



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.31
20 October 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 13 October 1988, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. CABRAL (Vice-President)	(Guinea-Bissau)
later:	Mr. CAPUTO (President)	(Argentina)
later:	Mr. CABRAL (Vice-President)	(Guinea-Bissau)
later:	Mr. CAPUTO (President)	(Argentina)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by:

Mr. Graca (Sao Tome and Principe)
Mr. Alesana (Samoa)
Mr. Adoum (Chad)
Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann (Nicaragua)
Mr. Van Dunem (Angola)
Sir Peter Kenilorea (Solomon Islands)

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

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), Vice-President took the Chair.

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. GRACA (Sao Tome and Principe) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and my delegation, I would like to present our warmest congratulations to Mr. Dante Caputo on his election as President of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. His election is certainly a testimony to the high appreciation that his country, Argentina, deserves from the international community, and an additional acknowledgement of his well-known qualities as a diplomat and statesman. I would like to assure him of the complete co-operation of my delegation in the fulfilment of his mandate.

Allow me also to take this opportunity to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin, on the highly satisfactory results achieved during his presidency of the forty-second session.

Allow me to express my most profound admiration to the Secretary-General, for his dedication and dynamism in handling the questions under consideration by our Organization and for his enlightened, dedicated and courageous actions in search of solutions to some regional conflicts affecting the world.

We note with satisfaction that the United Nations is currently experiencing a fruitful period; its role and the role of the Secretary-General are considered to be important, I would even say indispensable, by all countries. As the culmination of this universal acknowledgement of the relevant action of the United Nations, the peace-keeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, a highly significant event.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

We note that all countries, including the super-Powers, which is an important point, by virtue of their position and above all by their behaviour, define the United Nations as a place uniquely suited to the multilateral examination at political level of issues that are crucial to the future of humanity. In this context, the United Nations will be better able to operate more efficiently towards achieving the objectives and principles on which it was founded and will, it is to be hoped, be able to promote peace and security in the whole world and international co-operation for the multilateral development of all peoples.

Indeed, peace and development are the two main concerns of the world. Regarding peace, we have lately witnessed promising developments, thanks to the new relationship now existing between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and to prospects for a peaceful solution of the various conflicts that exist in the world.

Indeed, 1988 has been marked by events that constitute a crucial turning-point in the panorama of international politics. There is a climate of relaxation, of détente, between East and West which does not seem to be only temporary. It does not seem to be a cyclical phenomenon such as we have so often observed in international relations during past decades, which often disappeared under the stormy waves of ideological and expansionistic conflicts.

This relaxation is based ultimately on a rational approach to the opposition between the two main socio-political systems of the world. There is a new awareness of the absurdity of entertaining ideas of military supremacy in order to impose one's ideology upon others, since, in the nuclear era, that would be an irreversible path which not only could lead to the complete destruction of everything man has built, but might also mean the end of all forms of life on the surface of the earth.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

However, it is clear that as long as there are people and ideas competition must serve as an important factor in progress, both through the improvement necessary to maintain competitiveness and through the progressive integration of opposed theses into a global synthesis. But peaceful competition is the only option.

We may say that a new political and military mentality is emerging at the international level, creating the possibility of true coexistence among nations in a contradictory but interconnected and interdependent world, coexistence based on the principles of a "humanized" international law which really takes into consideration the interests of all countries and peoples of the world.

Respect for the equality of the rights of States, for national independence and sovereignty, for the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs and for the right of peoples to choose the social and political system best suited to their specific characteristics - that will be the possible outcome if this new political mentality prevails as a palpable reality and not as mere rhetoric. If it does triumph, we will see peace flourish and international co-operation broaden, to the great benefit of all the peoples of the world.

In December last year Washington became the unique arena for events which brought hope to the world, events such as the historic landmark represented by the signing by American and Soviet leaders of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the INF Treaty.

This significant event, interpreted as a precursor of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament - the great aspiration of all the peoples of the world - means in our opinion the final elimination of the obsolete cold war, and indicates the beginning of an era in which confrontation is replaced by co-operation in the relationship between the United States of America and the

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

Soviet Union, with important and very positive results, not only for their respective peoples, but also for the entire international community.

The four Reagan-Gorbachev summit meetings confirmed the existence of a dynamic favourable not only to positive progress on the path towards disarmament, but also to the stabilization of Soviet-American relations. For developing peoples, if this dynamic continues to consolidate until a world without weapons and without violence may be built, there is the possibility of seeing the enormous amounts absorbed by the arms race being used for man's development and happiness.

If universal human values finally become a priority in relations among States and nations, there would be some hope of putting an end to the regional conflicts which bathe our countries in blood and destroy them, causing misery, hunger and suffering.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome and Principe)

We note this evolution with satisfaction: it has led to specific results in the search for peaceful solutions to the conflicts in various regions of the world. In some of those conflicts, recourse to the principles and mechanisms of the United Nations has been decisive.

Evidence of this development is to be found in the peace agreements signed in Geneva with regard to Afghanistan, in the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq and the consequent beginning of direct negotiations between the parties with a view to the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and in the progress currently being made in finding a peaceful solution in Western Sahara, Central America, Kampuchea and south-east Africa.

In southern Africa, in our solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, we are following with deep interest the progress of the quadripartite peace negotiations and the prospects opened up for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We praise the constructive, discerning and courageous spirit with which the Government of the People's Republic of Angola is seeking a peaceful, fair and permanent solution to the conflict.

In spite of these new prospects for negotiation, the international community must intensify its efforts to exert pressure on South Africa, with a view to speedy implementation of the process of independence for Namibia and to the establishment of a democratic and multiracial society in South Africa.

The positive evolution observed in the approach to the above-mentioned conflicts is, unfortunately, not seen in other regions of the world. This is especially true in the Middle East, where only Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and recognition of the legitimate right of the

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome and
Principe)

Palestinian people to self-determination will permit the achievement of a just and permanent solution to the conflict.

We reiterate once more our belief that the International Conference on the Middle East should be convened as soon as possible, with the participation of all the parties involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Moreover, we cannot but express our concern regarding the continued aggression and occupation of East Timor and the fact that it is impossible for its people to enjoy their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence.

We appeal to Indonesia, in the light of its historic tradition as a founding member and champion of the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to co-operate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the continued efforts being made within the framework of General Assembly resolution 37/30 to bring about a just solution of this matter.

Since the beginning of the 1960s, special emphasis has been laid on the need to make changes in international economic relations, especially in the areas of trade and price mechanisms for raw materials, with stress on the principle of reciprocity of advantages in international trade. In this regard, a number of initiatives have been widely debated, and important decisions have been taken by the United Nations and the various specialized agencies in the United Nations system. By examining the various agreements and resolutions, however, we may conclude that there have been too many partial solutions and too many broken promises.

The economic crisis besetting the developing countries does not allow them even to solve their food deficit. At the same time, all of them are in a situation in which they cannot comply with their foreign debt obligations and the servicing

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome and
Principe)

of that debt, the majority are becoming increasingly dependent on elements outside their region, and their development is accordingly blocked. In this context, the urgent convening of an international conference on the African foreign debt, in accordance with the decision of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), is of the highest importance to our countries.

These measures have not contributed effectively throughout the years to narrowing the gap between developed and developing countries, or to diminishing the economic and social imbalances existing in the world.

If, in the past, industrial countries could not, or did not want to, face up to the deep structural imbalances observed in the economic situation of the world, today it is no longer possible to continue to ignore the need to take a number of joint decisions if we wish to address the whole problem of underdevelopment effectively.

The interdependence of all countries and the global nature of current problems are not compatible with short-sighted egoism, which seeks to ignore the fact that the development of all peoples is a fundamental condition for international peace and security.

Since each country has the responsibility of designing and choosing the model of development which is most appropriate for its specific characteristics, it is important for the international community to undertake a joint project for all countries, accepting international co-operation as a complement to everyone's individual efforts based on the democratic principles of solidarity and mutual interest.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome and
Principa)

Among the fields in which international co-operation is required, we can also mention the protection of the environment. Today, the relationship between environment and development is unquestionable and it has become urgent for us to take a global approach to the problem, which should lead to appropriate follow-up action.

We cannot fail to denounce the criminal complicity of certain economic agents of the West and some of their corrupt African allies, who are trying to use Africa as a depository for toxic and radioactive waste, and we hope that the analysis of the question during this session will culminate in a vigorous condemnation of those practices.

At this session the General Assembly will examine, among other items, the results of the application of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development adopted in 1986 at its thirteenth special session. The recent meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly entrusted with the assessment of that Programme completed its work here in the United Nations with satisfactory results, since it provided an opportunity for the parties concerned, two years after its adoption, to make an in-depth analysis and to consult with each other in an attempt to find the best ways of enhancing co-operation between Africa and the international community and of bringing about recovery in the impoverished African economy.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

While acknowledging the fundamental role to be played by African Governments in the elaboration of strategies for the implementation of the programme and taking into consideration the current serious economic situation in Africa, the meeting rightly emphasized the need for the international community to take urgent measures to speed up implementation over the next few years, especially by increasing the financial contributions to our countries on a predictable and sustained basis, thus supporting the efforts of the continent, especially in the field of agriculture.

In order to overcome underdevelopment, we need to be clear and consistent in our analysis and denunciation of, and our battle against, factors brought about by our own mistakes. We must recognize that co-operation and solidarity among developing countries has not been taken sufficiently into consideration; it might even be said that they had been neglected. We must take specific and decisive measures towards the improvement of South-South co-operation and mutual assistance as an essential element in the establishment of a new international economic order.

In the case of the African continent, there are various initiatives towards subregional economic integration that absolutely must be consolidated so that we may overcome the current balkanization, which is one of the reasons for our difficulties in achieving endogenous and self-sufficient development.

On the other hand, we must have the courage to recognize the relationship between political power as it is exercised in many of our countries of the third world and underdevelopment. It is incontestable that development is essentially a cultural phenomenon, which requires the active participation of conscientious and responsible citizens.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

We must fight for the generalisation and consolidation of democracy, without which there can be no flowering of the people's creative spirit, which is the foundation that supports true development.

In Sao Tome and Principe we are promoting an experiment in the involvement of the people in the political, economic and social life of the nation and the society, an experiment that we hope will be successful. After thorough, open, critical and outspoken debate on the problems that slow down our economic development, we decided that the State must withdraw from the management of productive units and that the citizen must bear the main responsibility for initiatives designed to bring about the economic recovery of the country. At the same time we took a historic step towards wider democratisation of our political life when we decided to grant freedom of expression to all political tendencies within the sole party. And we do not reject the idea of future evolution towards a plurality of parties, when the social, political and cultural context justifies this.

While this situation of democratic tolerance in our small country, as witnessed by Amnesty International when it visited Sao Tome and Principe a few weeks ago at our invitation, is a comforting reality for us, we cannot but be concerned about what is happening in more than half the countries of the world with respect to civil and human rights, as revealed by that same organisation a few days ago in its report, in the very year in which we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This historic Declaration acknowledges that respect for the inalienable rights of all the members of the human family is the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

(Mr. Graca, Sao Tome
and Principe)

Although the objectives established by the Declaration may have seemed too ambitious for its time, the progressive translation of its principles into rules of international law is today a reality which, in many parts of the world, stimulates and inspires all those who are fighting for respect for the inherent dignity of all human beings.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, aware of its responsibilities in this field and wishing to participate in the international movement to safeguard and protect human rights, has recently ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in the belief that all human rights are indivisible and interrelated.

I conclude by wishing this Assembly every success in its work, so that it may contribute effectively to the establishment of understanding among men and among nations, and to the material and spiritual progress of mankind.*

ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE TOFILAU ETI ALESANA, PRIME MINISTER OF THE
INDEPENDENT STATE OF WESTERN SAMOA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa.

The Honourable Tofilau Eti Alesana, Prime Minister of the Independent State of Western Samoa, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa, the Honourable Tofilau Eti Alesana, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

*The President took the Chair.

Mr. ALESANA (Samoa): Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to extend to you the congratulations of my Government on your election to your high office. It is a recognition not only of your personal qualities but of the important role you have played in the re-emergence of democratic traditions in your country, and of the esteem that Argentina enjoys in the world community today.

We must also record our thanks to Mr. Peter Florin for the impeccable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

Samoa has constantly sounded notes of hope and optimism in our statements since we joined the United Nations 12 years ago - notes of hope that were often drowned out by the more despondent tones of doubt and the dire predictions of the doomsayers. However, we were not disheartened, and our faith and belief in the United Nations as the great hope of, particularly, the small nations, has never dimmed.

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

It is therefore with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that we feel able today to say with confidence that our optimism was not unjustified. After some years of international introspection and critical self-examination, we have arrived at a time when a certain amount of congratulation is in order, and when it can be said that the international community is becoming aware of the importance of the United Nations once again. There are, indeed, successes for all to see.

