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THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

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**31st
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 11 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

1. Mr. NGUEMA ONGUENE (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me to address the General Assembly. We are convinced that the work of this session will be crowned with success and that the statements of the representatives of the various Member States of the Organization and the conclusions and recommendations arrived at on the items on the agenda will be governed by reason and justice.

2. As once again we begin our work, I should like to convey the sincere good wishes of Mr. Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, the President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, for harmonious progress in the work of this session of the General Assembly and for success in the adoption of resolutions and decisions at the end of our work. We express the hope that those resolutions and decisions will become a reality and will not result in mere rhetorical or sterile expressions of ideals which, far from proving viable, fair and equitable, will only give rise to conflicts, worsen divisions and promote extremism, in complete contradiction of the spirit of the Charter signed at San Francisco.

3. Equatorial Guinea, my country, believes that it is essential to increase efforts to promote better relations and respect for the equality of all peoples in the world, to guarantee the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to achieve its goals. The prestige and the authority of the United Nations must be strengthened. This is particularly necessary at the present time when dialogue is becoming increasingly difficult and force is likely to be used because of the juxtaposition of the interests at stake.

4. The unanimous election of Mr. Lusaka as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is not only a source of pride and satisfaction for Equatorial Guinea but also a recognition of the determination of the country which he represents, Zambia, to remain faithful to the ideals of peace, justice and freedom and to maintain the dignity of man, despite temporary setbacks and difficulties. We are therefore convinced that with his qualities, professional experience and dedication he

will fulfil the responsibility of guiding the destiny of this session in a most exemplary manner.

5. Similarly, we express our appreciation and thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who, while carrying out his important and diverse functions as Head of State of Panama, guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with outstanding competence and skill.

6. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/1] presents a clear and complete description of the complexity of the problems facing the world. It merits our deep appreciation and it can assist us in examining the items of the agenda with which we have to deal. We should like to express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General for the valuable work that he is doing as the head of the Organization. We wish him every success in the difficult but highly honourable task entrusted to him in bringing about a better world.

7. The admission of a new Member to the United Nations family has always been a source of happiness for my delegation. The recent admission of the State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations gives us great satisfaction since this represents, among other things, a practical step towards the universality of the United Nations. We welcome and congratulate that new Member and look forward to its contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and the establishment of fruitful co-operation in building an empire of justice for the protection and well-being of peoples.

8. As I stated from this rostrum when I spoke at the 30th meeting of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, following the changes which took place in the country in August 1979, has successfully carried out the difficult but noble task of establishing a democratic system. This has led to the effective establishment of executive, judicial and legislative systems in keeping with our constitution. Notable progress has been made in the social and political life of the country, which is reflected in the peace and tranquillity which prevails.

9. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the Government, the economic situation of my country, which is purely the result of the situation we inherited from the previous period and the general world economic crisis, is beset by many difficulties which have yet to be overcome. Equatorial Guinea, one of the least developed countries, is in a state of devastation and a direct victim of the most harmful effects of the world crisis.

10. Nevertheless, my Government has worked to lay solid foundations for harmonious economic development, to rehabilitate our country and to bring about development in general. Negotiations at the subregional level in Central Africa led to Equatorial

Guinea's joining of the Central African Customs and Economic Union during the meeting of the Council of Heads of State of that organization held at Bangui in December 1983. Similarly, on 27 August this year, the President of the Republic signed the treaty admitting Equatorial Guinea to the Bank of Central African States. We believe that our national endeavours will thus become a part of the endeavour of the subregion to combat the underdevelopment, hunger and poverty which afflict our peoples.

11. In the context of this effort to bring about rehabilitation and development in my country, I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government appreciation for the assistance which friendly countries and international bodies have constantly provided to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea since 3 August 1979. Nevertheless, given the long road before us, we trust and hope that this assistance will be expanded and further diversified on the basis of General Assembly resolution 38/224 of 20 December 1983.

12. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, the economic situation of the overwhelming majority of Member States in this great family is becoming increasingly critical and the possibility of overcoming this crisis seems increasingly remote, while the instability which currently characterizes international relations continues. Although some improvements have been made on the political, social and cultural levels, the influence of ideological blocs, so-called strategic interests, and selective protection of human rights, based on criteria which do not take into account the special characteristics of countries and peoples, lead us to conclude that, generally speaking, negotiations to remedy current inequalities and imbalances are deadlocked.

13. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at Lagos in 1980, the Political Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in 1983, the intense activity by the Group of 77, the recent proposals of the 11 Latin American countries to solve their external debt problems—to mention only a few—are initiatives which should be matched by the developed countries, which should co-operate to ensure a fair exchange between North and South. We must accept the reality that growth and stability in the North and accelerated development in the South are interrelated. The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, if the wealthy countries were to see the light, could be remembered as the anniversary that saw the beginning of a new stage of progress towards a better world.

14. The worsening of the present international economic crisis emphasizes the vital need to apply the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in relations between States, taking into account the fact of interdependence regarding trade. The constantly increasing deficits in the balance of payments of underdeveloped countries and their growing foreign debt must be compensated by fair prices for the raw materials they produce and the establishment of appropriate measures to make possible not just increased wealth for rich countries but also a considerable improvement in the economic conditions of poor nations.

15. We hope that the economic resolutions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at the present session will not simply confirm the need for the developed countries to contribute to the economic recovery of the poor countries in general, but will result in a practical, positive reaction in the form of contributions to this end. We also hope that international financial organizations will set an example by contributing to the attainment of these objectives.

16. In contradiction to the provisions of the Charter, the progress in science and technology achieved by some Member States is used against the interests of peace and international security under the pretext of protecting their interests. Such progress is being used even in the pursuit of ways to exterminate mankind. While Equatorial Guinea shares the view that the future of mankind is the responsibility of all countries, the great Powers, judging by their own declarations, have primary responsibility in this area. The negotiations at Geneva should be resumed and should be used to reduce geographical distances and ideological differences. The political will of States should be brought into harmony with the higher interests of mankind on questions which are already accepted by a consensus and which we cannot ignore.

17. Considerable financial resources go to produce and develop weapons of all kinds. Millions of human beings in various parts of the world—Africa, Asia and Latin America—are being wiped out by drought, hunger, poverty and disease, as well as by natural disasters of atmospheric origin which also destroy considerable natural resources. This happened in my own country recently. We believe that these ills are so serious that scientific, technological and financial resources must be made available to check them. We appeal for international solidarity for the solution of the problem of drought, with the provision of special, immediate assistance to the countries which are the victims of this unprecedented horror.

18. While those with great stockpiles of armaments continue to arm themselves for defensive purposes, supposedly against the threat of war, weak countries also have the right to life. Thus it is necessary, in theory and in practice, to help to wind down the arms race, with the corresponding reduction in military expenditures, and to struggle to eliminate international mercenarism and terrorism, which merely contribute to the destruction of the economic and political equilibrium of independent countries.

19. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the stepping up of the production of other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, allegedly for reasons of security and self-protection, only help to make more probable the victory of the ills afflicting the poor countries: hunger, poverty and disease. We have heard so many ringing declarations on disarmament, calling for a freeze, the prohibition and reduction of nuclear weapons, a ban on the testing, production and use of nuclear weapons and chemical and biological weapons, the prevention of nuclear confrontation and all the other proposals which we have been hearing in the General Assembly over the last few years. It is high time that these became reality; only then shall we feel protected and only then will world peace and security become a reality.

20. Equatorial Guinea is gravely concerned by the present situation in which men, women and children in all countries of the third world are the innocent

victims of the misapplication and faulty channelling of the abundant resources available in the most developed countries, which increases dependence and deprivation of the poor countries. We need relevant programmes and projects for hygiene, housing and foodstuff production to meet the basic requirements of the neediest populations.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

21. It is not unduly optimistic to acknowledge the great work carried out by the United Nations in its almost 40 years of existence, nor to emphasize that certain items on its agenda minimize the importance and value of its activities. Now that *apartheid* South Africa is showing its true colours, the independence of Namibia recedes further into the distance. This is in flagrant violation of many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and outright contempt for international public opinion.

22. We reiterate our position that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal and must be ended. We renew our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and reaffirm that conditions and circumstances outside the Territory of Namibia should not affect or delay the process of its independence.

