Namibia illegally and in defiance of all relevant United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The apartheid régime was recently encouraged in this defiance and intransigence by the policy of so-called constructive engagement of the present Administration of the United States of America, the linking of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, and the overt provision of arms and Stinger missiles to the criminal Savimbi bandits fighting the legitimate Government of Angola. Those actions by the Administration of the United States of America have rightly been condemned by the OAU Summit, the recent Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare, the International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia and other recent international seminars and forums. Here, my delegation would like to

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reaffirm the right of the Government of Angola to retain Cuban troops on its soil as long as it continues to be threatened by the presence of troops of the apartheid régime, in both Angola and Namibia.

The situation in Namibia has been deteriorating day after day and, as our Foreign Minister stated at the special session on the question of Namibia:

"The racist régime, not being sure of its own very survival in South Africa, is trying to cling on to Namibia either to use it ultimately as a buffer against what it alleges to be an onslaught from its neighbouring ... African States, or, at the appropriate time, to use Namibia in its bargaining and negotiating scheme for the perpetuation of apartheid in southern Africa."

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But even in Namibia - a Territory which, legally speaking, is still under the mandate of the United Nations - the obnoxious policy of apartheid is being applied by the South African régime through its puppet Multi-Party Conference. There is thus an urgent need for the United Nations to act very quickly to end South Africa's 20 years of procrastination before it is too late.

Foremost among the actions that should be taken by the United Nations is the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without any delay or pre-conditions. In that connection we reiterate our sympathy with the Secretary-General who, in his attempts to bring about the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, has encountered many obstructions and set-backs deliberately effected with the collaboration of South Africa's "allies" and supporters. We reaffirm our confidence in and support for the Secretary-General in his endeavours to implement without delay Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia.

But as the defiance and intransigence of the South African régime is not likely to end quickly, the Security Council should be requested to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to complement measures that have already been taken by Governments, organizations, the public, and individuals in various countries. All those measures are necessary to isolate the apartheid régime and force it to accept a settlement of the question of Namibia and peaceful change in South Africa itself in the interest of all its inhabitants.

In that connection we reiterate our appreciation of the measures already taken by a number of Western Governments to isolate South Africa and force that country's Government to dismantle apartheid. We also note with appreciation the efforts of a growing number of non-governmental organizations, universities and individuals to

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exert pressure on their respective Governments to reduce their opposition to the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In this regard, we very sincerely thank the people of the United States, who through their representatives in the United States Congress were able last week to force the United States Administration to move further in the right direction.

It is regrettable that the question of Western Sahara has thus far remained unresolved. We support and reaffirm the validity of the struggle of the Sahraoui people for the right of self-determination, freedom and national independence. Regrettably, one party to the conflict has stubbornly and illogically continued to obstruct the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, which provide a constructive peace plan for ending the conflict in keeping with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 on the self-determination of Territories under foreign domination.

We have noted with satisfaction the mediation efforts being pursued by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the Chairman of the OAU with a view to resolving the conflict in accordance with the peace plan of the OAU and the United Nations. In this connection, we urge the parties to the conflict, and in particular Morocco, to co-operate and provide the necessary conditions that would soon lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Another subject of concern to my delegation is the future of the Comorian island of Mayotte. The Charter of our Organization is unequivocal about the inviolability of the territorial integrity of Member States. We thus urge the speedy conclusion of the ongoing bilateral negotiations between France and the Comoros on the restoration of the island of Mayotte as an integral part of the territory of the Comoros, in accordance with the relevant OAU and United Nations resolutions.

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The continued denial of the Palestinian people's inalienable right of self-determination, including its right to establish an independent State of its own, remains the root cause of the endless violence and instability in the Middle East. Israel's refusal to withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, its continued aggression against its neighbours, and, in particular, the displacement, arrests, torture and killing of Palestinians and the perpetual violation of Lebanese territory will never lead to peace in the Middle East. We are of the view that a solution to the Middle East problem can lie only in the self-determination of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In addition, we reiterate our appeal to Israel to stop its illegal policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories. We support the early convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties to the conflict with a view to finding a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

The Iran-Iraq war, now in its seventh year, has so far taken a very heavy toll in terms of human life and property in those two non-aligned developing countries. My Government has actively supported and encouraged the various mediation efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other efforts by individual countries to find a solution to the conflict. In that regard, we once again urge both Iran and Iraq to heed the numerous appeals for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with a view to its early termination.

The question of Cyprus continues to be of great concern to all of us. The intercommunal differences in that country, exacerbated by foreign involvement, have compounded the problem. We regret the action of the Turkish Cypriots to declare unilateral independence contrary to the spirit of the negotiations taking place in

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the context of the good offices of the Secretary-General, who over the years has tried his best to search for a solution to the problem. We renew once again our appeal to Turkey and to Greece to exercise restraint and help promote dialogue among the Cypriot people with a view to finding durable peace in that troubled country. We commend the Secretary-General for his efforts and request him to continue his mediation efforts until a satisfactory solution is found.

The situation in Central America, in our view, has taken a dangerous turn. The threat and use of force against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua continue unabated. The outside interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua aimed at overthrowing the legitimate Government of that country has further compounded the problem. We urge the United States Administration to respect the recent judgement of the International Court of Justice on this issue, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We also call on the parties concerned to support the Contadora process, which provides a viable formula for the restoration of peace and security in the region.