These successes, which we must acknowledge, mark in most cases the fruition of long and often frustrating efforts on the part of all concerned, and owe much to the dedication, patience and persistence of the Secretary-General and our international civil servants. Through the difficult times, morale has been maintained, the quest for international peace has continued, and progress has been achieved.

It is, then, most timely and fitting that the Nobel Peace Prize should have been awarded this year to the United Nations peace-keeping forces, which are indeed a symbol to the world of the United Nations and its aims. We congratulate the Secretary-General, his staff, the troop-contributing countries, and, of course, the troops themselves. Their heroic stoicism and quiet sacrifice have too long gone unsung.

Let us then applaud the progress made in so many areas of the world where the problems had seemed insoluble. It is remarkable that across the world, from one far-flung trouble spot to another, settlements are slowly beginning to emerge, and world tensions are lessening. There is little doubt that major factors in this change are the lessening of tension between the great Powers and a new willingness on their part to work through the United Nations, thus enabling it more successfully to do the work envisaged by the framers of its Charter. We acknowledge and applaud this most encouraging development in international relations. We hope

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

to see it grow and expand. If it does, then much credit will be due the leaders of those great nations for their enlightened statesmanship and the realization that much of the world's well-being depends on them and the actions of their countries.

We turn, then, with hope in our hearts to a brief consideration of developments in the troubled regions of the world.

The Iran-Iraq cease-fire is an excellent example of the co-operation of the great Powers with one another and with the other members of the Security Council. Under the leadership of the Secretary-General, the Security Council has persisted with patience and diplomacy in pursuit of a settlement. Now a cease-fire has been achieved, a result which seemed impossible a year ago. United Nations peace-keeping forces are in place, and the expansion of the peace-keeping function to posts both there and in Afghanistan testifies to the important role those forces are able to perform world-wide if given the requisite goodwill. Now, for Iran and Iraq, the focus must be on the full implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and on the healing of the wounds they have inflicted on one another.

In Afghanistan, the Geneva Accords were achieved, once again, as the result of steady and persistent effort under the auspices of the United Nations, with the Secretary-General and his personal envoy, Mr. Diego Cordovez, playing vital roles. The Soviet Union has withdrawn 50 per cent of its forces, as promised. While this is encouraging, it must complete its troop withdrawal as scheduled to enable the process of self-determination to take place within Afghanistan. While problems remain, the progress towards the restoration of peace to that shattered land continues. It must remain on track, for it is only when the fighting ceases, the refugees are enabled to return home and dialogue begins among the various groups

(Mr. Alessana Samoa)

in Afghanistan that the people of Afghanistan will be able finally to begin to put their lives together again and choose at last the form of government under which they wish to live.

We welcome the progress made in the negotiations on the problems in south-western Africa and are much encouraged by the improved prospects for the independence of Namibia. It is very good news that an advance team can now go to Namibia to prepare for the United Nations military and civilian presence in the Territory. At last, perhaps, the United Nations can play its appropriate role in Namibia, and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group can expedite the Territory's peaceful transition to independence.

Also showing promise, assisted by the good offices of both the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is the situation in Western Sahara. There, as the Secretary-General says in his annual report on the work of the Organisation,

"an appropriate climate has been established for a just and durable solution of the problem." (A/43/L. p. 3)

Once again, we understand, the United Nations will be significantly involved both in a military and in a civilian capacity, and a referendum supervised by the United Nations will give the people of Western Sahara the opportunity to make a genuine choice about their future.

When we consider the problems of Cyprus, we see that once again perseverance has paid off; the leaders of the two sides have agreed to meet for talks without any pre-conditions, and those meetings are under way. They will try to achieve a negotiated settlement of the problem by 1 June 1989. The Secretary-General's good offices have been instrumental in this process and have justified the faith the Security Council placed in him when it entrusted his mandate to him.

(Mr. Alesana Samoa)

In our own region, developments in New Caledonia in recent months give us reason to be greatly encouraged about peace and good-neighbourliness in the South Pacific. Initiatives embarked on by France, resulting in the Matignon and Oudinot accords, have brought about dramatic change in New Caledonia. Where there was serious likelihood of a real tragedy, there is now optimism and a genuine spirit of realistic accommodation and reconciliation. The South Pacific Forum applauds the efforts and commitment of the administering country, France, as well as the courage and leadership that have been in evidence within the major groups in New Caledonia itself in making possible the progress so far achieved.

Western Samoa strongly supports the process now in train to produce a genuine and meaningful act of self-determination for a reconciled New Caledonia in a manner that will accommodate the legitimate interests of all its people, including its indigenous population.

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

There are other troubled areas where settlements do not seem as imminent as those we have already mentioned. More direct United Nations involvement, we feel, may be what is called for to stimulate progress in the resolution of at least some of these crises.

That is true of the Kampuchean situation, for instance, which is showing promising signs but where there are some difficulties yet to be resolved. The members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have shown diplomacy and leadership in the region on this issue. They have recently successfully brought the parties concerned together at the Jakarta Informal Meeting, convened by Indonesia. We trust that this has prepared the way for the convening of an international conference, preferably under the auspices of the Secretary-General. The Vietnamese must be held to their commitment to withdraw all their forces by 1990 and the country must then be readied for an act of self-determination. For this, national reconciliation is necessary and it should take place under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with the quadripartite arrangement, representing all the parties concerned, in place. There must also be effective arrangements to ensure that there is no return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past. During these processes there should be a role for United Nations peace-keeping and supervision.

There are some encouraging initiatives on the Korean peninsula. President Roh has recently proposed a meeting of the Presidents of the North and the South and, indeed, a direct dialogue is essential to any peaceful path to a solution. Once again, we feel that the United Nations environment is often the best for reconciliation and, in the interests of the universality which we strongly support, we would hope that North and South Korea will be represented in our Organization in the near future.

(Mr. Alesana Samoa)

The Republic of Korea must be congratulated on the manner in which it served as host to the Olympic Games, so successfully concluded a fortnight ago - evidence indeed of South Korea's competence in the international arena.

There is a definite role for the United Nations to play in regard to the Middle East. Here the problems remain intractable, with tensions recently aggravated by the uprisings on the West Bank, fuelled by years of frustration, and the manner in which they have been handled. The violence of these developments has made it clear that vigorous efforts must be made to find a solution for this increasingly volatile situation. An international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with all concerned parties participating, would seem to us the best approach. It is imperative that Israel recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and their right to establish a State of their own. Conversely, the Palestinians must recognize Israel's right to exist within internationally recognized and secure boundaries. Both sides must renounce violence and must resort, for a change, to dialogue.

Another area which shows little promise of peace at the moment is Lebanon. That tragic country is still devastated and divided, and the situation gives little cause for optimism. Once again we call on others to cease taking advantage of Lebanon's crisis and refrain from interference in its affairs. Also, the troops of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in place there must be allowed to carry out their duties without harassment and the threat of death.

In Central America the progress towards peace seems, sadly, to have stalled. There were promising signs - with blueprints for peace painstakingly laid out in the regional peace plan, Esquipulas II, adopted by the five Presidents of the Central American countries. That plan is based on the Arias plan formulated by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. For his efforts President Arias received the Nobel Peace Prize, and we had hoped that that would stimulate the peace process in

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

the region. We look to see a rekindling of enthusiasm and a revival of the dialogue so that eventually the aspirations of the peoples of Central America to live in democratic and peaceful conditions may be achieved.

In South Africa there can be no possibility of a solution until the South African Government is made to realize that it must abandon apartheid in any of its evil forms or manifestations. That Government must realize that there is no way that apartheid can be reformed: its total abolition is the only answer. The situation is constantly deteriorating, with increasingly repressive actions keeping the tensions at boiling point. The South African Government must release Nelson Mandela, now 70 years old and in poor health, and the other political prisoners; it must lift the bans from the prohibited organizations which oppose apartheid and thereby create conditions conducive to dialogue. Dialogue and the eschewing of violence and repression are the only sane preliminary paths to the creation of an atmosphere where a solution can be sought.

In spite of international condemnation the South African régime remains determined to maintain, with whatever means at its disposal, its abhorrent total disregard for basic human rights. This intransigence, in Western Samoa's view, justifies the intensification and expansion of economic sanctions against South Africa.

While South Africa certainly stands out as the most blatant instance of the denial of human rights we have to contend with, we should not allow it to divert our attention from other abuses of human rights around the globe. The Organization must ensure that the suffering and inhumanity that go hand in hand with abuses of human rights are addressed, and eliminated wherever they occur.

Human rights is one of the areas where we hope to see the United Nations role grow and expand, for we feel there is much potential for a United Nations in which the world has more confidence to operate more actively in this field.

(Mr. Alexana, Samoa)

On 10 December we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But there is little to celebrate when we consider the actual practices around the world. While human rights instruments have been proliferating, so have inhuman practices.

(Mr. Alexana, Samoa)

This grim irony is further exemplified by the recent re-emergence of chemicals as weapons for one people's use against another. This practice mocks the very dignity of mankind and must be banned for ever. We are pleased to note President Reagan's proposal made here for the convening of a conference of the parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol and that this proposal was also supported by Mr. Shevardnadze. Of course it is imperative also that the drafting of a convention banning chemical weapons be continued and completed as soon as possible.

One of the brightest hopes we have this year is the likelihood of the dawning of a whole new era in disarmament. Despite the lack of concrete results from the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, we are much encouraged that the relaxing of tensions between the super-Powers has led to their agreement to dismantle an entire class of nuclear weapons under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty. We trust that this breakthrough will herald a new attitude to disarmament. Much progress has already been made towards the conclusion of a START Treaty which would cut the super-Powers' strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 per cent. Both countries have accepted verification procedures that would have been anathema to them in the past. The two countries have gone so far as to exchange visits of military personnel at Chief-of-Staff level. This new-found flexibility and reasonableness must not only pave the way for future reductions of their own still awesome arsenals but will, it is hoped, encourage other nuclear-weapon States to begin the process of nuclear disarmament. Similarly it is hoped that those States that do not have nuclear weapons but might aspire to them will see the futility of acquiring such unusable and ultimately useless tools of war. We hope there will be a renewal of confidence in the Non-Proliferation Treaty, a Treaty that deserves the support of all nations dedicated to a nuclear-weapon-free world. This is of crucial importance, especially to the small and vulnerable States of the world.

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

This year is the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Treaty; and it has served as an effective barrier to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by more States. In its 20 years of existence, no new nuclear-weapon State has emerged and more than 130 States have become parties to the Treaty and committed themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons. It must be strengthened and adhered to.

There is still an urgent need for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty prohibiting all nuclear tests by all States in all environments for all time. As we learn daily how ignorant we have been about the destruction we have already wrought on this Earth, we are alarmed and realize with more certainty than ever before that all nuclear testing must cease. It must cease, not only because the further development of nuclear weapons is undesirable but also because of the damage to the Earth testing is causing, much of which may as yet have gone undetected by scientists. After all, scientists themselves have admitted how often they have been wrong in the past and how much there is still to learn about our environment.

We in the South Pacific have wondered and worried for years now about the effects of the French nuclear testing in our region. Once again we ask that it be stopped. We do not believe in the whole premise on which such testing is based; so why should we be subjected to its effects? We do not believe that nuclear weapons should exist and we believe that those in existence should be destroyed. We believe that the preservation of our God-given environment in as pristine a condition as possible is of paramount importance not only to our region but to the world as a whole.

Recent events have made us realize that we are all ecologically connected: events occurring in one part of the world can have ecological consequences on the far side of the world. Plastic bags thrown into one ocean choke sea creatures in another ocean; fumes from industrial pollution in one country cause acid rain to

(Mr. Alessana, Samoa)

kill forests in another country thousands of miles away; deforestation the world over can not only cause erosion and floods miles from where it occurs, but is occurring on such a large scale that it threatens to change the climate of the entire world for ever.

It is certainly ironic that, just as we see developments that give us reason to believe that we may be able to avoid the nuclear holocaust we have all feared for years, we begin to realize that we may have irrevocably sown the seeds of destruction for this Earth in many other ways and that it may be too late to reverse much of the damage already done.

Scientists tell us that the thinning of the ozone layer and resultant greenhouse effect are the cumulative results of our pollutants. What is truly terrifying is that some scientists think that the damage we see today is the consequence of what we did 30 years ago when pollutants were fewer and less potent, and that it is our children who will feel the much greater damage resulting from our activities today.