23. It is surprising to observe that, although every State Member of the United Nations agrees on the need to maintain international peace and security, this unanimity is not reflected in the implementation of the relevant resolutions. In South Africa, the black majority continues to suffer the effects of the policy of *apartheid*. This system that has been imposed on the majority is abhorred by all, but many appear to be selective in condemning it, and various economic, strategic and ideological interests seem to be in conflict with the efforts to eradicate it. That makes it all the harder to achieve the great objective of the protection and defence of fundamental human rights and freedoms. We must reflect seriously on this and, even though it may be difficult, accept the fact that nature itself calls for recognition of the right of all people to enjoy equal rights, and hence the abolition of *apartheid* must be brought about.

24. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea hopes that African wisdom and the spirit of solidarity will lay the foundation so that the various Governments now controlling the destiny of the continent will avoid any situation that could lead to the collapse of the Organization of African Unity. In this connection, we welcome any peaceful and constructive initiative for resolving the conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara in accordance with the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

25. In the Middle East, Israel's occupation of Arab countries continues, and poverty, hunger and death remain common currency in Lebanon. On behalf of those innocent victims who fall day after day in that sorely afflicted area, we appeal to all parties involved in that painful and protracted conflict to end the tragedy, through the use of dialogue and negotiation, in a spirit free of pride and passion and on the basis of realism, recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own State in the region and the right of Israel to continue to exist within legal and secure borders, as well as Lebanon's recovery of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

26. We are disturbed at the tension prevailing in Central America. We urge all the parties involved to have recourse to dialogue to find solutions to the

differences that have arisen, with strict respect for the right of peoples to determine the political and economic systems most in accordance with their national interests.

27. We support and encourage the efforts of the Contadora Group towards the peaceful and just settlement of the conflict in Central America, a region to which Equatorial Guinea is bound by historical and cultural ties. We hope that the Contadora Group will arrive at a comprehensive solution of the problem so as to bring about a restoration of overall peace and security in that region.

28. We reiterate our solidarity with the Argentine Republic with regard to its just and legitimate claim over the Malvinas Islands, and we hope there will be a resumption of and rapid progress in the negotiations with the United Kingdom in the spirit and the context of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

29. Kampuchea, a State Member of the Organization, continues to be the scene of violent acts because of the intervention of foreign forces in that country. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with a course of action guaranteeing the return of all Kampuchians who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries and the search for a peaceful solution ensuring respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, not only of Kampuchea but of all the countries of the region. The relevant resolutions of the five past regular sessions of the General Assembly and the Declaration on Kampuchea¹ have laid the necessary foundations for a broad political settlement of the problem.

30. In Afghanistan, there are no signs that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country are being preserved, in spite of the appeals by the international community to the effect that only the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan can guarantee the inalienable right of the Afghan people to determine the form of Government and political and economic system most in keeping with their interests, without outside interference or influence. Accordingly, the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a peaceful solution which could facilitate the return of Afghan refugees to their own country should receive support, so as to establish the necessary guidelines for the restoration of peace and tranquillity both in Afghanistan and in the neighbouring countries which are victims of the situation prevailing in South-West Asia.

31. The war between Iran and Iraq, brother countries and neighbours, continues to be a cause for considerable concern and anxiety for Equatorial Guinea as for the entire international community. This conflict has gone on for five years. Human lives have been sacrificed, and the results of the efforts of both countries for the reconstruction of their economies have been reduced to naught. This not only impedes the harmonious development of their populations but considerably affects international economic and commercial relations. From this rostrum, we appeal for political will by the Government of Iran and the Government of Iraq so that they may see reason and consider the right to life and the need to preserve human dignity, putting an end to the unjust war imposed on Iranians and Iraqis.

32. We note with consternation that the results hoped for concerning some questions that have been considered by the United Nations in past decades

have not been produced. A recent eloquent confirmation of this is the artificial division by outside forces that has been inflicted on the Republic of Cyprus—a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country and a Member of the United Nations. At a time when the international community is promoting the ideals of reunification of peoples divided by political and ideological interests, the partitioning of Cyprus cannot but undermine those ideals. Given this sad state of affairs, Equatorial Guinea appeals for efforts to preserve the unity of Cyprus and bring about harmony between the different Cypriot communities.

33. We call for the peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula and invite the leaders of the respective Governments to create the propitious conditions which would make possible the resumption of negotiations which, we hope, will conclude to the satisfaction of all the Korean people. Interested third countries should work to ensure the success of a process for peaceful reunification so that Korea can take within the concert of nations the place to which it is entitled.