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As regards the problem of the Korean peninsula, we support the efforts of the Korean people to achieve the reunification of their country by peaceful means. We therefore urge the two parts of Korea to continue to engage in a constructive dialogue that can lead to a just and lasting solution. In addition, we appeal for the speedy removal from the peninsula of all foreign troops, the continued presence of which would be prejudicial to the success of that dialogue. However, Tanzania will never support the separate admission of the two Koreas to membership of the United Nations.

In Afghanistan, we support all efforts that could lead to a peaceful solution to the problem. We remain convinced that it is high time a solution was found so as to end the suffering of innocent people, hundreds of thousands of whom have been fleeing their mother country as refugees. In this regard, we again commend the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and urge all the parties concerned to continue to give him all the co-operation he needs. Finally, Tanzania reaffirms the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of Afghanistan, from which foreign troops should be withdrawn without further delay.

Concerning Kampuchea, my delegation is concerned that for eight years in succession the General Assembly has discussed this issue, which is still a source of conflict in South-East Asia. We strongly urge all the parties concerned to do their level best to contribute to the speedy implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea in the interest of peace and stability in the South-East Asian and Pacific regions and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation, however, reserves the right to revert to this issue when the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" comes up for consideration in the plenary meeting at this session.

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of Tanzania)

On the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), my delegation urges the two parties to the dispute to resume negotiations soon in order to find a peaceful solution to the sovereignty issue in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

We reiterate that Tanzania, like many other developed and developing countries, deeply regrets that the arms race continues, while millions of people are starving and undernourished. We are opposed to the arms race, whose effects are devastating. We have noted, however, with satisfaction the resumption of the arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. We are also encouraged by the recent decision of General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan to hold another round of discussions aimed at limiting the conventional, strategic and nuclear arms race and halting nuclear-weapon testing. We commend the Soviet Union's continued unilateral moratorium and call upon the United States to take similar action so as to create the conditions for a comprehensive test ban treaty and an eventual nuclear arms reduction and nuclear freeze.

We also remain convinced that peace and security are the prerogative of every State, for nuclear war threatens their survival. Thus we all have the right to demand cessation of the development of all nuclear weapons.

My country, which is one of the participants in the five-continent peace initiative, reiterates the importance of confidence-building measures between the super-Powers and the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the application of verification measures as a necessary prerequisite for a comprehensive test ban treaty. These measures are necessary if the nuclearization of outer space is to be avoided. We earnestly appeal to the super-Powers to take the steps necessary to lead to the eventual abolition of nuclear weapons and the release of the resources

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now used for developing them to be used for peaceful purposes, including the development of the developing countries.

The world economic environment remains hostile for most of the developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, 26 of which are in sub-Saharan Africa. The result has been a serious setback to development in most developing countries caused by the poor growth performance of the developed market economy countries during the 1980s. Although the recent fall in interest rates has resulted in savings to developing countries of about \$US 13 billion on debt servicing, those countries lost over \$US 50 billion in 1985 through deterioration in their terms of trade, deceleration of export volume growth and the drop in earnings on official reserves. The sharp decrease in the flow of new bank lending and official development assistance to developing countries has caused their plight to worsen further and many of them have experienced negative economic growth, with the attendant lowering of the standard of living of their populations. In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, the problem has been compounded by the recent drought and famine, and other man-made and natural disasters. The existing heavy debt service burden on African and other developing countries, has thus to be viewed in this context.

Where do we go from here? It is obvious to my delegation that until the international community indeed recognizes the economic interdependence of developed and developing countries, until the international community fully recognizes that developing countries will be unable to pay their debts unless sufficient resources are available to them for growth and development from the international banking system, international multilateral financial institutions and official sources - that is, official development assistance, until the international community puts in place for developing countries adjustment conditions that promote growth and

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development, and until developing countries cease being net exporters of capital to developed countries, growth and development in developing countries will not be feasible and the debt crisis will remain a time bomb threatening the international community indefinitely.

Thus, as long as the inequitable terms of trade, protectionism, high interest rates and lack of sufficient resources for growth and development in developing countries continue, the global economic environment will remain hostile to developing countries. It is against this background that my delegation is expressing its profound satisfaction at the fact that the General Assembly finally agreed to include in the agenda for this session the item entitled "Launching of global negotiations", which first appeared on its agenda at the thirty-fourth session, in 1979. As global negotiations involve the open and thorough discussion of the interrelated problems of money, finance, debt, trade and developments in the world economy, my delegation firmly believes that the inclusion of this item in this year's agenda is a logical follow-up to General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) and its Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, of May 1974. Had the General Assembly decided to exclude this agenda item it would, in fact, have taken a retrograde step which would have openly allowed the law of the jungle on the international economic scene. This would have been the death knell of international economic co-operation for development, with all its frightening consequences.

Let me now turn to the recent thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, on the critical economic situation in Africa. The special session on Africa was a special event in African economic history, and the adoption by consensus of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery

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and Development 1986-1990 was indeed an encouragement to the African people. My delegation would like to reiterate its gratitude to all Governments international and non-governmental organizations that contributed to its success. It is our sincere hope that they will also participate actively in the implementation of the programme.

At the special session, African nations clearly elaborated their economic problems and suggested solutions to those problems. The international community has been adequately sensitized to the urgent African needs, and Africa now awaits assistance from the international community to complement its own efforts.

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There have been questions about whether the special session of the General Assembly on Africa was a success or a failure. The adoption of a consensus resolution on the critical economic situation in Africa was, in itself, a positive and significant outcome of the special session. However, the realization of the success of the special session is yet to be seen, since it all depends upon how the international community as a whole will implement the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. Thus, Africa is awaiting the timely response of the international community concerning the resources needed to complement its own efforts in its economic recovery programme. In view of that, we warmly welcome the Secretary-General's recent decision to establish a United Nations Steering Committee on the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. The establishment of that Steering Committee to co-ordinate action in the United Nations system in the implementation of the Programme should enjoy support by the whole international community.