How tragic for our children, or their children, to inherit an Earth enshrouded in a deadly pall of noxious pollutants; awash with waters full of poison; fouled with animals dead or dying; stripped of timber; with soils exhausted, devoid of nutrients, desertified or dangerously laced with toxins; and with valleys, rivers and lakes piled full of garbage. For it may come to this if we do not soon realize that the catastrophes we are experiencing are sighs from an ailing and weary Mother Earth moaning that she is just "not able to take it any more".

We sympathize with those nations - Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mexico, the Dominican Republic and the Sudan - which have suffered the most recent tragedies; but it is at our peril that we ignore these warnings and all the other signs we have received. The World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Prime Minister Brundtland, put it to us squarely, and we must act. Both rich and poor

(Mr. Alessana, Samoa)

nations, both North and South, are guilty. Development in the future must be in tune with the environment.

We are pleased to welcome Prime Minister Mulroney's announcement here that Canada will establish a centre to promote the concept of environmentally sustainable development internationally and also Canada's support of a feasibility study on a World Conservation Bank to work with the World Bank, for environmental concerns must be an integral part of any development efforts. We strongly support the calls for a high-level United Nations conference on environmental matters, and the sooner the better.

(Mr. Alesana Samoa)

While we have said both North and South are guilty of environmental rape and pillage, the reasons are usually different in the two regions. In the developed countries misuse of the environment is most often to provide comfort and convenience, and is sometimes purely for sport or greed. Greed and expediency were certainly motives in recent attempts to export toxic wastes from North to South. While the countries of the South are certainly not free from base motivations, very often their populations are merely trying to survive.

Thus, we must urgently confront the inequities of the world's economic situation. The least developed feel these inequities most keenly, but all developing countries suffer from slow or negative growth, commodity price declines and adverse terms of trade, to name but a few problems. It is to be hoped that the international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade and other international initiatives will address more effectively the economic plight of the poorer nations of the world.

We began this address with a reaffirmation of our confidence in and commitment to the United Nations and its work. For there is no doubt that loyalty to the United Nations on the part of all its Members is the key to the Organization's ability to carry its urgent work forward. Further progress in the reform and revitalisation of the United Nations depends on Member support, both moral and financial. Now is the time to encourage the progress begun. We are pleased that both the United States and the USSR now intend to pay their past dues and meet their financial responsibilities to the United Nations. We urge all Members to meet their obligations as well.

The spirit of multilateralism certainly seems to have been reborn and must be nurtured, for it must finally be apparent to all nations that the time for rhetoric and propaganda is past and the time for co-operation is at hand.

(Mr. Alesana, Samoa)

The Secretary-General in his report last year said that it was as if "the sails of the small boat in which all the people of the earth are gathered had caught again ... a light but favourable wind" (A/42/1, p. 2) - indicating that there was hope, though it might be faint. This year he is able to report that

"With careful and patient navigation, the vessel has come within sight of large sections of the shore". (A/43/1, p. 2)

That is a much more hopeful future. Indeed, we agree, and while there are still some reefs to negotiate, a safe arrival seems much more likely, for with the present international climate the sailing weather is good, or, as we say in Samoa:

"A favourable wind is felt on the body. Let the boat be guided by an experienced and competent helmsman."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa for the important statement he has just made.

Tofilau Eti Eiasana, Prime Minister of the Independent State of Western Samoa, was escorted from the rostrum.*

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Chad wishes to join previous speakers in expressing to Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina our most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. The delegation of Chad is doubly pleased that he was elected; because of his wide experience in international relations, and, in particular, because, as Minister for External Relations of his country, he has shown his competence and diplomatic skill. My delegation is also pleased at the

* Mr. Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

excellent relations that exist, very fortunately, between his beautiful country and Chad. The confidence of the international community has been placed in his country and in him personally, and I have no doubt that the work of this session of the General Assembly will be conducted tactfully, ably and effectively. He can be assured of the whole-hearted co-operation of my delegation in the fulfilment of his heavy responsibilities.

I should also like to extend the thanks of my delegation to his predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin, who showed a great spirit of compromise in guiding the work of the forty-second session.

Finally, my delegation wishes to pay a special and well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts in the service of peace and for the promotion of development.

On 26 June 1945, when the founding fathers of the United Nations signed the United Nations Charter, their objectives, which were clearly defined in Article 1 were, in essence, peace and development.

On 25 May 1963, the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) followed that example by enshrining the same principles in the Addis Ababa charter.

The combination of these peace ideals would normally have averted the disasters that our States have known, through irresponsible behaviour or because of the pursuit of immediate, selfish interests.

Despite the fact that differences of view persist within the international community, in 1988 there has been a new development in international relations; a wind of peace can be felt here and there. If this trend continues, our world will experience a new era of the détente that had disappeared from the international scene in recent years.

(Mr. Adoun, Chad)

The new approach in relations between Chad and Libya is part of this new era. Representatives will recall the years of suffering that the people of Chad have known, the verbal and military battles that have characterized the relationship between two countries which history and geography have condemned to live side by side, which age-old relations as neighbours and brothers have united, and which should have known only relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the charter of the OAU.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

As members are aware, Chad has always shown a spirit of dialogue in trying to find solutions to the dispute between the two countries. This open attitude, which was disregarded for so long, finally met with a favourable response from our Libyan brothers in a statement by Colonel Qaddafi made in Tripoli on 25 May 1988.

On this new basis, in its resolution AHG/174 (XXIV), the OAU accordingly changed the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Chad-Libya dispute by assigning it, in paragraph 5, the following goals: the establishment of a climate of trust and a dynamism for dialogue through a rapprochement between the two parties to the dispute; normalization of relations between the two States, in particular in the political and diplomatic spheres and with regard to co-operation in all fields of common interest; the extension and consolidation of the cease-fire by appropriate means and measures.

This process began with the bilateral meetings held at Libreville under the auspices of His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic and Chairman of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on the Chad-Libya dispute. Friendly Governments also provided quiet mediation, which finally led, on 3 October 1988, to the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

In the joint communiqué issued in this regard, the two countries reaffirmed their firm intention to respect scrupulously the cease-fire of 11 September 1987 and to resolve peacefully their territorial dispute in keeping with the principles of the United Nations and the OAU Charters and in accordance with resolution AHG/174 (XXIV) adopted at the twenty-fourth OAU Summit, and to co-operate with the OAU Ad Hoc Committee in a spirit of responsibility and understanding.

The political will and the constant readiness of the Chadian Government, together with the persevering conciliatory efforts of friendly countries and of the

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

OAU Ad Hoc Committee on the dispute, have thus effectively and positively contributed to the establishment of this new climate of rapprochement and peace between two fraternal States.

Hence, on behalf of the Chadian Government and people my delegation would like from this rostrum to express our gratitude to these friendly countries for having spared no effort in bringing Chad and Libya to restore relations and to pay a special tribute to, and sincerely thank, President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo for the truly positive role he played in promoting the peace process. By their deeds they have all greatly assisted the Chadian people, which has always aspired to peace in order to devote itself fully to the struggle for development.

We hope that this step will be followed up and strengthened in order to achieve lasting peace. Lastly, I wish to reaffirm that Chad is willing to pursue this new dynamism in order to normalise relations between the two fraternal countries and to provide a just, lasting settlement to our dispute with Libya with regard to the Aouzou Strip, in keeping with the process entered into within the framework of OAU resolution AHG/174 (XXIV). To that end, my Government reaffirms its sincere co-operation and total support with regard to the tireless and laudable efforts of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee to succeed in its noble mission.

The Chadian people profoundly aspires to peace in order the better to devote itself to fighting underdevelopment, which is a real battle for Chad owing to our unfavourable climate and the disastrous consequences of war. To the burden of war are added epidemics, desertification, drought, grasshopper and caterpillar infestations and floods. Those are the scourges from which my country has been suffering in recent years. With regard to the current agricultural season, there is very little chance that the harvest will be good, because the rains that came late were so heavy in August that several regions were flooded. Damages have been

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

quite considerable: 68,816 people were affected, including 10,000 people in N'Djamena, our capital; 67 killed and scores wounded; 3,416 cattle were reported missing; more than 158 villages flooded; 20,539 homes destroyed; some 12,417 hectares of farmland completely flooded, something which will have adverse consequences on the harvest.

The crops that were spared in the flooding are threatened by locusts. In several areas of the country there is a risk of famine. Even before the rainy season, the torrid heat in March, April and May posed a meningitis epidemic that killed many people, in particular children.

These various calamities, together with the ravages of war, have dealt a serious blow to our national economy, which rests on fragile bases, such as cotton as the only export commodity and cattle-rearing that is still poorly managed. With world prices for cotton still low, the State had to do without earnings from exports of fibre, thus creating a serious budgetary deficit.

Regarding cattle-rearing, the second mainstay of Chad, which is exposed to every calamity affecting the Sahel region, there is now significant improvement as regards the organization of stock-breeders, controlling sanitary conditions, managing water facilities and pasture-lands, as well as improved management of livestock exports to neighbouring countries.

The control of development factors involves education and health. The Government of the Republic of Chad is aware of this, and it is now seeking ways and means to achieve good health for all by the year 2000. In this regard, health care for mothers and children, first-aid care and prevention are the fundamental elements of our health policy.

Education too is a priority for us. Chad, whose infrastructure was destroyed by war, is fully aware of the paramount role played by education in development.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

Despite our limited means, the Government has decided to breathe new life into the education system before tackling the rebuilding of the infrastructure. As in all other sectors, we have enjoyed significant financial and material assistance from both friendly countries and international organizations - that is to say, our efforts have always been supported by the donors, who have understood our difficulties and have trusted us.

In this regard, it is fitting to recall that the November 1982 and December 1985 Geneva conferences on assistance to Chad, under the aegis of the United Nations Development Programme, as well as the sectoral follow-up meetings of December 1987 and February 1988, have made it possible for Chad to move from the rehabilitation stage to the reconstruction stage, and, hence, to contemplate development within the framework of our interim development plan. In the same context, and in keeping with General Assembly resolution 42/200, adopted on 11 December 1987, the Chadian Government will organize, on 14, 15 and 16 December 1988, together with the United Nations Development Programme, a round-table meeting of donors for assistance in rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction of the northern region of Chad, the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, which has been ravaged by war and natural disasters.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Chad, I wish to invite members of the international community to participate actively and in large numbers in that round-table meeting to reconstruct that important area of the country. Chad, which has already enjoyed valuable assistance from the international community in the rehabilitation phase, knows that it can rely on its friends and partners.

I should also like to express sincere thanks to the friendly countries and other donors and to say how grateful we are to them. In emergency situations and in the financing of our reconstruction and development projects, their assistance and development loans were of great help. We shall always be most grateful to them.

Despite the fact that the international economic situation is not very propitious and despite the increasing deterioration of the terms of trade, Chad continues to hope for a better future, if the laws of the market stop responding to speculation and reflect only the true elements of appreciation: real supply and real demand. This approach would doubtless help us to correct the fluctuations in commodity prices and to guarantee stable earnings for the developing countries. That too is a laudable effort that developed countries should make in addition to the assistance they have given to the third world. That would enable the developing countries to achieve real growth, which would doubtless help them in their development.

The international economic situation is certainly a subject of serious concern. If we consider that the economic environment has improved somewhat, with, in particular, increased growth in the industrialized countries, there are still serious imbalances which hamper the chances of any recovery for most of the developing countries.

Prospects are still grim for the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, whose future is seriously threatened by reason of the huge debt burden, instability and the low prices for commodities, which are their main resources.

(Mr. Adoua, Chad)

Despite the increasing cyclical difficulties and an unfavourable external environment, these countries have become net exporters of capital to the developed countries and international financial institutions. There is therefore a basic and urgent need for Governments - not out of humanism but in the light of their increased interdependence and in the best interests of all - to seek joint, just and lasting solutions to bridge the gulf between rich and poor.

Despite the special attention that we were given two years ago by the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action, Africa is still a continent that has been bypassed by development because of the combined effect of certain negative factors. Despite the heavy sacrifices that our countries have made to adjust our economies, the results we had hoped for in carrying out the terms of this contract have not lived up to the expectations we had based in this programme. Quite the contrary, living standards have dropped and poverty has increased its stranglehold, thereby causing serious political risks.

Nevertheless, in the light of the recommendations of the session of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly that has just concluded, there is reason once again to hope that Africa's partners will show the necessary political will to honour previous commitments, thereby helping to implement this inspiring common endeavour.

In addition to the serious economic difficulties, Africa has suffered natural disasters. Either simultaneously or one after the other, these disasters have undermined every effort, systematically threatening the progress made, and wiping out any assets. I am referring to the drought of recent years, the floods and the plagues of insects. Thus, in some parts of the continent, rain, which is generally

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

considered to be a gift from heaven, a divine blessing, particularly at a time when drought had taken such a heavy toll, has turned out to be a real nightmare for the people. The rainfall has, in fact had serious consequences at the human, material, economic and social level, and has had profound negative effects, even for crops.