34. Finally, we propose that consideration be given to taking up the observations and proposals of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization—his third—concerning the strengthening of the role of the Organization and the efficient and smooth functioning of its bodies and specialized agencies, with particular emphasis on those which are directly involved in the social, economic and cultural development and advancement of developing countries.

35. Mr. MOLISA (Vanuatu): On behalf of the Government and the people of Vanuatu, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session. Your election is a tribute to you and to your outstanding work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It is also a most fitting tribute to the country you represent. Zambia and the other front-line States continue to set examples of patience, perseverance and strict adherence to high principles in the face of extreme and severe provocations. For this, the international community is grateful.

36. I also congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for the excellent manner in which he discharged his very difficult duties.

37. I extend warm congratulations to Brunei Darussalam, the newest Member of the United Nations. We are particularly proud to greet a neighbouring State as the Organization's 159th Member. We wish its people and its Government well and assure them of our continuing friendship, respect and co-operation.

38. As this is the first time I have had the privilege of representing my country here at the United Nations, I wish to add my voice to those who have already spoken in praise of the Secretary-General. In the days to come, all of us will need to draw even further on his experience and considerable diplomatic skills. I only hope that we will all heed the words of his report on the work of the Organization, which is very thorough, and exhibit the same devotion to duty and candour for which he is so well-known.

39. As we stand poised to enter the fifth decade since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the Organization, we, the nations of the world, face new and unique challenges. In a sense, the problems we discuss here today are fundament-

ally the same problems which confronted earlier generations.

40. How will our children be educated, and with what values? How will all of the people of this globe be fed, clothed and housed, and at what cost? How will our elderly be cared for, and their knowledge and experience preserved for succeeding generations? How will the resources of our planet be gathered and distributed? How shall we view our neighbours and how shall we relate to them—those who are near as well as those who are far? How will we ensure that all men and women shall in their lifetimes enjoy justice, equality of opportunity, and the right to think and worship as they wish? How shall we assure all children from every corner of this earth that they have the right to dream the dreams of childhood—the dreams of happiness and of life? Finally, how shall we ensure the survival of this and succeeding generations?

41. These are rather simple, straightforward, timeless and universal questions. Far less simple, straightforward, timeless or universal are the answers or the various equations different nations utilize to arrive at their own answers.

42. The dramatic growth of the world's population, the increasing scarcity of some resources and the imperfect allocation of others, the short-sighted view of history that some people have, and the advent of modern technology have now complicated our search for solutions to mankind's ageless problems.

43. Some feel that they know all the answers and, in their arrogance, arrogate to themselves the role of purveyors of absolute truths. "Do as we say", they admonish us—but they certainly do not wish us to do as they do. Others believe that most of us do not even know what the questions are, let alone have the faintest idea of how to answer them. One arrogance is as bad as the other. Perhaps, of mankind's many shortcomings, arrogance and lack of humility are at once the worst and most obvious.

44. If arrogance is not such a prevalent flaw in international relations today, then why is it that the threat or use of force is still the corner-stone of the foreign policies of so many States? Large and medium-sized Powers, developed and developing countries, aligned and non-aligned States, east and west, north and south—with far too much frequency—see their respective military establishments as the ultimate instruments of their foreign and domestic policies.

45. The arts of peaceful advocacy and persuasion are too often forgotten or ignored. This is not a new problem, but, given our current level of knowledge and the current as well as the future technology of destruction, are these the values we wish to bestow upon our children? Have we not yet arrived at a higher level of civilization?

46. If arrogance is not such a prevalent flaw in international relations today, then why is it that the sincere and legitimate strivings of so many people are consistently cast in, and confused by, east-west contradictions and the power politics of the world's two super-Powers? Some who should know better even continue to insist that smaller nations must choose in which "bed to lie", as if there were no other choice but to belong in spirit, if not in fact, to one of the world's two great military and economic camps.

47. We, in Vanuatu, know better. Our political independence, our membership in the United Na-

tions, and our membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—all manifest our desire to belong to no one but ourselves. Having had the unique experience of having two colonial rulers with equal powers at the same time, our people are well versed in the perils of being anyone's proxy.