Before concluding my remarks on the African economic situation, I should like to remind Member States that 26 of the 37 least developed countries are in Africa. The effective implementation of the New Substantial Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1980s, approved by consensus by the international community in Paris in 1981, thus has special importance for Africa. Quite often, that fact is forgotten by the international community when difficult economic adjustment conditions are thrust upon many sub-Saharan African countries that are least developed. My delegation very sincerely hopes that that fact will be borne in mind in the implementation of the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990.

Just a brief word on the question of refugees: my country, like many other African countries, has in the recent past received thousands of refugees from

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neighbouring States. Tanzania is a signatory to the 1967 Protocol to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and has, over the years, in spite of its poor economy, extended hospitality to refugees and continues to do so. We thus attach great importance to the well-being of refugees in general, and that is why we recently granted Tanzanian citizenship to over 30,000 refugees in Tanzania. However, in addition to the support promised to African countries at both the first and the second International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, we urge the international community to reach an early satisfactory decision on the burning question of military attacks on refugee camps, which has remained pending for over three years now. My delegation will be addressing this issue again in the relevant main Committee at the current session of the Assembly.

Over the past few years the United Nations has been going through an acute financial crisis, mainly as a result of the withholding of assessed contributions by some Member States. The motivation behind that non-payment of assessed contributions by many of the more affluent Member States is political, and its solution is, of necessity, political. While my delegation warmly welcomes the various measures recommended by both the former Presidents of the General Assembly and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee aimed at the rationalization of the efficiency of General Assembly sessions, we urge that those recommendations should now be formally considered by the General Assembly at this session instead of being informally recommended by the management for use during this session of the General Assembly without any legal authority. My delegation will be ready to participate positively in that exercise, particularly when the relevant agenda item comes up later on in the Assembly.

Finally, I should like to comment briefly on the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations. My delegation congratulates the

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Group of 18 for managing to submit a report to this session of the General Assembly, given the time constraints under which the Group had to work. Since the bulk of the Group's recommendations are not specific, my delegation trusts that enough time will be allotted for a thorough examination of the report by the General Assembly in plenary and in the Fifth Committee so that in accepting any of the recommendations Member States will know exactly what they are accepting. I should emphasize that, although fully in favour of reform, Tanzania strongly believes that measures for reform must not be imposed on the United Nations and that proposals for reform must be discussed thoroughly and that agreement must not be reached under duress. My delegation notes that, contrary to the impression now being created, there was no consensus or evident agreement in the Group of 18 on matters related to the vital subject of planning, programming and budgeting in the United Nations. My delegation will give its views on that important subject when the Group's report is examined in detail. Meanwhile, I should like to state that Tanzania will very strongly oppose any proposals to establish mechanisms, no matter what they are called, that will infringe the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States under the United Nations Charter, alter the power and prerogatives of the main organs of the United Nations and impair the prerogatives of the Secretary-General as chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Mr. KAFE (Comoros) (interpretation from French): Sir, your unanimous election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-first session is a tribute not only to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat but to your country, Bangladesh, with which my country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, enjoys fraternal and friendly relations. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to convey to you our warmest congratulations and to wish you every success in the performance of your task.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, for the ability and dedication with which he served as President of our previous session.

I also take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his efforts and constant dedication in the service of the United Nations. We are pleased at his quick recovery from his recent illness and we wish him the best of good health and strength for the continuation of his difficult task.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

As we gather once again in this Assembly to evaluate, as is customary, the work done by our Organization, we must note that since last year's historic session, at which we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the world has remained plagued by many hotbeds of tension. International relations, both political and economic, have deteriorated further, and the victims of this desperate situation are still the same - that is, the weakest and poorest nations.

Our Organization must thus continue to play its crucial and extremely important role in the world. But now, it has become the major target, subject to attacks from all sides, of those who wish to prevent it from lending a more attentive ear to the problems of third world countries. Attempts have thus been made to attempt to minimize and restrict its role by attacking the basic principles of multilateralism. It is clear that such a state of affairs is not likely to foster a climate of détente in international relations.

The numerous hotbeds of tension that disrupt our world continue to be of the greatest concern to the international community. Thus, in the Middle East, the situation has barely changed. Motivated by annexationist and expansionist designs, the Zionist entity refuses to evacuate occupied Arab territories, showing obstinate disdain for the relevant resolutions of the Organization.

Moreover, Jewish settlements, far from being reduced in number, are proliferating in the occupied territories, as ever accompanied by harsh repression against the Arab and Palestinian population, with serious violations of human rights and dignity.

As we have always said, there cannot be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East as long as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not acknowledged, guaranteed and effectively exercised.

Hence my country unreservedly supports the idea of organizing an international conference on peace in the Middle East, in which all the parties concerned would

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participate, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

The situation in Lebanon, once the land of peace, a junction between East and West, remains alarming despite the ray of hope generated by the promising prospect of national reconciliation.

We are deeply concerned by the presence of foreign forces which continue illegally to occupy that country, thereby flouting its full right to exercise full sovereignty over its national territory. It is time that the Lebanese people, which only wish to live in peace and security, regained its dignity and its right to exist in national harmony with solidarity restored among its people.

The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq has cost the colossal sum of more than \$500 billion. Who can possibly benefit from this tragedy? Certainly not the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, who mourn the loss of more than a million lives so far.