With regard to the States members of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), a combination of natural factors and factors that relate to the international economic environment has sorely tested their economies and hindered their development efforts. However, our countries are determined to work together in order to be better able to meet these challenges. Indeed, as His Excellency, President Al-Hadj Hissein Habre, the current Chairman of the CILSS, said:

"Drought should not be considered as a recurrent image of some incurable, fatal disease, but as an ongoing effort, a united struggle and a collective determination to overcome."

I should like to take this opportunity to address, on behalf of His Excellency Al-Hadj Hissein Habre, the current Chairman of CILSS, our gratitude to the countries and to the international and non-governmental organizations that have continued to give their warm and constant support to our efforts, both individual and collective. But the battle is not over and we are still threatened, particularly as regards agriculture and food.

In keeping with the spirit and letter of the Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, the countries of the subregion are committed actively to continuing their dynamic co-operation in the various special agencies such as the Commission of the Lake Chad Basin, the Niger Basin Authority, the Customs Union of States of Central Africa, which held its various meetings in Ndjamena in December 1987 and

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

January 1988. However laudable and generous it is, the goodwill underlying these enterprises is not enough to enable us to make great strides in this regard.

The Government of the Republic of Chad has followed with interest and encouragement the development of the international political situation, which has been marked by favourable prospects for resolving conflicts that represent a dangerous threat to peace in certain parts of our world. Appreciable progress has certainly been made here and there, thanks to the tireless efforts put forth by our Organization, particularly by our dynamic Secretary-General, with the effective support of the international community. The positive developments in the situation in Afghanistan and the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq are certainly specific and encouraging examples of this fact.

My delegation welcomes the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and we hope that they will be respected and carried out in toto so peace may be restored to that country. The many refugees will then be able to go back to their country and the Afghan people will be able to get down to the work of their future in full freedom.*

*The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

I have no doubt that many of will come to look upon the year 1988 as marking a positive turning-point in the deadly conflict between Iran and Iraq. The cease-fire of 20 August 1988 reflects the patient and persevering efforts made by the Organization and by peace-loving countries. My Government sincerely supports those outstanding initiatives designed to bring about the effective and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. To that end, my delegation urges Iran and Iraq to achieve peace through continued dialogue.

Since no solution to it has been found, the General Assembly will once again this year consider the question of Kampuchea. Indeed, notwithstanding the efforts made by the international community in keeping with the provisions of relevant United Nations resolutions, no solution to that question has been found that will enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination free from any outside interference. My delegation hopes that the recent initiatives taken by the countries in the region will assist in finding a just and lasting solution to that question, which continues to be of concern to the international community. Chad supports, here and elsewhere, any effort designed to lead to a peaceful and definitive solution to the question. That is also the position of the delegation of Chad with regard to the Korean peninsula and Cyprus.

Although there are glimmers of hope on the horizon with regard to some situations of concern to the international community, it is regrettable to note the lack of progress with regard to the Middle East, that other burning hotbed of tension and concern, the core of which remains the Palestinian problem. The deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories is becoming increasingly disturbing and dominates events in that part of the world. Chad, for its part, has always supported the cause of the Palestinian people, as was made clear in the

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

statement made at the most recent Islamic summit conference in Kuwait by His Excellency Al-Hadj Hissein Habre, President of Chad, when he said:

"The Republic of Chad expresses its solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people and, accordingly, we support the idea of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations."

In Central America the delegation of Chad believes that the efforts of the countries of the region to achieve peace and co-operation should be encouraged for the benefit of the peoples in that part of our globe.

Apart from its ecological, economic and debt problems, Africa is also faced with political problems and conflicts that are of constant concern. I refer essentially to the painful and intolerable problems in southern Africa in general and the fate of the Namibian people in particular, problems that continue to figure prominently on the Assembly's agenda. Indeed, a tragic situation continues to exist in that part of Africa, despite international public opinion. The vile racist régime in Pretoria is obstinately continuing to strengthen the odious system of apartheid, thereby denying the fundamental rights of the black majority. Whereas the international community has on many occasions reaffirmed that the elimination of the horrendous system of apartheid in South Africa and the independence of Namibia are its chief priorities, it has so far done so to little effect, for the anachronistic Power continues to resist and to prevent the rapid realization of the unshakeable will of the civilized world.

My delegation is therefore indignant to note the continuation of that grim situation and the perpetration of crimes against the majority. We therefore hope that peace-loving and justice-loving countries and the whole of the international community will bring to bear the absolutely indispensable pressures, both political and economic, needed to bring about the abolition of that barbaric crime against

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

humanity and to bring about the realization of a multiracial and egalitarian society in South Africa.

With regard to the fate of the Namibian people, deprived of their right to independence and plundered by racist South Africa for so many years, my delegation places hope in the recent contacts and ongoing initiatives as a way to the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1987) calling for an independent and sovereign Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole and authentic representative.

Racist South Africa must also cease its destabilizing activities and acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

Turning to Western Sahara, Chad encourages the efforts being made by the United Nations Secretary-General and the current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to find an honourable and lasting solution.

I cannot conclude my statement without conveying congratulations to the United Nations peace-keeping forces that have just been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In so doing, the Nobel Committee has reminded the entire world of the values we should attach to peace. Peace is essential and indispensable for each of us, whether individuals or States. Peace creates trust. Peace leads to security. Peace and security are inextricably linked and are, we feel, a guarantee for promoting development. Peace is, in and of itself, the bearer of hope and happiness. Peace is, as someone has quite rightly said, man's future. The atmosphere of peace, so indispensable, so sought after and so desired, is beginning to prevail here and there in our planet. My delegation hopes that the peace process that has been begun will continue without any let-up and that it will also extend to the peoples of Chad and Libya. Chad, as President Al-Hadj Hissein Habre so well stated in his statement at the twenty-fourth summit meeting of the OAU,

(Mr. Adoua, Chad)

"profoundly aspires to peace. It is prepared to promote all conditions to that end. However, we, like other peoples, are deeply attached to our freedom, independence and sovereignty and to the integrity of our territory. Our only ambition is to enjoy, on that basis, the most cordial relations with all our neighbours. We sincerely believe that that is in line with the higher interest of our peoples and with the dignity and credibility of Africa."

Thus, once again, we should like to take this opportunity to address the Assembly to express the hope that the international community will effectively support the efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU and peace-loving and justice-loving countries to bring about a peaceful and definitive solution to the territorial dispute between Chad and Libya, respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State, in order to establish and develop a climate of good-neighbourliness and fraternal co-operation.

Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to begin by congratulating our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the Nobel Peace Prize which has been awarded to the United Nations. We regard that lofty distinction as recognition of the noble task carried out by the troops in "blue helmets", but also, of course, as a gesture of appreciation for the heroic endeavours of the Secretary-General in defence of this Organization, on behalf of peace and for the successes achieved within this last year.

From 1981 to date, we have witnessed the emergence of an extremely powerful campaign against multilateralism, in general, and against the United Nations and the rule of law in international relations, in particular. Armed unilateralism has set aside the United Nations Charter and sought to have itself recognized as lord and master of the universe. Such is the extreme reached by the self-deification of the United States and the pretensions of its leaders.

A loss of identity and delusions of grandeur are not unknown phenomena. Psychiatric hospitals are full of patients who believe they are Napoleon or Superman and demand to be treated accordingly. It is difficult to deal with such people; it is impossible to please them.

Nothing, however, can compare with the difficulty involved in dealing with a powerful State that believes itself to be God and requires all of us to burn incense at its altar and acknowledge its right - its non-existing right - to do whatever it may please regardless of all divine, ethical and legal precepts. We know what we are talking about, because we have experienced it directly. That is why we applaud the way our Secretary-General has succeeded in keeping the United Nations afloat amid the storm of economic pressures and campaigns to undermine the effectiveness of the Organization.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

The results achieved by the United Nations in promoting peace this year have finally forced these senseless circles to modify their attitude somewhat and to agree to face up to their economic obligations to the Organization. We applaud this development as a victory for common sense. We should like to see this extend also to respect for the sacred principles of the Charter; otherwise, it would be futile to spend money to keep the Organization alive. The Charter is the soul of the United Nations. The very reason for its existence lies in respect for the Charter and in making sure that others respect it.

We wish also to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this important forty-third session of the General Assembly. As a representative of our Latin American and Caribbean region, as Foreign Minister of a country that belongs to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to the Contadora Support Group, and as a tireless champion of international peace on both the political and economic fronts, you, Sir, are particularly well qualified to help us take the fullest possible advantage of the opportunities offered by the progress that has been made towards solving a number of regional conflicts and in negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nicaragua has followed the development of this general debate most attentively. Manifest throughout the debate has been the optimism inspired by the new atmosphere of understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union, the most tangible evidence of which has been the agreement on the elimination of intermediate nuclear forces. Beyond any doubt, we share the belief that this understanding has had a positive effect on international relations. Nevertheless, the optimism and expectations created by this new age of détente should not make us lose sight of the very grave problems that continue to confront mankind. As the Secretary-General acknowledges in his report on the work of the Organization:

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

"The international situation is still, of course, marked by points of strain and danger, visible or lurking. Complacency about the resolution of complex problems that still face us is impermissible." (A/43/1, p. 2)

These new circumstances should be the starting point for a substantive change in international relations. We aspire to genuine international democracy, based on strict adherence to the principles and norms of the United Nations Charter, which is the only way to guarantee that just solutions will be found to the central problems of peace and development.

In pursuing this goal, the poor and the non-aligned countries must be more united than ever and must act judiciously and resolutely in terms of an agenda of our own making. The agenda for an international peace which can only be achieved through the development of peoples and the recognition of the sovereign and legal equality of all States.

The role of the United Nations is fundamental in the process of democratizing international relations. Here we must pay a tribute to the patience and determination shown by the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, who, over the years, has been able to cope with very serious difficulties and who, at this very moment, is playing an increasingly active and key role in the solution of a number of regional conflicts.

An essential ingredient in the strengthening of the United Nations is an unflagging political will on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council as well. Genuine support, by which I mean the kind of support that is really needed to strengthen our Organization, is not the kind that arises from political propaganda interests of the moment, but the kind that comes from a profound conviction that the United Nations is the key to carrying forward the changes needed to guarantee peace. The pressing problems of disarmament cannot be

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

resolved outside the framework of this Organization. To prevent a nuclear catastrophe is a responsibility shared by us all. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (the INF Treaty) signed by the United States and the Soviet Union is of tremendous importance, but we must not forget that it involves the elimination of only 4 per cent of current nuclear arsenals.

Bilateral negotiations between the two super-Powers should continue with a view to reducing strategic nuclear weapons and at no time should those talks be allowed to become an obstacle to multilateral negotiations. Unfortunately, this is what has been happening up to now. There are aspects of disarmament which are of vital importance to all States, such as the urgent need for a treaty on the comprehensive banning of nuclear testing, the prohibition of the production and use of chemical weapons, the prevention of the arms race in outer space and the reduction of conventional weapons.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

Nor must the priority of nuclear disarmament be allowed to be an obstacle to progress in reducing conventional weapons. This is an area of the utmost interest to the developing countries. Reduction of the third world's military expenditure, which would help us to deal with the grave economic problems of the present time, nevertheless demands strict adherence to the principles and norms of international law and a climate in which hostility, force and intervention are replaced by respect for international pluralism, peaceful coexistence, co-operation and friendship among peoples.

The main responsibility for disarmament in all its aspects continues to lie with the militarily significant Powers, which must reduce their military expenditure and increase the amount of their official development assistance. The idea of establishing a United Nations fund for disarmament and development remains valid. It is significant that the total debt of the developing world, which now exceeds \$1 trillion, is equivalent to the current level of world-wide military spending. Net outgoing capital transfers from Latin America and the Caribbean in 1987 amounted to 45 per cent of the defence spending of the United States and 66 per cent of its fiscal deficit. The price of financing, promoting and developing the arms race has been the poverty and hunger of our peoples.

One consequence of today's unjust economic order, the problem of debt, which affects the vast majority of the world's peoples, is today an insurmountable obstacle in the way of development. The starting-point for solving this problem is the recognition that our peoples have a right to development. Partial solutions by means of bilateral negotiations have been exhausted. The debt problem simply cannot be solved by means of more debt. Adjustment policies have been taken to their limit. The strategy of buying time and waiting for an economic miracle is

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

not merely evasive but also suicidal. The consequences of a world-wide economic collapse would be suffered by all, debtors and creditors alike. Global solutions and consensus are therefore imperative.