48. Our unusual colonial history as a condominium left us with a great appreciation for genuine non-alignment and considerable experience in its practice. Asking us to choose between our two colonial rulers would have been a useless exercise. How can one choose between waves in the ocean?

49. We did, however, develop at the same time an understanding of how vital it is to communicate, particularly when we speak different languages. How else are misunderstandings to be avoided and misconceptions corrected?

50. Today, more than ever before, the ability to communicate is vital to our survival as a species. It is unfortunate that we do not devote more of our energy to the communication of ideas—real ideas, and not just empty rhetoric.

51. Why cannot the world's two foremost military Powers set an example and speak to each other all the time and not just for the benefit of the television cameras? Why cannot these two Powers listen to each other as well? Why cannot they listen to the rest of us even some of the time? Are they so frightened by what we say? Are our ideas so dangerous that their military might, their wealth and their power cannot protect them? Is what we, the nations of the world, have to say so unworthy that it does not even deserve a hearing?

52. If both behave in the same manner towards the rest of us, then does it really matter which of them rules the world? Is ruling the world what each super-Power really wants? We think not. Each says publicly that this is what the other wants. But is that the truth? Is it a wilful distortion, or is it simply a major miscalculation? Who in his or her right mind would even want to rule this imperfect and complicated world? Who would want to assume that responsibility or bear that burden?

53. We believe that there are major contradictions between the world's two super-Powers, but that neither realistically harbours any illusions of ruling this entire planet. Each, of course, wishes to expand its sphere of influence and gain adherents to its way of life. In part, they see the world differently. We remember, however, that monarchists and republicans saw the world differently as recently as the last century.

54. Although today's super-Powers have some different values, they also have many similar values. Unfortunately, they seldom discuss the latter. They seem to prefer focusing on the former. Also unfortunate is the fact that each seeks national security through devices which actually help create international insecurity. Their competition is indeed frightening, but at times it has actually aided the process of human development. The post-Second-World-War decolonization process is a case in point. Their co-operation could, on balance, benefit us all, although there are also circumstances in which that co-operation can work to our collective detriment. Thus we have the paradox of the rivalry between these two giants and the paradox of the impact of that rivalry on the rest of the world. Let them compete if they

must, but let the competition be peaceful and full of more sound and less fury.

55. Naturally, no sane person wants to see a military contest between these two giants. We would hope that each will pursue far gentler methods to demonstrate the professed superiority of its own social system. However, who among us can guarantee that this will be the case? Not even they can give us such assurances.

56. Anger, stress, frustration, paranoia, runaway technology, or just a plain and simple mistake could easily trigger a disaster for mankind and end everything. There would be no future. Our children, all children, would cease to exist. Is that not a sufficiently chilling thought to cause us all to pause and think?

57. We believe that it is impossible for either of these great Powers to dominate the other. History, particularly the history of each of these nations, teaches us that this is just not possible.

58. An even crueller and more insidious illusion is that one of these great Powers can achieve lasting military superiority over the other. The history of the post-Second-World-War arms race instructs us that neither side can stay ahead of the other.

59. One was first to develop nuclear weapons, but the other caught up. One was first in developing long-range intercontinental ballistic bombers, but the other caught up. One was first in deploying intercontinental ballistic missiles, but the other caught up. One was even first in space, but the other caught up. Now whatever new weapons system is deployed by one, the other soon catches up with and surpasses in destructive capabilities.

60. For the entire world, and not just the people of those two societies, the real questions are: How much longer can we continue this madness? How many more billions of dollars and other wasted resources will be poured down the drain in pursuit of these false notions of national security?

61. Must we sit by idly while these two Powers try to outspend each other and one tries to bankrupt the other? They both know, just as we know, that there is no such thing as a realistic defence against the horrible weapons of destruction that already exist.

62. The only thing that makes any sense at all is an undertaking of mutual restraint. Why cannot the road to peace begin in one capital and lead to another? Why cannot the obstacles to trust and peace be seen as common obstacles to be overcome by all of us together? Whatever happened to that old saying, "Live and let live"?

63. Why should the citizens of one society be taught to hate the citizens of the other? Why should the children of one society be taught to fear the children of the other? Do we not, as rational, thinking human beings, have the capacity to recognize the greatness of both societies? Do they not as great societies have the capacity to think and act rationally?