It is thus with deep sadness that my country witnesses the continuation of this absurd and useless war. We welcome the repeated offers of a cease-fire made by the Iraqi Government and we reiterate our appeal to the Iranian Government to respond favorably to those offers.

Despite the glimmer of hope represented by the partial withdrawal of foreign occupation troops, war still rages in Afghanistan, and the drain on that country's vital forces continues. This situation is a serious threat to peace and security in that region, particularly by reason of the constant violations of the air space of neighbouring countries.

I should like to reaffirm once again our support of our brothers, the Afghan people, and to call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

In regard to Kampuchea, we can only express our deep disappointment that General Assembly decisions demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of that country are still being disregarded.

The situation in the Korean peninsula remains a stalemate, despite the stated willingness of the leaders of those two States to arrive at a peaceful solution allowing the reunification of their homeland. Hence we appeal to the two parties to continue in their quest for a just and lasting solution, for a united Korea would provide a guarantee of peace and stability for the region.

Other sources of tension continue to feed the flames in Africa. The situation in southern Africa remains explosive and continues to be of the greatest concern, not only to the African continent but also to the whole international community.

My country, dedicated to the principles of peace, justice and equality among people, unreservedly condemns the inhuman system of apartheid and urgently appeals to the leaders of South Africa to put an end immediately to that practice of human subjugation.

Moreover, we deplore the fact that, to date, the pertinent resolutions adopted by our Organization for the independence of Namibia have not been implemented. We remain convinced that only the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will make possible a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Namibian question.

As regards the Western Sahara, we welcome the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to finding a just and lasting solution to this question. We support this welcome initiative, and would urge him to continue these efforts until peace is restored to that region.

My country, like all the other coastal States of the Indian Ocean, is still concerned by the increasing foreign military presence in that area. This state of affairs creates a climate of tension that threatens peace and security in that part of the world.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

We unreservedly support the idea of making that region a zone of peace pursuant to our Organization's Declaration in resolution 2832 (XXVI) and reiterate our desire that the International Conference for this purpose be convened in Colombo.

Outlined, the international economic situation is little better than the political situation that I have just outlined. It is characterized by a growing imbalance to the detriment of developing countries, especially the weakest of them, commonly called the least developed countries. Even though there has been a clear recovery in the rich countries of the North, the situation of the poor countries of the South has worsened, along with a negative growth rate, unacceptable indebtedness and galloping inflation, not to mention unemployment and hunger.

My country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, which is one of the least developed countries, has been especially hard hit by the harmful effects of this crisis owing to the fact that it is an island country with structural problems that seriously impede its development. These include our country's isolation from major avenues of international communication, the dispersed nature of our national territory and consequent difficulties in organizing and equipping our country, the small size of the domestic market and lack of adequate infrastructures.

Even though our Government has made considerable efforts in this sphere and many projects are under way or have been completed, a lot remains to be done. That is why, in spite of the progress we achieved in recent years - thanks to the plans put into operation by our Government and the sacrifices made by our people, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros continues to face an alarming financial situation. In spite of the implementation of unprecedented recovery measures, our country still faces problems caused by the excessive increase in interest rates and

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unfavourable lending terms, which hinder our investment programmes. It is obvious that such a situation jeopardizes economic growth and causes increased unemployment.

Furthermore, the increase in the public debt of more than 300 per cent in the past three years has wiped out the effects of previous efforts, compelling the Government to devote more than one third of our export to discharging the State's commitments to creditors. This situation seriously compromises the efforts at social and economic recovery made by the Government at a time when official development assistance is becoming increasingly scarce.

We believe that renegotiation of debts, incurred sometimes on very unfavourable terms, is one of the most appropriate ways of fostering the rapid and sustained growth of the national economy. In this connection, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, like the other States members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), calls for the convening of an international conference on African indebtedness.

Similarly, once again this year I wish to address an appeal from this rostrum, to the international community for increased assistance to my country, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/223.

One of the Comorian Government's foreign policy priorities is the promotion of regional co-operation and the strengthening of our relations with all neighbouring countries. This policy is based on a philosophy rooted in the principles of peace, friendship and mutual respect inscribed in the Charter of our Organization and the charter of the Organization of African Unity.

That is why immediately following our national independence the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, having become a fully-fledged member of the major regional and international organizations, made every effort to establish political, diplomatic and economic relations, both multilateral and bilateral, with most of the neighbouring countries. Thus, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros is

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among the founding members of the Preferential Exchange Zone, an economic community which includes more than 15 countries in southern and eastern Africa.

More recently, the Comorian Government joined the Indian Ocean Commission, which is made up of the islands of that subregion and of which my country is this year's president. This Commission, whose major objectives are to promote the economic development of its member States by the pooling of financial and human resources and ensure a more rational use of their potential, also has the task of ensuring preservation of their cultural heritage, without in any way changing or replacing the traditional bilateral bonds.

Thus, like the Commission, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros maintains its own relations with all the States in the subregion on the basis of solidarity, friendship and complementarity.

I cannot conclude my statement without referring briefly - since we have the opportunity to do so - to a question that is constantly before our Assembly and is of crucial importance to the people and Government of the Comoros: the question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte. Of course, this problem is not exclusively Comorian since in many respects it is of concern to the African continent and, for reasons of right and justice, to the entire international community.