An extremely important step in this direction is the decision recently taken in Caracas, Venezuela, by the countries that make up the Latin American Economic System (SELA) to hold the first Latin American conference on foreign debt next year. We believe that the conference should be held as soon as possible and that the participants should include representatives of other regions that also suffer the consequences of this grave problem.

But it is not enough to recognize the gravity of the debt problem and arrive at a just solution on the basis of recognizing the shared responsibilities of debtor and creditor. The new international economic order must also become a reality. If it does not, little or nothing will be gained by resolving the debt problem temporarily, because problems are resolved not by addressing their effects but by attacking their causes.

The wealth of the few must not continue to grow in an unrestrained manner at the cost of the impoverishment of the vast majority. To the extent that we are capable of finding a just and comprehensive solution to this pressing problem we shall be laying the foundations for a reorganization of the current system of world economic relations. A new international economic order continues to be one of our most important objectives and priorities, and the pragmatism called for by some should not be allowed to become a pretext for abandoning the struggle and irresponsibly giving way to the immoral logic of extreme mercantilism that today prevails.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

The new momentum which the United Nations has acquired in solving various regional conflicts, represented by the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the developments concerning the independence of Namibia, the end of the war between Iran and Iraq, the dialogue in Cyprus, and the self-determination of Western Sahara, is to a great extent the result of the work undertaken by the Organisation and its Secretary-General on behalf of world peace. Although it is trying to take credit for these achievements, the credit certainly does not lie with the United States, the action of whose Government over the past eight years has been characterized by systematic blocking of this Organisation and its specialized agencies and the promotion of such theories as linkage, constructive engagement and low-intensity warfare, all invented to prolong the suffering of peoples and postpone the dawn of freedom.

If today we are witnessing a resurgence of the United Nations, it is precisely because this policy of overt and covert war against multilateralism has been defeated.

If today we can hope to see solutions to various regional conflicts, it is because throughout our resistance struggle we have succeeded in firmly defending our principles and have persevered in proposing solutions based on them.

If today it is possible to foresee the end of the hateful policy and practice of apartheid, which constitutes the most serious offence to the universal conscience of our time, it is thanks above all to the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, as well as to international solidarity, first and foremost that of the front-line States, the heroic and disinterested assistance given by the Cuban people, backed by the entire Non-Aligned Movement, and the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations. It is the admirable tenacity shown by individuals, peoples and

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

institutions struggling for peace that will lead to recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, to the reunification of Korea, and to the liberation once and for all of Central America from the age-old scourge of United States intervention.

In Central America peace efforts continue to be sabotaged. It has not been possible to give full effect to the Esquipulas agreements, signed by the Central American Presidents on 7 August last year. One basic aspect of the agreements concerns the essential verification mechanism. Nicaragua has insisted that this mechanism take the form of a United Nations peace operation under the direction of the Secretary-General and with the participation of a group of countries which have already stated their willingness and desire to take an active part in this noble task of making peace and harmony a reality in our region.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

As is well known to all, Honduras has been unwilling to sign a request together with all the Central American countries asking the Secretary-General to organize the verification mechanism. Here, the Honduras Foreign Minister made much of presenting an alternative proposal to that discussed in the context of Esquipulas II, but, as always, he has refused to engage in serious talks with a view to agreeing on the setting up of an instrument to ensure security on the border between Honduras and Nicaragua.

We have been repeating this to the point of exhaustion, and it is not worth spending much time on it here. The problem in Central America has a first name and last name, and they are the same name: United States intervention. When the United States stops making war on Nicaragua and stops involving its lackeys in that war, then the international situation in Central America will be immensely eased.

We have spoken of the need to establish genuine international democracy. The foundation for this democracy is principles and norms of a legal nature, compliance with which ensures international peace and security.

In the defence of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity in the face of United States aggression, Nicaragua, in addition to its heroic military resistance, has given top priority to international law and justice.

In its historic ruling of 27 June 1986, the International Court of Justice agreed with Nicaragua's claim and ordered the United States immediately to put an end to its sordid and immoral war and make reparation for the damages and losses inflicted on Nicaragua.

The fact that the Government of the United States refuses to comply with the Court's decision does not affect the validity of the verdict one jot. One of Nicaragua's guiding principles has been and continues to be the defence of

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

international law. It is precisely for that reason that we favour universal acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the world Court.

During the most recent ministerial-level conference of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cyprus, Nicaragua proposed that next year, in the Hague, a special non-aligned ministerial meeting should be held on peace and international law. The proposal was approved by acclamation.

The celebration next year of the ninetieth anniversary of the first Peace Conference, held in the Hague, at which the first international accords on the peaceful settlement of disputes were reached, constitutes an ideal framework for such an undertaking. It is our desire, given the importance of the subject matter, that this meeting be open to the participation of all Members of the United Nations and States party to the Statutes of the International Court of Justice who wish to take part.

The question of Nicaragua - and specifically the subject of the military and paramilitary activities organized, financed and directed by the United States against Nicaragua - is something that has occupied a central place in the awareness of all peoples of the earth over the last few years. In my travels throughout Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, as well as in Latin America, Europe and the United States itself, I have found that my small country has become a symbol of dignity and heroic resistance against those who seek to deny third world countries their rights to genuine self-determination and independence - the indispensable basis for the genuine democratization desired by all peoples.

At the same time, we have witnessed the profound discredit into which the aggressor has fallen. In Latin America, the low prestige of the United States has reached bottom; some feel that it can no longer recover, or that at the very least a long time will have to pass before that prestige is regained.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

All agree that the sordid, immoral and illegal policy against Nicaragua is the basic reason for this discredit. Secretary of State Shultz and a few of his Latin American friends may think otherwise, but that is another kettle of fish or perhaps another few hundred dollars. The facts tell another story.

Latin America's sentiments were clearly manifested by the masses of people that Secretary of State Shultz and Vice-President Bush saw in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Brasilia, and recently Quito, places which were simultaneously visited by President Daniel Ortega. I do not think it is necessary here to repeat what those masses of people were shouting at Secretary Shultz, nor to state once again how warmly they greeted the Constitutional President of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

Having failed in its attempts at a military overthrow of the democratically elected Government of Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration has been involved in promoting different acts of provocation in order to test my Government's willingness to apply the law and thus run the risk of suffering official reprisals from the United States.

The Nandaime incident, which caused much hypocritical and pharisaical rending of garments, is only one of the latest examples of what is known today as the Melton Plan, named after the former United States Ambassador to Nicaragua responsible for its implementation.

I think it is obvious to everyone here that no government worthy of the name can make the application of its laws subject to considerations of political expediency, and much less to forecasts as to how its enemies abroad, or the friends of its enemies, might choose to interpret its legal actions.

It is never proper to allow flagrant disregard of the law to pass with impunity. Nothing could be more damaging to the authority and credibility of a

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

government. Nothing could be more effective in promoting anarchy and in inducing people to take justice into their own hands, than the demonstration of government weakness in the enforcement of the law.

The Reagan Administration is fully conscious of this fact, and its efforts are therefore aimed at causing an internal breakdown in the Nicaraguan Government as a result of inaction - inaction imposed on us by that Administration - in the face of domestic lawlessness.

In Nicaragua we have a popular Government, freely elected by the people, by means of one of the most exemplary electoral processes ever established in Latin America. We have laws. We have a Constitution. And those who choose to disregard those laws have to bear the consequences, even though they may seek to take cover under the official sponsorship of the United States for their criminal activities.

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

In the military struggle against the mercenary forces of the United States we were not intimidated - we have defeated them. Nor will we be intimidated by the ever-mounting political attacks and multi-million-dollar slander campaigns aimed at discrediting our nation. It is the United States that has seen fit to take fright and flee the impartial eye of the highest tribunal of justice in the world.

We will not be lectured to by a Government that lags far behind us in its own record on human rights and civil liberties, particularly in times of war. Neither, obviously, will we accept the shameless lectures of the Central American lackeys of that empire, who themselves have lost all credibility in the international community, especially in the United Nations, because of their disastrous record on human rights. For this reason, we shall not even bother to refute the unfounded accusations that were levelled against us here this morning by the Salvadoran Foreign Minister. Rather, we, for our part, will continue to oppose irrationality with reason, terrorism with law, intimidation with a quest for honest dialogue.

We shall continue to insist that the country that is host to the United Nations and to the Organization of American States prove itself worthy of continuing to be the meeting-place of these organizations. This implies respect for the sovereign rights of member States and for the independence of the organizations.

In this connection, I just want to add that we reserve our right to take further action in respect of the improper denial of visas to members of the delegation that was to accompany President Ortega to this session of the General Assembly.

We believe in the United Nations and in the possibility of achieving international peace and security through the scrupulous observance of the norms and principles of its Charter. We believe also that it must be possible to reach an

(Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann,
Nicaragua)

understanding with the United States and to normalize our bilateral relations with that country. We hope that, under the next United States Administration, that may be possible. Our banner is, and always will be, "A homeland free, or let us die." We shall continue to defend the right of our people to live in peace and to have their inalienable right to self-determination and independence respected.

Mr. VAN DUNEN (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of my Government I wish to express to you, Sir, our appreciation and satisfaction at your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. We are sure that your talent and experience, as a politician and as a diplomat, will enable you to make a great contribution to the success of this session. Your election is a recognition of the importance of this factor and, at the same time, a well-deserved tribute to the country you represent. We therefore offer you our very best wishes for success in the difficult task entrusted to you.

We also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic, for the exemplary and brilliant manner in which he presided over the forty-second session, thus, making a contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations.

To the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, we pay sincere tribute for everything he has done in the cause of peace and prosperity for all mankind, in spite of the political and economic obstacles and other drawbacks faced by the Organization today. We are sure that, with help from all of us and support for the diplomatic and political commitment he has always demonstrated, there will be hope for a lessening of tension throughout the world and for the achievement of the

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

peace that now begins to shimmer in the distance and will ultimately bring great joy to us all. In the international situation there are signs of hope for lessened tension and for the peace so anxiously awaited by all mankind.

The Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty), now ratified, the progress made in the field of disarmament, in the framework of the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the search for a negotiated settlement of the different conflicts that have been proliferating around the world - all of these are important landmarks on the way to achieving the fundamental goal of the United Nations, which needs to be pursued both in qualitative and in quantitative terms. We believe that those achievements are part of the solution to the problems that all mankind is facing today.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

The radical changes we are witnessing today in the political situation in southern Africa are a consequence of a change in the balance of power, which now favours the peoples of the region engaged in a struggle against the hideous racist régime of South Africa. That is reflected in successive South African military defeats at the hands of the Angolan army and in the intensification of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

Acknowledgement of those facts, plus the military defeat inflicted on the racist South African forces at Cuito Cuanavale, led the Pretoria Government to sit down at the negotiating table with the Governments of Angola and Cuba, with the mediation of the United States of America, to negotiate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the establishment of peace and security in our country.

The Governments of Angola and Cuba, which have demonstrated a true spirit of integrity and flexibility throughout the talks, brought to the negotiating table a set of principles set out in a negotiating platform presented in 1984 by Comrade President José Eduardo dos Santos to the Secretary-General. As that platform is well known to all, I shall not dwell on it here.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola has never accepted and will never accept the fictitious link some have sought to establish between the presence of Cuban internationalist troops in our territory and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia. It is a prerequisite for the achievement of a just, lasting and honourable peace in southern Africa, that the goals set in the negotiating platform be attained.

Attempts to establish a parallel between the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops and the independence of Namibia prove the arrogance and bad faith of a régime that is defying the entire international community, that

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

continues to trample on the most fundamental rights of its own people by imposing the inhuman apartheid system, which is blocking the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, and that pursues a systematic policy of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States.

I am obliged to reiterate that Cuban internationalist troops are in Angola at the invitation of the Angolan Government, in keeping with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, while South African troops occupy the Territory of Namibia illegally, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The Governments of Angola and Cuba, wishing to help resolve the problems of south-western Africa, also brought to the negotiating table a specific timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola, with a view to facilitating the implementation of Security Council 435 (1978), on the independence of Namibia. But it must be made perfectly clear that this gesture in no way implies de jure or de facto acceptance of the policy of "linkage". It should be understood, rather, as one more contribution by our Governments towards the achievement of peace in Angola and of independence for Namibia.

Angola's firm commitment in this regard and our efforts to initiate a peace process are well known.

Several meetings held in Luanda and Cape Verde were followed by a series of peace talks in London, Cairo, New York, Geneva and Brassaville. A protocol was signed in Geneva regulating the withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory as provided for in Security Council resolution 602 (1987); there was also agreement on the cessation of hostilities along Angola's southern border, and the installation of border control posts jointly monitored by Angola, Cuba and South Africa. That, along with the designation of 1 November as the date for initiating

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the presence of a United Nations technical team in Namibia, are the clear results of the quadripartite talks. This shows how important and necessary it is for us to proceed with dialogue in order ensure peace and security in southern Africa. As President José Eduardo dos Santos pointed out in a recent statement at the Franceville summit,

"Our intention is to make the peace process in southern Africa irreversible, and we shall do everything in our power to make that happen."