64. The threat of a nuclear holocaust unleashed by one or both of the world's super-Powers is indeed a frightening prospect. Unfortunately, it is not the only frightening prospect mankind is confronted with.

65. Medium-size Powers and other small States also have their fingers on nuclear, chemical and bacteriological triggers. Far too often, nations attach more importance to what they can destroy than to what they can create. More prestige seems to flow from the

ability to instil fear than from the ability to educate, clothe, house or feed.

66. Drought and famine plague Africa. Tropical storms lash Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean. Earthquakes destroy South American cities. Floods ravage the lands of developed and developing countries. Sickness and disease cross all of our borders and frontiers and touch all of our citizens. All of us have our own share of natural disasters. Yet, we seem intent on searching for and creating new disasters.

67. As if the forces of nature do not take enough lives and cause enough damage, some of us look for new man-made ways to take lives and destroy resources. Some spend excessively obscene sums of money on new weapons. Some institutionalize and expand the parameters of corruption, inefficiency and inequality, destroying, in the process, every possible avenue of escape from the cycle of poverty to which so many people are condemned. Some, through no more than their studied indifference to the plight of their fellow human beings, practise their own form of violence.

68. Each year, the agenda of vital human concerns seems to grow and grow to almost unmanageable proportions. Few things are resolved, and few sincere efforts are made by those in whose power it lies to mobilize the international community. There seems to be greater faith placed in crisis management than in crisis avoidance.

69. When will the few remaining States that have not yet done so finally sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea? When will there be universal participation in the vital tasks of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea?

70. When will there be a final commitment to abide by the international community's standards of equity with respect to the exploitation of the mineral resources of the international sea-bed? After so many years of painstaking negotiations and such careful drafting, is it not reasonable to expect nations to refrain from separate undertakings which will undermine the Convention? We urge all States to think again before acting in such a manner as to subvert this very lofty breakthrough in global economic relations.

71. The pressing need for major economic reform is well known and has been well articulated in this and other forums time and time again. How long must the world wait for concrete measures to be taken? What calamity must occur before realism replaces myopia?

72. The growing menace of organized crime and the international traffic in drugs threaten to engulf and destroy us all. Again we ask, what are we waiting for? Must personal crisis strike before we open our eyes to this clear and present danger?

73. The war between Iran and Iraq drags on at a terrible cost in human life and material destruction. Why can no solution be found? How do the parties to this tragic conflict manage to replenish their respective instruments of destruction? Whose interests are served by the continuation of this senseless carnage?

74. In the Middle East, we must ask again, why cannot the Palestinian people return to their homes and live in peace? Why must they be displaced and disenfranchised? What was their sin? How much

more suffering must the people of Lebanon endure? Are there no limits?

75. How long must the people of Cyprus be divided and their land occupied? How much longer must civil war rage in Afghanistan and external forces intervene, both overtly and covertly? How much longer must the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula endure warfare, economic deprivation and the Machiavellian intrigues of those who use them cynically to continue their own proxy wars? How much longer must the nations of Central America and the Caribbean endure ill-disguised interference in their internal affairs and blatant violations of the most fundamental tenets of international law? How much longer must the people of Namibia and the people of South Africa be victimized by the very fascism and racism the Organization was formed as an alliance against?

76. Let us not suffer from historical amnesia. South Africa is an openly racist régime which was imposed and is maintained by force and violence. It was illegitimately conceived and constituted. And it continues consistently to violate major principles of the Charter of the United Nations, fundamental provisions of international law and standards of common decency and civilization.

77. In short, in a very real and meaningful sense, it is a bandit régime which has institutionalized and elevated to State level the very terrorism every nation in this chamber condemns. How, then, can some continue to rationalize and excuse the actions of that State? How, then, can some continue to qualify their support for the General Assembly's resolutions because of what they term "imperfect language"?

78. How, then, can some support armed insurrection in Afghanistan, but not in South Africa? How, then, can some support armed struggle against the Government of Nicaragua, but not against the terrorists in power in Pretoria? How can those who have helped make South Africa strong and its neighbours weak applaud South Africa's ability temporarily to impose its will through the use of its military and economic might? How can those who trade with South Africa by choice equate their actions with those who are compelled to deal with South Africa?