Although there has been some slight development this year, with the reception in Paris by the French Prime Minister, Mr. Jacques Chirac, of a delegation from the OAU ad hoc Committee of Seven entrusted with dealing with this question, the problem still remains. Following that Paris meeting and talks between the French Prime Minister and Mr. Ahmed Abdallah Anderemane, President of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, the French Government decided not to hold a referendum in Mayotte. Obviously, it was with great interest that the people and Government of the Comoros noted that decision, which we feel supports our position.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

It will be recalled that our Organization, in its resolution 31/4, of 21 October 1976, and subsequent resolutions, condemned and categorically rejected any referendum on the international legal status quo of the island organized on Comorian territory by France, it being understood that the referendum on self-determination organized in the Comoros on 22 December 1974 remained the only valid one for the whole archipelago.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

In spite of the positive aspect of that denunciation, the status quo persists in Mayotte, and hence the problem, too, remains. This is a question of justice, and the people and the Government of the Comoros, knowing the justice of their causes, intend to pursue their claims with determination. For its part, the international community has a duty, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to lend its total support until the triumph of that just cause.

I wish once again solemnly to reaffirm the profound commitment of the people and the Government of the Comoros to the Charter ideals of peace, justice and equality. For us, that Organization is an irreplaceable instrument in maintaining a balance in international relations. If the United Nations is to recover its original vocation and to play its full role, each of its Members must scrupulously respect its fundamental principles.

Mr. TOVUA (Solomon Islands): I congratulate you most warmly and sincerely, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. I am sure that, with your wide experience, you will discharge your task with success.

I wish also to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés of Spain, for the exemplary work he did during the historic fortieth session.

My gratitude goes also to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts in administering the affairs of this Organization.

I take this opportunity to convey to all Member and Observer States, organizations and agencies of the United Nations the friendly greetings and felicitations of my Government and people. Five months ago, my country was hit by a most devastating cyclone. It was the worst in our recorded history. More than 100 people died, and some 90,000 were left homeless. Many thousands more were left

(Mr. Tovua, Solomon Islands)

without food. The damage to our basic economic and social infrastructure in the key areas of our country was so extensive that it has put us back about 10 years in our development effort.

It was gratifying, therefore, to have had immediate practical assistance from this Organization, from other organizations, and from many friendly States from near and far. To each and every one of them we say, "Tagio tumas an God blesim iufala", which means "Thank you very much, and God bless you all".

During the past year we have witnessed some interesting regional and global developments. In our own region, the seventeenth South Pacific Forum unanimously decided to request that New Caledonia be restored to the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. That decision was based on the fact that New Caledonia is in our region and that the indigenous people there have clearly expressed their desire for self-determination and independence. Solomon Islands respects this, and reaffirms its commitment to the Forum leaders' decision. It urges all States Members of this Organization to recognize that the underlying intention is to bring about a peaceful transition in New Caledonia.

My Government believes that the only sensible course is to allow the United Nations to oversee the transition of New Caledonia to independence and nationhood, so that further bloodshed can be avoided. The United Nations has successfully supervised such transitions by many countries that are now Member States. We are certain that the United Nations, in co-operation with the Government of France and the indigenous people of New Caledonia, can ensure that the best possible arrangement will be formulated to enable the inhabitants of that Territory to determine their own future destiny.

In that connection, the Government of Solomon Islands warmly welcomes the decision on the question of New Caledonia taken at Harare by the Non-Aligned

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Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement's statement clearly shows the importance its members attach to decolonization. It was indeed a historic expression of solidarity and brotherhood with the Forum leaders on this subject, and it is fundamental to the future peace and stability of our region. My Government applauds this initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement and we are grateful to the members of the Movement for the recognition they have given to the South Pacific Forum as an important organization in our region.

The area of fisheries is a key element in our overall economic development. It represents a fundamental resource, both for our own local consumption and for our export earnings. Hence, we are naturally concerned about its orderly development. That concern hinges on the need for recognition of our legislative requirements. Under our Fisheries Act, any foreign fishing vessel must be licenced to fish in our 200-mile fisheries zone. Our licence fees are negotiable and are always fair and reasonable. But failure to comply with the Act will result in our having to seize vessels that are caught in illegal fishing.

(Mr. Tovua, Solomon Islands)

We have had cases of that in the past, and I can say here that that experience does not augur well for the maintenance of cordial and friendly relations. As a peace-loving nation, Solomon Islands subscribes to international co-operation, and that is why we are determined to tap our fisheries resources, including highly migratory species, in co-operation with those distant water-fishing nations genuinely willing to assist us. Our Fisheries Act is non-discriminatory. We will license any foreign fishing vessel from any nation prepared to pay the right price.

Nuclear testing by France continues to be an issue of grave concern in the South Pacific region. I am therefore obliged to repeat the consistent and genuine position of Solomon Islands: we are opposed to it. All the countries of the Forum are unanimous in their condemnation of this inhumane activity. It has been claimed that there is no danger involved in carrying out these tests. If that is so, why then does France not conduct them along its own Atlantic coastline?

Super-Power rivalry is an issue of growing importance in the South Pacific region. We have been intrigued by and have observed with much interest certain developments in our region that reflect that rivalry, and we have come to the sad conclusion that the end result can only be the region's destabilization. For Solomon Islands, such rivalry is unwelcome to the extent that it projects a tinge of colonial domination. We do not wish to be recolonized or dominated. We have already determined our philosophy and have decided upon a system of Government that upholds the principles of democracy, and we will not depart from that.

As regards human rights and individual freedoms, I wish to stress here that Solomon Islands has them clearly enshrined in its national Constitution. Not only do we uphold them, but we practise them with civility and humility.

With regard to other regional conflicts, I wish to reemphasize our stand on the situations in South Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Korean peninsula.