Should South Africa and its allies persist in their obstinate policy of hindering the peace process by making demands which by their very nature constitute crude interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola - demands that we can never accept - history will in due course be the judge of their actions.

The Angolan Government has repeatedly declared that, under its policy of clemency and national harmonization, all Angolans are entitled to free themselves from the domination of foreign interests and to integrate themselves into the society we are in the process of building. That policy, recently reiterated by the President of the People's Republic of Angola, aims at the implementation of a peace process inside Angola, a process that draws on the history and experience of other African countries which have experienced similar situations. Assurances regarding the implementation of such a process after the Brassaville quadripartite talks were given by the highest Angolan authorities at the Franceville summit on 5 October.

The People's Republic of Angola considers that there has been much progress in the quadripartite talks. But this does not mean we can decrease our vigilance; we must rather increase our solidarity with and our unwavering support for all peoples of the southern African region and all liberation movements struggling against colonialism and apartheid.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

It is important to stress that the important consultations held at New York between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States, were essentially exploratory in nature. Contrary to reports in the international media, their purpose was to prepare for the signing of a subsequent formal agreement. There is still a long way to go. At stake are the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

I must mention here the efforts of the People's Republic of the Congo, and particularly of President Denis Sassou Nguesso, towards success in the quadripartite talks.

My Government will never shirk its duty to extend all necessary support to the fraternal people of Namibia in its just struggle for independence, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Together with all other peace-loving peoples, the Angolan people will continue to extend all possible support to the heroic people of South Africa, which, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and other patriotic forces, is struggling against the inhuman apartheid system. We take this opportunity to call upon Pretoria's allies to cease forthwith all co-operation with the inhuman régime and to impose the comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa for which the international community at large has been calling for so long.

The developments in the Maghreb region give us some reason to hope that, should all parties co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a just, lasting and politically acceptable settlement of the conflict will be found on the basis of OAU resolution 104 and relevant General Assembly resolutions.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

We reaffirm our total support for the Sahraoui people and for the POLISARIO Front, and we call upon the parties to the conflict to do all they can to pursue the path of dialogue.

(Mr. Van Duren, Angola)

We welcome the agreements signed by Ethiopia and Somalia and regard them as a positive step towards improving relations between those two countries, whose common wish is to live in a climate of peace in order to be able to overcome their underdevelopment and raise the living standards of their respective peoples. We hope that the dialogue that has now been initiated between Ethiopia and Sudan - two countries whose peoples are linked by economic, historical and geographical ties - will lead to the establishment of a climate of confidence and good-neighbourliness.

As Africans, we have justified pride in welcoming the initiation of dialogue between Libya and Chad, two African countries that, under the aegis of the Organisation of African Unity, have been able to prove that it is possible to substitute dialogue for the force of arms in the settlement of regional conflicts.

We once again feel obliged to associate ourselves with all those who have demanded that the Zionist régime of Israel withdraw unconditionally from all Palestinian and other Arab territories which it is illegally occupying and where it is engaging in the most inhuman atrocities against the Arab peoples. We associate ourselves also with the international demand for the convening as soon as possible of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

A major development to which special reference must be made - because of its importance for peace in the Persian Gulf - is, without any doubt, the cease-fire and the resulting talks now taking place between Iran and Iraq, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, with a view to bringing peace to those two countries that have been fighting each other for eight years now. We call upon these two fraternal countries to pursue the path of dialogue and refrain from any act that may hinder the process now under way.

(Mr. Van Duncen, Angola)

We welcome the signing of the Geneva agreements between Pakistan and Afghanistan and hope that this will help to establish a climate of peace and security in the region.

With respect to the Kampuchean question, we believe it imperative to seek a political settlement that can contribute to the establishment of peace and stability in South-West Asia. We appreciate the promising results of the meeting held in July this year in Jakarta, Indonesia, at which the parties to this regional conflict showed optimism about the possibility of settling it. In this connection, we hail the positive attitude of the Vietnamese Government, which, in keeping with the goal of contributing to the establishment of peace in the region, has decided to withdraw before the end of this year a part of its military contingent stationed in Kampuchea.

We are also continuing to pay special attention to the situation in the Korean peninsula and to the Korean people's efforts to bring about an independent, reunified nation. We once again express our total support for the proposals made by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea that the Korean people be enabled to decide their future without interference or foreign intervention.

To the East Timor people fighting against foreign occupation and for self-determination and independence, under the leadership of their revolutionary FRETILIN, we once again affirm our unwavering support. Furthermore, we take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the stance that the Portuguese Government has been taking in its capacity as the legal administering Power of the Territory of East Timor. In this connection, we call on that Government as well as on the Secretary-General to continue their efforts to find a just and permanent settlement of the question, in the framework of General Assembly resolution 37/30.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

Central America remains one of the regions of the earth most affected by instability. There, the policies of intervention, aggression, blackmail and interference in the internal affairs of the States concerned represent a threat to their sovereignty and development and to international peace and security. The People's Republic of Angola believes that this line of conduct is incompatible with a wish to see fewer regional conflicts and to achieve a political settlement of the differences. We therefore cannot agree that these confrontations should be viewed as ideological or as an East-West conflict.

Nicaragua and Panama are clear examples of that situation. They are currently the victims of coercive political and economic measures. We wish to reaffirm the importance and validity of the Esquipulas II peace plan and also the need for compliance by all parties with the Panama Canal Treaty.

We also express again our unwavering support for the Government and fraternal people of Cuba and their legitimate claim to regain the illegally occupied Guantanamo Naval Base from the United States and to be compensated for the material damage resulting from the occupation.

We unequivocally support General Assembly resolutions 41/11 of 27 October 1986 and 42/16 of 10 November 1987, which declare the southern Atlantic a zone of peace and co-operation. We call on the States of the region to contribute to that end by adopting measures designed to achieve the objectives of the Declaration.

We are also in favour of détente, dialogue and co-operation between States, regardless of their political or ideological differences or their stages of development. We believe also that the arms race, particularly when it involves nuclear weapons, makes the establishment of a programme for general and complete disarmament urgent. The resources used by the armaments industry could be channelled to the developing countries that are the victims of the constantly deteriorating world economic situation.

(Mr. Van Dunen, Angola)

We are now approaching the end of yet another decade in which there has been a series of political convulsions in almost every region of the world. That is a source of great concern to the international community as a whole. During this period, some countries have been able to take important steps forward in seeking solutions to the various economic problems they face. However, despite their efforts, the majority of these countries have not succeeded in achieving anything more than a palliative that has not met their expectations for the settlement of certain problems that could really have been solved, to a large extent, with the political will and help of other countries.

As I have just said, we are approaching the end of another decade. At the beginning of this decade we had hoped for better results for mankind as a whole. It is therefore distressing to note that, despite the efforts made, the world economic situation is constantly deteriorating. The current crisis in the world economic system, which is obsolete and unjust, claims its principal victims in the developing countries. It is against that background, therefore, that we believe it to be important, indeed urgent, to establish a new international economic order that is real, fair, equitable and capable of responding to the growing concerns of more than two thirds of the human race.

At the beginning of this decade the United Nations adopted resolution 35/56 establishing a strategy by means of which the developing countries could achieve a growth rate of 7 per cent within the framework of the International Development Strategy. To that end, it was agreed also that the developed countries should contribute 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for the benefit of the developing countries in general, and 1 per cent for the benefit of the least developed countries. Today, eight years have passed and we are still facing a manifest lack of political will on the part of some developed countries to apply

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

the principles agreed upon. The consequences of this have been the stagnation in, and the reduction in the growth rates of, the majority of the developing countries.

We believe that the existing gap between our two groups of countries is constantly increasing rather than narrowing, despite the measures taken each year by the majority of those countries to bring about economic recovery. In that connection, we reaffirm our complete support for the recent decisions taken and the positions held by the States members of the Non-Aligned Movement. We are sure that they constitute the basis for future negotiations between the North and the South, taking into account the need for the revitalised, closer and fairer co-operation between the two groups of countries that which we believe is imperative.

We wish to focus for a moment on some questions that are of the greatest concern to us and that, in our opinion, are among the major impediments to the development of our countries. First, I wish to say that the international monetary and financial system will not be able to operate smoothly unless all countries share the responsibility for the settlement of the problems relating to the malfunctioning of that system's institutions and mechanisms.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

Otherwise we shall continue to witness an uncontrolled flow of our resources to the developed countries. These resources could be utilized for the economic development of the countries of the South.

There is therefore an urgent need for the restructuring of the present international monetary and financial system so as to render it more viable and capable of securing wider and more just world co-operation.

Today a problem of undeniable importance is the inordinate level of the debt of the developing countries, which reached the astronomical figure of \$1,200 billion in 1987. We therefore deem it appropriate to appeal to the multilateral financial institutions and the creditor countries to review, together with us, the impracticability of the mechanisms of the international monetary system now in force.

We reaffirm once again the need for an international meeting to be held as soon as possible on the debt of the developing countries, to enable debtors and creditors together to work out a solution to this thorny issue. For the low-growth countries of the African continent, the debt situation has become critical. The continued drop in prices of commodities, the main exports of the African countries, is an insurmountable obstacle to both their participation in the world economy and the effective implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990, which are essential pre-conditions for real recovery in their economies. We accordingly endorse the position of African Heads of State at the OAU summit meeting in December 1987 on the convening of an international conference on external debt in Africa. The economic crisis has seriously affected the developing countries' capacity to take a more active part in international trade. The economies of these countries are concentrated on the export of one or a few commodities or manufactures, and at the same time those

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

products suffer from instability in developed countries and are the victim of protectionist measures on the part of the market-economy countries - measures that are in flagrant violation of the rules and principles of international trade and incompatible with the commitments undertaken by those countries in various international bodies. We must therefore continue to concentrate our efforts on achieving real adjustment in the structure of international trade and implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The People's Republic of Angola is convinced that the international community can create the condition necessary for this to be close.

The interdependence of States, of which we are totally aware, should lead us to a greater sensitivity concerning the food crisis. We note with deep regret the deterioration in the food and agriculture situation in many developing countries, especially African countries, which are experiencing a serious food deficit. The international community should support more strongly the International Fund for Agricultural Development in order to enable it to embark upon its second decade on a better and more solid financial footing.

The People's Republic of Angola, a developing country which has never experienced a single day of peace since it achieved independence in November 1975, is an integral part of the international community and cannot remain silent with regard to the world in general or the problems of the underdeveloped countries in particular. Its contribution to minimizing the countless economic and social problems affecting mankind is still very weak.

We have been making efforts, together with others, to achieve the just peace so badly needed by the heroic Angolan people to solve the economic problems we continue to experience. In this connection my Government has taken certain measures within the framework of the Economic and Financial Recovery Programme and has been enacting legislation that will make its implementation possible.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to the international community to increase its support and programmes of assistance for the People's Republic of Angola with a view to helping repair the damage caused by the war of aggression and destabilization waged by South Africa. This damage, in material terms - equipment, highways, bridges, roads, railroads and so forth - amounts to more than \$12 billion, cost the lives of more than 50,000 people, caused the displacement of 200,000 families and created close to 150,000 refugees.

In conclusion, Mr. President, allow me to reiterate our sincere wishes for your complete success in conducting the proceedings of the forty-third session of the General Assembly and to assure you of the fullest co-operation of the Angolan delegation whenever necessary and at all times.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

Sir Peter KENILOREA (Solomon Islands): Sir, permit me to extend to you my congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. I am confident that with your wisdom and diplomatic skills you will effectively guide the deliberations of this session to a successful conclusion. To this end, I assure you of my delegation's support and co-operation.

To your predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic, I convey the deep appreciation of my Government for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the last session.

I also take this opportunity to thank our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his commitment and for his endeavours towards the fulfilment of our common desire for international peace and security. The award of the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces is indeed a worthy tribute to those who have risked and are risking their lives for peace.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

Since last we gathered here a year ago there has been a dramatic change in the international political climate. The role of the United Nations as a peacemaker has been reaffirmed. My delegation is therefore encouraged by the recent positive developments, which have brought rays of hope and the promise of peace to the troubled regions of our world.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

We are heartened that, after eight years of crossfire, the guns have fallen silent in the Persian Gulf and peace is being given a chance. The basis of that peace is Security Council resolution 598 (1987). We therefore earnestly appeal to Iran and Iraq, and all Member States of the United Nations, to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the effort to find a lasting solution to this conflict.