79. Finally, what will those who today are indifferent to the plight of the people of South Africa—all of the people of South Africa—say to those people when they finally do triumph and drive the Fascists from power? Will they then claim to have always supported and loved the people of South Africa, as they now claim to have always loved and supported the people of other countries who have succeeded in overthrowing their own dictators?

80. For us, declarations of any kind can never substitute for action. With respect to southern Africa, we do what we can. Our major regret is that we can do no more. Perhaps our greatest contribution lies in our efforts to make Vanuatu a better society and to promise our people a brighter future than the current régime in South Africa is able to promise all of the people of that troubled land. We wish that those who have it in their power to change South Africa peacefully would use that power.

81. In the absence of such action, we believe that the international community is left with no alternative but to support the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa are in reality acting for all of us. They are, in effect, soldiers of the

United Nations, fighting to defend and uphold the Charter and our declarations.

82. At every session of the General Assembly, most of the nations of the world declare their opposition to certain policies of the Government of Israel and of the Government of South Africa. We believe that most mean what they say. We also believe that most act accordingly and do not themselves define a person's worth or rights of citizenship on the basis of race, religion, sex or economic or social class. After all, how can we condemn the exclusionary policies of one State and then practise our own forms of exclusion or condone those of others?

83. For a few, however, the denunciations of Israel and South Africa are mere rituals. Those States are among those who live by the familiar adage, "Do as we say, not as we do". For them, there is little meaning or substance to their declarations on Israel or South Africa. They are merely reciting well-rehearsed and politically expedient words.

84. In our region, there is such a State. There is a large country many times more powerful than its neighbours. There is also a country whose anti-colonial history we have long admired and respected. However, an outstanding anti-colonial past is not sufficient to justify or excuse the excesses that State is committing today.

85. We regret that there is some justification to the Israeli and South African complaint that the international community is very selective in its denunciations. It pains us deeply that there is, indeed, a grain of truth in this argument. How else can we explain the condemnations of the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights but the silence on the annexation of East Timor? How else can we explain the condemnations of *apartheid* but the silence on the plight of the Melanesian people of West Papua?

86. How else can we explain the appeals for the severance of economic ties with South Africa while a South African company participates in the exploitation of West Papua's oil resources? How else can we explain the concern over Israeli and South African military expansionism and the indifference to the military expansionism in our region which has seen West Papua and East Timor swallowed, if not digested, and which now provokes and threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our good neighbour, Papua New Guinea?

87. We are prepared to wait for answers to these questions. However, we caution the international community not to wait too long lest another South Pacific nation be threatened with extinction.

88. In the Pacific, the valid exercise of the right of self-determination for peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories continues to be a major regional concern. Our region now has the largest number of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Our region is also probably the least known, the least discussed and the least understood of all the regions and subregions represented here in this world body.

89. Thus far, the process of decolonization in our region has, for the most part, been relatively peaceful and conducted in a climate of tranquillity and good will. East Timor and West Papua are the major exceptions and are also the areas in which the process has, through the intervention of an outside Power, been aborted. It is our belief, however, that this is only temporary. Assure the people of those lands that they will be allowed to express themselves freely and

we believe that they will end their resistance, which is a product of the violence visited upon them by an outside Power.

90. Some may be surprised to hear us speak of outside intervention, violence and resistance in those Territories, because few outsiders have been allowed to visit and none have been permitted to take anything but strictly guided tours. Even humanitarian organizations have been denied access. Almost a decade ago, in East Timor, journalists who were nationals of another neighbouring country were murdered as they attempted to report on the fate of East Timor's people in the face of massive military intervention.

91. Some may have forgotten, but we have not forgotten. Some may feel that we should forget, but we cannot. We cannot forget how and why these men lost their lives any more than we can forget what is being inflicted on our fellow Melanesians in West Papua and on the Maubere people of East Timor. It is our policy to support the wishes and aspirations of all peoples in the Pacific. Cynics may think otherwise, but we believe that the peoples of East Timor, West Papua, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia and Micronesia are as capable as anyone else in this forum when it comes to determining their own futures. Whenever possible, we counsel and encourage them to pursue the path of dialogue and peaceful negotiations, but we also know that they must have someone with whom to have a dialogue and negotiate. Let us not prejudge the results, but let there be a valid process.