(Mr. Tovua, Solomon Islands)

The situation in southern Africa is still a grave cause for concern.

Apartheid is the most evil form of human deprivation. As it has in the past, my Government strongly condemns apartheid and urges those States that support, in one way or another, the racist Government of South Africa, to disengage themselves, practically and realistically, from perpetuating the survival of the Pretoria régime. We believe that a concerted effort by the international community to apply economic sanctions would be effective in pursuing this objective. The success of such measures in the liberation of Zimbabwe is a good basis from which to work. We earnestly believe that the time is now right for positive action, for action that will ensure the establishment of freedom and democracy in South Africa.

In pursuit of that noble aim, my Government stands firm in its policy of wishing to see apartheid dismantled so that fairness and justice may become the norms of life for all peoples in South Africa. Free and fair elections must be the sole determinant for bringing about majority government in that country.

The fourteenth special session of the General Assembly that was held from 17 to 20 September 1986 marked another in the long line of concerted efforts to liberate Namibia and its people from South Africa's neocolonialism and imperialism. My Government sincerely hopes that, given the clearly expressed concern of the Assembly and the equally clear voices for freedom that trumpeted from around the globe, this liberating assemblage of nations, both large and small, is now nearing the end of the tunnel and will begin to see the dawning light of independence for Namibia.

It is appropriate that that special session was held this year, for 1986 marks the twentieth anniversary of the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia by the United Nations General Assembly on 27 October 1966. But will it take another two decades before the people of Namibia can exercise their inalienable

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right to self-determination and independence, free from aggression, subversion and suppression by the apartheid régime in South Africa?

The answer must surely be "No" - not because of the length of time, not because we are getting old and tired, not because South Africa's apartheid is on the verge of collapse. We say "No" simply because it is that people's inalienable right and must therefore be honoured and respected. This is what the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960 in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is all about: to enable all peoples of all colonial countries to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

Although it was not possible for me to make a statement during the special session on Namibia, I can say now that we subscribe to the main thrust of the resolution that was adopted. Taking further advantage of this occasion, I should like to make explicitly clear my Government's position on Namibia. We fully support immediate independence, with territorial integrity intact, for Namibia. Work towards the achievement of that objective is the direct responsibility of the United Nations. In the struggle of Namibia to attain self-determination and national independence, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is the sole and authentic representative of Namibia's people. We do not recognize the so-called interim government in Namibia, which was imposed by South Africa. We strongly condemn South Africa's illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia, and we regard the Pretoria racist Government's acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization as serious threats to international peace and security. We continue to hold that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, and we urge its immediate implementation without modification, qualification or precondition.

(Mr. Tovua, Solomon Islands)

The peace process in the Middle East, if pursued successfully, will be a cornerstone for international peace and security. Today, I express here the hope of my Government that the renewed efforts to continue dialogue between the parties involved will eventually lead to an end of the conflict in this region. We also have the same desire to see an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Our position on the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea remains unchanged. We have already condemned the occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces. We still strongly condemn the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for this action and urge its Government to give effect to its platitudes about not interfering in the internal affairs of other States. Let freedom and democracy return to Afghanistan.

With respect to Kampuchea, Solomon Islands reaffirms its condemnation of Viet Nam for its illegal occupation of that country. In this respect, my Government welcomes the eight-point proposal put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This proposal holds out the best hope for a negotiated settlement. In our view, it is a genuine attempt which is capable of accommodating the divergencies and differences that exist in this situation.

The reunification of the two Koreas is a subject of interest not only to the Korean people but also to the Pacific region and the international community. But the pursuit of reunification should take place without outside interference. The decision to reunite must be left to the Korean people themselves. The starting point, however, is for this international body to recognize that there are two clearly distinguishable States: North Korea and South Korea, both of which are Observer States of this Organization and have individual membership in the various bodies and agencies of the United Nations family. It is my Government's firm view that, as two separate States at this juncture, they should both be admitted as Members of the United Nations until such time as reunification has been finally

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achieved, at which time their membership would naturally be merged into one. Their admission to this Organization would enhance the prospect of establishing durable peace on the peninsula and would lead to successful reunification.

I now wish to turn briefly to the global economic scene and some important issues relating to development. For small developing States whose fragile economies are so vulnerable to outside influences the experience of the past 12 months has not been encouraging. Depressed commodity prices and increased protectionism in some industrialized countries are a burden. Even while we are struggling to earn revenues for basic services such as health and education, the developed industrialized countries are talking in terms of spending billions of dollars on the manufacture of war weapons. I feel there is a serious imbalance, for while some of us are concerned about the plight of our peoples lacking some of the basic necessities of life - food, shelter and clothing - the industrialized world is bent on piling up more and more armaments.

My delegation wishes to associate itself with the universal condemnation of international terrorism. Recent incidents in Beirut and Paris clearly demonstrate the urgent need for the international community to combat this heinous and barbaric practice by those who can only be regarded as criminals and murderers. Another equally evil and satanic practice is drug abuse and illegal drug trafficking. My Government condemns those responsible, and pledges to do whatever it can within its limited means to help eradicate this disease in all its forms.

So much has already been said in the past few weeks, and I am sure much more will follow, on the United Nations system itself. In particular, grave concern has been expressed regarding the funding and the management of the Organization.