The situation in Afghanistan also shows signs of hope and the same promise of peace. Hence, we welcome the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and urge all parties to respect the letter and the spirit of those Accords to ensure nothing is done to slow the progress towards peace.

We regard with optimism the apparent breakthrough in the 13-year war in Western Sahara. We note, particularly, the proposal by the Secretary-General in August whereby a cease-fire would be declared, followed by a referendum for the people of Western Sahara.

My Government also regards with equal optimism the tripartite agreement which provides for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and the possible implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. It is our earnest hope that South Africa will respect the tripartite agreement and proceed to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We have always supported the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and take this opportunity to reaffirm this support.

The ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - by the two super-Powers is a major achievement of our time. We commend the display of political will by the Soviet Union and the United States to reach an agreement calling for a 50 per cent reduction in their strategic nuclear arsenals. It is the hope of my delegation that this movement in disarmament will eventually lead to comprehensive

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

disarmament, which includes not only nuclear weapons but conventional and chemical weapons as well.

Solomon Islands reaffirms its support for the principle of the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas, to be pursued without outside interference. We would welcome and support membership of the United Nations for both countries. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Republic of Korea on its role as host of the very successful XXIV summer Olympic Games.

While we hail with gratification the developments in Afghanistan, the Western Sahara and the Persian Gulf, we are still gravely concerned about the atrocious situation in South Africa, where apartheid remains the root cause of conflict. Apartheid is institutionalized racism. In itself, it is evil. It must be eradicated - not reformed, but eradicated.

With many sanctions already imposed and with the Pretoria régime showing no signs of giving in, it is time for the international community to take the only option left: that is, to apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. My delegation reiterates its abhorrence of apartheid and continues to support the call for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

In the Middle East, peace is still denied to peoples of the region. My Government shares the view that the convening of an international conference on the Middle East sponsored by the United Nations would pave the way for a peaceful, comprehensive and just settlement of this conflict. We urge the Secretary-General to continue his good efforts to ensure the convening of such a conference.

The situation in Kampuchea still requires surveillance by the international community. Hostilities have now entered their tenth year. My Government urges the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops so as to facilitate the settlement of the

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

Kampuchean problem by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from outside interference.

On 2 December 1986 the Assembly adopted resolution 41/41 A reinscribing New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. This, in effect, gave the United Nations a major role in the decolonization process in New Caledonia. My Government reaffirms its stand that the United Nations, through its appropriate organ, must be actively involved in this process, as must all the people of New Caledonia, including the original inhabitants, the indigenous Kanak people. To continue turning a blind eye to the United Nations principles as well as the wishes of the major communal group could certainly take us back to the sad events of the morning of 5 May 1988 on the island of Ouvéa in New Caledonia. Therefore, we are encouraged that the new Prime Minister of France has reopened dialogue with all the parties in New Caledonia and is working towards a long-term solution of the problems in this Non-Self-Governing Territory.

At the nineteenth South Pacific Forum, which was held in Nufualofa, Tonga, last month and which my Prime Minister attended, the Forum leaders also welcomed the efforts of the administering Power to bring about a resumption of the dialogue between all the communities in New Caledonia. The Forum, inter alia, urged France to ensure that the proposed 1988 act of self-determination would be consistent with the established decolonization practices and principles of the United Nations. The road to the resolution of the problems of New Caledonia is certainly not a smooth one. There are real problems to overcome. But with these new developments we look forward to an internationally accepted self-determination exercise in New Caledonia.

I have already welcomed the ratification of the INF Treaty by the two super-Powers. This is a major step forward in the disarmament process. Another

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

major step on the road to disarmament is the Treaty of Rarotonga, which declares the South Pacific region a nuclear-free zone. We are therefore deeply grateful to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, which have ratified Protocols 2 and 3 of the Treaty. We are disappointed, however, that France, the United Kingdom and the United States have yet to sign and ratify Protocols 1, 2 and 3 of the Treaty, and we call on them to do so as a genuine demonstration of their goodwill towards the South Pacific region and its peoples, and the peoples of the world.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

Nuclear testing in our region has always been one of our major concerns. It remains a grave concern to us. Despite our numerous calls for the complete halting of these tests, France continues to carry out its nuclear-testing programme on Mururoa Atoll in Polynesia. I do not wish to insult the intelligence of this Assembly by giving a lecture on the effects of nuclear pollution. We all know the facts: it kills. Solomon Islands is totally opposed to nuclear testing, dumping and the use of nuclear weapons in our region. We again call on France to cease its nuclear-testing programme in our region.

The current trend in the world economy is another problem of enormous proportions for developing countries. Our efforts to increase our export capacity are being frustrated by the distorted policies characterizing the current international trading system. Those policies force a standstill, or, yet worse, negative growth, in our fledgling economies.

Solomon Islands is a primary commodities producer. Restricted entry into the world market for these commodities is a heavy burden on our already ailing economy. My Government, therefore, attaches special importance to the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. The question of reforming the agricultural and commodity trading systems must be resolved. We earnestly hope that the deliberations during the Uruguay Round will create greater opportunities for the developing countries to acquire a just share of the world's resources.

In this context, I must say that special consideration must be given to the unique problems of island developing countries. Small internal markets, limited resources, poor communications, distance and natural disasters are but a few of those problems.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

At this juncture may I, on behalf of the Government and people of Solomon Islands, convey to the Government and people of Jamaica our deepest sympathy on their country's devastation by hurricane Gilbert. We understand and share their grief, for we have, on numerous occasions in the past, been through similar ordeals at nature's capricious hands.

The point is that when addressing our special needs there must be some flexibility in the aid policies of our aid donors and of the world's financial institutions. Having said that, I must add that when it comes to trade we in the Pacific suffer more than other island developing countries simply because of our isolation from the major world markets. I arrived from Brussels just a few hours ago. Brussels is 11,500 miles from Honiara. Our commodities, therefore, have to take the long and expensive route to the European Economic Community (EEC). Despite the various problems we encounter as an island economy, we have striven and will always strive to better the lives of our people. We have to learn to live within our means - our means being our available resources and the different forms of assistance we believe to be available to us from friendly nations and multinational institutions.

In this regard, we welcome the Multilateral Fisheries Treaty with the United States, which came into force during the year, so that benefits are already being received by the countries party to the Treaty, including my own. We look forward to achieving similar arrangements with other major fishing nations which fish in our waters. In this respect, my Government is very grateful to the Canadian Government and people for making available approximately \$Can 10 million to the Forum Fisheries Agency, which is based in Solomon Islands, for the development of the marine and ocean resources of the South Pacific region.

(Sir Peter Kenilorea,
Solomon Islands)

Every year has its special occasion. This year, on 7 July, Solomon Islands celebrated its tenth independence anniversary. We are very grateful for the kind congratulatory messages sent to us during our anniversary celebrations. It was also 10 years ago that I stood here to bear witness to the admission of my country to the membership's midst as the 150th Member. My pledge then was that Solomon Islands would accept the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and undertake to fulfil them. Today, let me conclude by reaffirming that pledge and the commitment of my country to the lofty ideals of this body.

Finally, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and our fellow Members of the United Nations for letting Solomon Islands have the last word in this general debate.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have heard the last speaker in the general debate at the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

During the last three weeks 153 delegations have stated their views on the international situation and expressed anxiety, hope and legitimate expectations on behalf of the peoples they represent here. Once again the General Assembly has acted as the international conscience and the forum for the expression of humanity at its highest and most democratic level.

It seems appropriate now to attempt to sum up what we have heard, which will not serve as a balance sheet, but, rather, as points of reference and departure for the tasks we expect to face in the future.

An objective analysis of the content of the statements in the general debate indicates clearly that of the five items most discussed, by about 90 per cent of the speakers, four had to do with the most damaging regional conflicts and the fifth with the critical economic situation of the developing countries.

(The President)

The statements made in the general debate coincided in some notable respects. There was a practically unanimous perception that this is a special, historic moment in international relations; that we are at the threshold of a new, hopeful phase in which dialogue and co-operation will prevail. There is a general feeling that we are halfway into a process of change towards a better world.

This state of mind is based almost unanimously on specific events. The speakers drew attention to the importance and positive impact of dialogue, the recent disarmament agreements of the super-Powers, progress towards the solution of various regional conflicts and, generally, the gradual consolidation of an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of international disputes. All these developments, unthinkable a few years ago, have fundamentally, and perhaps irreversibly, transformed the conventional texture of international relations. In this context, there was also general recognition of the contribution made by the United Nations, in particular the Secretary-General. This, more than any earlier time, is the hour of the United Nations.

It is necessary that the Organisation receive firm support from all of us. That support should not be only political, but should extend also to those practical areas, including the financial area, which are necessary to ensure the strength and effectiveness of the Organisation. If it has proved possible to find funds to finance arms policies, it should be much more possible to find funds to finance an era of peace, an era in which we would all stand to gain and in which the Organisation would necessarily have to deal with a growing number of costly and delicate peace-keeping operations.

The world is changing and, perhaps more important, the world is aware that it is changing. This is no accidental change, forced upon the world or simply intuitive; it is a voluntary, deliberate, intelligent change.

(The President)

Man seems to have learnt some basic lessons. For example, he seems at last to agree that in our nuclear world any large-scale confrontation will produce only losers; there will be no winners and the very survival of the human race will be in danger.

The bankruptcy of policies based on an arms-race that identify security with strategic power alone has been accompanied by a gradual acceptance of the idea that today confrontation is neither inevitable nor indispensable for the promotion of national interests. On the contrary, those same interests are easier of attainment, are better protected, within the framework of dialogue, détente and co-operation. All this means a truly qualitative revolution, with concrete and basic consequences. The most immediate, obvious impact is in enabling us to see the danger of a holocaust receding into the background and to enjoy the prospect of life.

There is now hope of the settlement - promptly, justly and in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Organisation - of such long-standing problems as the question of Palestine and the Middle East and the policy of apartheid in South Africa, the persistence of which impedes the creation of a climate of peace and security.

But the consequences of this new international reality do much more than benefit certain specific situations. The consolidation of a climate such as that we are now experiencing would begin a new, unique chapter in the history of mankind. For the first time life would be seen as a common, interdependent endeavour; for the first time harmony would be accepted as natural in relations between States, and conflict would be considered an exceptional, undesirable phenomenon. If our generation could take irreversible steps in this direction it would make a fundamental contribution to the improvement of the human condition.

(The President)

Of course, this is only the start of a long and difficult process. We are guaranteeing life; now we must move forward and discuss how and in what conditions we are to live.

After three weeks of general debate in the Assembly, I take great pleasure in noting that, with very few exceptions, the overwhelming majority of speakers have agreed that the time has now come for the question of development to be given first place on the international agenda. Everyone knows that underdevelopment is a problem that afflicts two thirds of mankind, in some cases with levels of poverty and destitution which seem indistinguishable from the suffering inflicted by war.

Our task is very clear in this regard. Having made major progress in disarmament and the settlement of regional conflicts, the international community must now focus on the other major topic, that of development. Only in this way will it be possible to consolidate the gains made on the other two issues.

The general debate has shown that this approach is gaining acceptance in the industrialized world itself. For example, this was clear from the statement made by the Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland, and from the statement of the President of France, Mr. François Mitterrand, who proposed the establishment of a fund within the International Monetary Fund

"to guarantee the payment of interest charged on certain commercial loans ..."

(A/43/PV.10, p. 22)

This fund would be financed through a new issue of special drawing rights for use by the developing countries.

Similarly, in its statement the delegation of Japan confirmed the increasing commitment of that country to an interdependent world economy. That is in accordance with initiatives put forward in other forums, which should be carefully examined.

(The President)

The need now is for a new mobilization that will make possible the concrete, effective realization of a political dialogue on development. To achieve that objective, which is as simple as it is ambitious, we now have a revitalized Organization, with new prestige that derives from its own successes proceeding from the tireless, efficient work of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The United Nations may not be the specific forum for the discussion of technical questions of trade, finance and investment, but today it is in a superb position to establish the general outlines and basic principles for a political dialogue on development, and in due course to follow up the progress that will be made if a world consensus in favour of concerted action should emerge.

(The President)

In light of the foregoing it seems clear that we must find a practical, consensus-based and prudent manner of moving towards our objectives: practical, because there would be no point in an endless succession of rhetorical appeals, unfeasible plans or texts replete with adjectives. What we are faced with is no less than the need to change the existing situation; consensus-based, because if our course does not include us all, then it will not succeed; prudent, lastly, because if we were to be imprudent we would risk frustrating the hopes that millions are placing in our delicate undertaking.

It seems therefore that the time has come to embark on a political dialogue on development, not as an alternative to the technical discussion, but as a complement to it. Just as political decisions and institutions cannot take the place of technical ones, neither can a political problem be resolved solely from a technical point of view. If development generates stability, stability generates security, and security, in turn, generates peace, then it is clear that what we are facing are political decisions, but political decisions that must be technically viable. What we now need is to take the first step towards new forms of political dialogue - above all, practical ones.