(Mr. Tovua, Solomon Islands)

My Government shares many of these concerns and supports the general view that cost-effective measures should be sought and finally adopted to bring about efficiency and cost savings. In our view, the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts on the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations is a good basis from which to start. Certain rumours have been heard to the effect that the role of the United Nations itself is in great jeopardy. While there may be grounds for such pessimism, Solomon Islands does not subscribe to that view. As a small nation Solomon Islands regards the United Nations as the only international body that can continue to hold all nations together. It holds out the only hope for the survival of humanity in an age which has been threatened more and more by man's own inventions of modern weaponry and technology. I feel the United Nations holds the human touch that should always remind us that, in the final analysis, this Organization was established to permit the pursuit of human happiness for all peoples.

Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1986 as the International Year of Peace. In that context, the present session is working towards an objective which represents the very essence of the fundamental principles which prevailed at the creation of the Organization, whose vocation it is to work for the promotion and maintenance of peace, staving off war and any threat of war while promoting all efforts aimed at developing co-operation that would improve the fate of mankind.

The States represented within this Assembly have committed themselves to an ideal inherent in those principles - an ideal that has led to a new dynamism in international relations and to which, at every session, those States pay solemn tribute, whilst reaffirming their commitment to act in concert to ensure that peace - the result of an order based on justice - may be constantly strengthened and consolidated.

That commitment has as a corollary the need to engage in constructive dialogue in order to put into effect the great purposes which, enshrined in the Charter, have made this Organization a meeting point of hopes shared by all peoples that love peace, that peace which is not merely the opposite of war but also an element of - indeed, a synonym for - progress and prosperity, to be promoted in a spirit of active solidarity and effective unison.

In this respect, will 1986, the International Year of Peace, become a milestone in the overall evolution which should progressively bring the international community closer to the aims it wishes to achieve through concerted effort? The answer to that question remains open.

In the economic sphere, the situation facing most countries is highly alarming. One cannot but deplore the fact that over the years the problems of development have acquired increasingly worrisome dimensions because of the

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continuing deterioration of the world economy and the persistent crisis that has kept the third world in a state of precarious survival.

While the economies of the industrialized countries seem to be headed towards resumed growth, the situation is quite different for their partners in the South: the gap is widening, emphasizing the imbalances under which the latter are suffering. This in itself would justify the demands calling for a new international economic order on a more just basis, governed by machinery which, combining the realities, interests and needs of all in a framework of true interdependence, would assure a balance capable of generating the impetus that would enable the third world to face the numerous challenges inherent in underdevelopment.

The Republic of Rwanda is convinced that the North-South dialogue is the most appropriate means to reverse the present trend and promote the positive evolution of international economic relations. To that end, our Organization must display persistence and a fertile and creative imagination in order effectively to assume its proper role - that of actively contributing to a change in current relations so as to achieve the principles of solidarity and complementarity set out in the Charter.

In this context, the delegation of Rwanda reaffirms the need to intensify international co-operation through an approach taking into consideration current needs so as to assure the best possible foundations for the process of development. The countries of the third world commit themselves in this regard to a meaningful contribution through the efforts they are deploying to promote and strengthen horizontal co-operation at their level.

Rwanda attaches great importance to all initiatives and specific actions whereby the international community undertakes, at a South-South as well as North-South level, to build a better world for the benefit of all.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

In an over-all context, where the adverse impact of the international economic crisis strikes all countries in varying degrees, an entire continent - Africa - has been exposed to that crisis under particular conditions which have brought it virtually to the brink of disaster. Africa is still the continent where the problems of under-development assume their most heart-rending form. Africa contains the greatest number of countries classified by the United Nations as least developed - those which must face the most serious handicaps to development.

Africa needs the active support of its partners to restore its economy. This calls for a firm commitment on the political level, good will and large financial investments. All these are elements through which the spirit of solidarity shown by its partners in regard to the continent must acquire the dimensions of a lasting and dynamic co-operation making it possible to establish a basis for development while at the same time supporting its own efforts, for which external assistance is indispensable.

It is in this perspective that the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to a consideration of the economic situation in Africa must be viewed. Held from 27 May to 1 June 1986 as the result of an appeal made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that session, which will constitute a landmark, led to the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990.

That session will constitute a landmark because it gave Africa a unique opportunity to engage in a dialogue with its partners to open the way for more active solidarity on behalf of an entire continent which is seeking survival and which, having realistically and rigorously set out the most urgent conditions likely to guarantee the success of its efforts for economic recovery, will not

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yield to despair, despite the magnitude of the obstacles to its development, which is more than ever before a long-term task.

Beyond the concerns linked to the condition of the world economy, on the political level and in the context of the International Year of Peace, the present session will have to reaffirm the fundamental principles on which security in the world must be built.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Those principles constitute a code of ethics based on respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination and the principle of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. It is deplorable that the application of that code of ethics as an immutable rule of conduct is flawed by unacceptable exceptions, political crises and tension and even open conflicts, which are handicaps and obstacles to the achievement of the purposes set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

Thanks to the perseverance of the United Nations, the majority of colonial peoples have regained their freedom. Unfortunately, the decolonization process remains incomplete; many peoples still live under anachronistic domination. In this context, the Assembly, at the current session, must forcefully reaffirm that the legitimate aspiration of peoples to self-determination, independence and freedom must never be frustrated.

In this connection it is of the utmost urgency for the international community to take collective action to impose the force of law in South Africa, Namibia, the Middle East and Western Sahara - indeed, wherever peace is still subjected to the vicissitudes of policies and practices that run counter to universal morality and legality.

The situation in southern Africa is making that region a land filled with resentment, a powder-keg ready to explode. With indescribable arrogance the advocates of apartheid have taken their practice of that outdated doctrine to extremes, making it the ideological basis of a demonic system condemned by all. The Pretoria régime is notorious for the crimes it has committed in South Africa itself in order to perpetuate the most obnoxious racism. Abroad, it engages in endless delaying tactics to postpone Namibia's inevitable accession to independence

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and steps up its acts of aggression, destabilization and intimidation against the front-line States, which it would like to bring to heel.