The year 1988 is the one year in the entire history of the United Nations in which prospects for peace appear to be most propitious. In 1945, when peace was close at hand, the international community made two arrangements: the United Nations to provide a forum for dialogue, to prevent conflicts and to solve them; and the Bretton Woods agreements to establish an economic order that would prevent a repetition of the conditions which, in the 1920s and 1930s led to the totalitarianism which in turn led to the tragedy of the Second World War.

(The President)

At that time people were so clear about the link between development and peace that, in 1944, shortly before the end of the war, President Roosevelt stated before the United States Congress:

"The hungry and the unemployed are the building bricks of dictatorships."

Those words are as relevant to the developing world today as they were relevant to Europe at the time they were uttered. As Pope Paul VI said in his encyclical Populorum Progressio, "The new name of peace is development."

I shall now call on those representatives who wish 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 five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. RONDON (United States of America): The freedom of speech which we enjoy in the Assembly, but which is absent in Nicaragua, allows me to respond to the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua who, this afternoon, sought to portray the United States as being somehow to blame for his country's oppression. It is an affront to the truth for him to blame the United States for the suffering resulting from the freedoms his Government denies the Nicaraguan people - the freedom to select or reject leaders as one chooses, the freedom to assemble peacefully to redress grievances without fear of attack or incarceration, as happened to the 38 prisoners who still today remain imprisoned under inhumane conditions, the freedom to engage in commerce or production without undue State interference.

The United States is not to blame for the totalitarian philosophy and economic ham-handedness of the Sandinistas. The United States is to blame for supporting democracy in the region. I regret this exchange with Nicaragua, which would not have taken place had the Sandinistas even begun to live up to their Organization of American States (OAS) promises of 1979 or their Esquipulas promises of 1987.

Mr. BROCHAND (France) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I apologize for asking to speak after the inspiring statement you have just made. I should merely like to exercise my delegation's right of reply on a point of particular concern to it.

I regret the fact that in the statement he made just now the representative of the Solomon Islands called my country into question over the underground nuclear tests held on its territory in Polynesia. Without wanting to engage in any polemics with a country with whom France enjoys relations of friendship and co-operation, my delegation would once again recall that the French underground nuclear tests harm neither the interests of the States of the region, nor the health of the peoples there, nor the environment, as has been amply proved by studies made at the site by many national and international commissions.

Mr. MEZA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to apologize for speaking at the very last minute of the general debate and after the excellent statement you have just made, Mr. President, as our friend the representative of France has said. However, we should like to refer to the unfortunate words spoken by the head of the delegation of Nicaragua with regard to the statement made this morning by the representative of El Salvador, in which the representative of Nicaragua referred to our statements as groundless. Since his statement does not correctly reflect the words of Mr. Acevedo Peralta of El Salvador, I feel obliged to read out that portion of the statement which the Minister of El Salvador made this morning and to give some explanation of his meaning. He said:

"The agenda that we shall discuss will include items on amnesty, dialogue, democracy and freedom, refugees, human rights and a Central American Parliament. In this review all countries will be shown to have assets and

(Mr. Mesa, El Salvador)

liabilities in terms of compliance, but, regrettably, it must be said that one of them, Nicaragua, despite its efforts, whether serious or not, will have a greater debit balance. The Sandinist Government, reverting to situations that existed prior to the Guatemala agreement, continues, unfortunately, to violate the most elementary freedoms and civil rights. It persecutes and imprisons politicians and activists, represses public manifestations and closes channels of expression. The Sandinist Government has not even made the required clear and definite public statement of a total break with the armed subversion in El Salvador, which is a clear commitment under the Esquipulas II agreement.

(A/43/PV.30, p. 11)

(Mr. Mesa, El Salvador)

Furthermore, the insulting language used by the head of the Nicaraguan delegation does not really deserve attention, because that language reflects more on those who use it than it does on its target. An attempt has been made, through the use of diatribe, to conceal the truth.

A statement made by the Minister this morning, which seems to have bothered the Nicaraguan delegation, dealt with the subject of amnesty, which is one of the 11 basic commitments entered into in the Esquipulas II Agreement, but which Nicaragua has not observed. The amnesty law was enacted but was subject to certain conditions, flouting the goodwill of the remaining Central American Presidents.

Nor can we even speak of democracy or freedom in Nicaragua, simply because even in the best of times, such as those that exist now, when an attempt is made in Nicaragua to exercise freedom and pursue democracy, its leaders are brutally repressed and thrown into prison because of their disagreement with the Sandinista front. They are in prison while this forty-third session of the General Assembly proceeds. And yet the head of the delegation comes here and insists that nothing important along those lines is happening in his country.

We are saying that Nicaragua has gone back to the period before the Agreement and we say this because, if we look at the history of the Sandinista Government, we can see that never have the people of that country been treated with such brutality. These events are taking place now, when the peace process has bogged down in Central America, because it is the Sandinistas who are trying to avoid a Central American solution to our own problems, to bring it before extraregional authorities, the Sandinistas who have reversed the process, who are trying to block progress and to manipulate the problems it is up to Central Americans to resolve by the introduction of extraneous factors.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

Finally, on 10 January 1988, my Government transmitted to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, a letter - and I believe that the President of the Assembly received a copy of that letter - in which my Government dealt very clearly with all acts of interference in our internal affairs by the Government of Nicaragua, that is, to the support being given to the FMLN-FDR terrorists by Nicaragua. That letter sets out the locations of the broadcasting stations of Radio Venceremos which broadcasts to El Salvador from Nicaragua, the places in Nicaragua where FMLN terrorists are trained, where arms are stockpiled, where printing presses are located - in short, everything that Nicaragua is doing to support the subversion of El Salvador. They promised on 7 August to throw them out of Managua, and now they are supplying them on a much larger scale.

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. President, your excellent statement made a moment ago gave us a synthesis which provides us with a framework for thought within the Assembly and outside it. Let me begin my reply, if I may call it that, by thanking you for your words and for what they mean to us here and what I believe they are going to mean outside the Assembly.

Unfortunately, we find ourselves concluding this meeting with a debate on Central America, which we did not want but which we shall not avoid.

We have heard the inevitable chorus of diatribes starting with the first statement made by the President of the United States, and continuing with three of the statements made by Central American Foreign Ministers, and inevitably the chorus was completed by the remarks made by the representative of the United States a few moments ago.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

Mr. President, you have drawn our attention to factors which prompt serious thought on our part and which steer us away from paradoxes and contradictions.

I therefore find this all very regrettable. Here we see that some preach peace and practise war; others throw stones and then hide their hands; the rest wring their hands but go on saying the same things. They uphold Esquipulas in words but make statements and proposals which do violence to its substance.

It is paradoxical and contradictory also that those who are trying to destabilize us with methods and actions acknowledged even by United States Congressmen, accuse us of failure to apply the law. Yesterday they called for elections, believing that we would not hold them, and then when we organized the elections tried to boycott them. When our revolution triumphed over the dictatorship which they created and fed and sustained to the last minute, they accused us of seizing power. When we decided to take our most fundamental institutional step and to draw up a political constitution, they tried to prevent it. They make war on us and criticize us for defending ourselves.

Others lecture us on human rights and on our internal affairs. But I would remind them of the need to take a closer look at what is going on in their own countries, especially when less than a month ago we saw on television the killing of peasants by the Salvadorian army.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

It is not my intention to rehearse the violations of human rights that have occurred in other countries. It is not by cataloguing such acts of violence that I shall lend strength to my arguments but rather by focusing attention on the contradictions and by drawing on what has been debated here at such length about the changes in the world. I should like to conclude, rather, with some thoughts that have never occurred to the United States - thoughts that will puncture the insufferable arrogance and insolence with which it smothers the identity and dignity of nations. Our peoples have their own raison d'être; we are not a mere extension of the policies of foreign Powers.

The United States must understand that the Nicaraguan revolution is irreversible and that will continue to gain in depth as time passes. The United States must realize that it was the cause of the conflict: it created Somoza and kept him in power for half a century, yet never uttered a word about the violations of human rights under him. The United States has been waging war on us ever since the triumph of the revolution seven years ago, which cost our people 50,000 dead to win their freedom. What right does the United States have to pose as an arbiter of the identity, destiny and sovereignty of peoples? None.

This is a time for us to express that thought and to recall that, although all of us want peace, it must be a peace based on human dignity and on the law.

The United States is not complying with the terms of the Hague Convention relating to self-determination; it is violating States' sovereignty and territorial integrity; it is waging war against constituted and legitimately elected Governments. There is no peace without dignity, no democracy without self-determination and no freedom without justice.

Now that our debate is winding down the time has come for us to give some thought to these matters. All of us want peace, but there are those who seek to

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

preserve outmoded hegemony. The tide of history, regardless of one's power, does not allow such breaches of justice to continue indefinitely.

We seek respect for the freedom and dignity of small peoples - freedom and dignity won not only rhetorically in forums such as this, but on the battlefield, against the greatest Power in the world, which has been waging war against us for seven years. We seek peace, but peace with dignity. We are willing to fight for freedom, but we want freedom with justice. We will fight for democracy, but democracy with self-determination. Let us hope that, whatever the next United States Government is, it will understand the needs of peoples and the inexorable logic of history.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 9.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/43/250/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In paragraph 1 (a) of the report the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Emergency assistance to the Sudan".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include in its agenda the additional item entitled "Emergency assistance to the Sudan"?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In paragraph 1 (b) of the report the General Committee recommends that the item be considered directly in plenary meeting.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): May I also take it that the item should be considered with priority because of its important and urgent character?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Next I should like to draw the attention of representatives to paragraph 2 (a) of the report. The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Short-term, medium-term and long-term solutions to the problems of natural disasters in Bangladesh".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include that additional item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In paragraph 2 (b) of the report the General Committee recommends that the item be considered directly in plenary meeting.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): May I also take it that the item should be considered with priority because of its important and urgent character?

It was so decided.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before adjourning the meeting I should like to give members an outline of the tentative programme of plenary meetings for the remainder of the session as well as to make an

(The President)

announcement regarding some changes in the tentative programme that I had announced on Thursday, 6 October.

On Monday, 17 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization"; item 13, "Report of the International Court of Justice"; item 20, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee"; item 24, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference"; item 25, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States"; item 26, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity"; item 27, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States"; item 28, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Latin American Economic System" and item 142, "Observer status for the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America in the General Assembly".

On Tuesday, 18 October, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 149, "Emergency assistance to Jamaica", item 150, "Emergency assistance to the Sudan", and then will continue with item 151, "Short-term, medium-term and long-term solutions to the problems of natural disasters in Bangladesh" and item 146, "Promotion of peace, reconciliation and dialogue in the Korean peninsula".

(The President)

On Tuesday, 1 November, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 35, "Law of the Sea".

In the afternoon of that same day, the Assembly will take up item 31, entitled "Zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic".

On the following day, Wednesday, 2 November, in the morning, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 23, "The situation in Kampuchea".

On Thursday, 3 November, in the afternoon, the Assembly will consider item 30, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

Beginning on Monday, 7 November, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 39, "Critical economic situation in Africa: United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990".

On Wednesday, 9 November, in the morning, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 22, "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives".

On Friday, 11 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 21, "Right of peoples to peace".

Beginning on Monday, 14 November, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 29, "Question of Namibia".

On Thursday, 17 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 34, "Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

Beginning on Monday, 21 November, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 18, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

On Friday, 25 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 7, "Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations" and item 11, "Report of the Security Council".

(The President)

The Assembly will begin its deliberations under item 36, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", on Monday, 28 November, in the morning.

Beginning on Thursday, 1 December, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 37, "Question of Palestine".

On Monday, 5 December, in the morning, the Assembly will begin its deliberations on item 40, "The situation in the Middle East".

On Tuesday, 6 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will resume its consideration of item 37, "Question of Palestine".

On Thursday, 8 December in the morning, the Assembly, under item 38, will hold a commemorative meeting for the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I should like to remind members that every attempt is being made to curtail the duration of the session so that the Assembly might conclude its work by Friday, 9 December.

Furthermore, I should like to inform representatives that the Pledging Conference for Development Activities will be held on Tuesday, 1 November; the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1988 programmes of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will take place in the morning of Monday, 21 November; and the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1988 programmes of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East will take place in the afternoon of that same day.

(The President)

It is, of course, understood that reports of the Main Committees will be considered as they become available.

The tentative schedule I have just announced will appear in the verbatim record of the meeting, as well as in the Journal summary. In the meantime, if there are any changes, I shall keep the Assembly informed.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.