Rwanda is more than ever convinced that it is its duty to fight that régime, which is a disgrace to mankind. This is the duty of all peoples that cherish freedom and justice and support the struggle to bring democracy to South Africa and independence to Namibia.

On the specific question of Namibia, 20 years after the United Nations decision to revoke South Africa's Mandate over that Territory, the International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna in July 1986, and the special session of the General Assembly held from 17 to 20 September this year have appropriately stressed the gravity of the problem and the urgent need for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is recognized as the sole acceptable basis for a final settlement that takes into account the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Namibian people.

Rwanda reaffirms its solidarity not only with the peoples and States in southern Africa facing increasing danger as a result of the arrogance and expansionism of the Pretoria régime, but also with the Palestinian people, convinced that it would be foolish to try to promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East without guaranteeing respect for the rights of that people in the spirit of the fundamental purposes and principles of the Organization and without withdrawal by the State of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied by force since 1967.

The Government of Rwanda cannot compromise on the universal principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination. Therefore, to strengthen its efforts to establish a climate conducive to international peace and security, the United Nations must do everything it can to guarantee that peoples still under foreign domination secure the freedom they desire.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Similarly, to retain its credibility the Organization must make a decisive contribution to the settlement of conflicts and tensions in various areas of the third world which have become the battlefield of greed and foreign interference.

Previous speakers have stressed the serious risks incurred by raising the stakes in the arms race, given the spectre of nuclear war that haunts us all. The very existence of mankind is at stake. To the extent that efforts to encourage détente also promote international peace and security, the resumption of the dialogue between the two major world Powers gives cause for satisfaction and hope, as long as the good intentions claimed by both sides lead to concrete action which can strengthen the trust that must underlie their relations and be reflected throughout the international community.

The Government of Rwanda is extremely interested in this important dialogue, for we are convinced that disarmament is an aspect of development. Disarmament for development is a relatively new concept, but it is clearly grounded in logic: in an age when the triumphs of science and technology have led to miraculous achievements, when few exploits appear beyond the reach of mankind's creativity, we can no longer tolerate the contrast between the poignant tragedy of the peoples of the third world, which face the worst sort of uncertainty about their future and even about their survival, and the scandal of the enormous financial, material and technological resources devoted to the production of weapons of mass extermination.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

In the context of this International Year of Peace, peace that should go hand in hand with justice and the equitable sharing of mankind's resources, our Organization should strengthen the awareness of the intrinsic relationship between security, well-being and prosperity, to which all peoples aspire as we approach the end of this century.

The fate of divided nations is a matter of constant concern to our Organization. The Government of Rwanda seizes every possible opportunity to refer to that concern. It has done so regularly here, deploring the fact that one people, belonging to the same nation, heirs to the same culture and moulded by the same history, should be artificially divided. Consequently, Rwanda appreciates the efforts to promote and consolidate the process of normalizing relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, being convinced that that process is a tangible factor within the framework of détente and hoping that it will continue in a realistic and pragmatic manner with due regard for the constant hope of the German people to be reunited.

Similarly, Rwanda supports any initiatives which are directed through a constructive dialogue, without external interference or pressure, towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

Every session gives Member States a unique opportunity to make an act of faith by renewing their commitment to the ideals enshrined in the Charter. The Rwandese delegation today reaffirms its commitment, and expresses its great appreciation of the results achieved by our Organization in its efforts to build an international community which, by dealing successfully with military confrontations, political crises and tensions and the socio-economic challenges with which it is faced, will be able to translate into action the philosophy based on the grand design of promoting peace and progress for the benefit of all peoples.

(Mr. Ngarukiyintwali, Rwanda)

Because of its dedication to that great task, the Organization continues to be the ideal setting for the constructive exchange of ideas between partners inspired by the strong and ardent desire to make collective decisions about their common future. Rwanda hopes that that desire will always actively encourage the international community to promote the fundamental purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

That hope is strengthened at the current session, Mr. President, by the fact that you have been chosen to guide our work. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to you personally, in recognition of your eminent qualities, enhanced by a wealth of extensive experience, and also a tribute to your country, Bangladesh, in recognition of its active role in the family of nations. In offering you my warmest and most sincere congratulations, I assure you that Rwanda, privileged to be at your side in the Bureau of the General Assembly will spare no effort to contribute to the success of this session.

I would also like to express once more our great appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, for the way in which he guided our work throughout his presidency of the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar; the Government of Rwanda admires the dynamism and efficiency with which during his current term of office, now coming to an end, he has constantly ensured that the United Nations should at all times be fully committed to the process of solidarity which will be a decisive factor in determining the future of mankind.

Rwanda, an active participant in that process and proud to belong to the great United Nations family, is always receptive to any proposal which is in accordance with the principles of the Charter and will enable our Organization to consolidate our existing achievements and to keep intact the ideal which it is dedicated to promoting.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon.

I call on the representative of France, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second, and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. BROCHAND (France) (interpretation from French): I must point out briefly, and in a moderate and courteous tone, my delegation's disagreement with what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Solomon Islands said on the issue of New Caledonia. However, I noted with pleasure that this time the speaker took a moderate tone, in accordance with the friendly relations between my country and his.

As regards nuclear testing, I can only remind the Assembly of my delegation's statements on the subject on similar occasions.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.