92. Our region is known for its calm and serene atmosphere. The countries of the South Pacific are populated by peace-loving people of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, our similar colonial histories have instilled in us all a strong aversion to external interference and foreign rule. On this we are in total accord. Unfortunately, the international community has not yet taken note of it. Thus, while our support is given as a matter of principle to the struggle against *apartheid*, little is known of our own struggle against the same practices in our own region. Although our support is solicited for resolutions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, not a thought is given to our concerns in our immediate region.

93. Far too often, short-sightedness, inflexibility and parochialism have obliged colonized peoples to resort to the politics of confrontation in order to achieve justice, self-determination and independence. The voices of moderation are seldom heeded until it is far too late.

94. The people of New Caledonia have now asked for what has always been theirs—the right to determine their own future. The administering Power has recognized that New Caledonia's people have this right, and we commend the administering Power for its realism and its apparent willingness to co-operate. However, it is our sincere belief that time is of the essence. The administering Power must, we believe, negotiate a timetable and mode of self-expression that is acceptable to New Caledonia's colonized people. Failure to do so will only encourage extremist elements amongst the settler population and lead to the type of confrontation all rational persons seek to avoid.

95. As New Caledonia's immediate neighbour, Vanuatu is concerned about the maintenance of

peace and stability. However, we also recognize that a speedy redress of the grievances of New Caledonia's people is the surest way to guarantee peace and stability.

96. The Governments of the South Pacific Forum have noted the constitutional and electoral reforms which have been introduced. Like other members of the South Pacific Forum, however, we cannot understand why a referendum on the future constitutional status of New Caledonia cannot be held prior to 1989. With other Forum members, therefore, we urge the administering Power to move the date forward and to announce that independence is the logical outcome of the planned referendum. We also believe that additional political and administrative powers should be transferred to New Caledonia to ensure that it is adequately prepared for independence.

97. The nations of our region are in agreement that colonialism has no future in the South Pacific. We will do all that we can to ensure a peaceful transition to independence in New Caledonia. However, all must understand that independence is on the immediate agenda. The Kanak people have made that crystal clear. Let us now work together to ensure that all will live and prosper in harmony.

98. The denuclearization of the Pacific is, to some, an abstract idea. To us, a small island developing State in the region, it is a crucial ingredient for our survival. We are aware of the connection between the colonial and nuclear policies of certain Powers which are currently undertaking various nuclear activities in our region. We note with extreme disappointment that the consistent objections raised by the Governments and peoples of the South Pacific to certain nuclear activities seem to have fallen on deaf ears. Thus, testing of nuclear weapons continues, and it is still proposed that our waters be used for dumping nuclear wastes.

99. Arguments of relative safety do not impress us. Who can truthfully state with absolutely no equivocation that our environment will not be harmed by these activities? We know that the proponents of these activities do not even understand our environment, and we seriously doubt that their scientists ever will either. We are at peace with our environment, while they seem to be at war with theirs.

100. Accordingly, our Parliament has resolved unanimously to declare Vanuatu a nuclear-free State. We have therefore established a policy of not allowing nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed vessels to call at any of our ports. We are deeply committed to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in our region, and this is one step in that direction.

101. History teaches us that every weapon mankind has developed has eventually been used. The human race is now at a turning point. We, the Governments and peoples of this earth, must let our would-be protectors know that reasoning and understanding are better protectors of human life than any weapons system devised or yet to be devised by the military-industrial complex.

102. In our search for justice, we must leave no stone unturned. In our search for equality, we must leave no stone unturned. In our search for peace, we must also leave no stone unturned. We must remember that we live in an imperfect world, and that we are imperfect beings. Only the most arrogant of us believe that we can pass judgement on our Creator's work. We must learn to respect our differences and

our frailties. We must learn to draw comfort from our universality. Patience is needed as we try to understand each other.

103. Perhaps we would be well advised to remember the biblical admonition, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone". If we, the nations of the world, live by these words, there will be no stones cast, and this world might just survive.

104. Mr. NGA GNII-VOUÉ TO (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Central African Republic, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your long experience acquired in the course of your diplomatic career and your superb knowledge of international issues bode well for the great success of the work of this session. My delegation would like to assure you at the outset of its readiness to assist you.

105. I should also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the support of the Central African Republic for the Secretary-General, whose work on behalf of the Organization is both dedicated and selfless.

106. Lastly, our delegation wishes to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, whose admission is a further reflection of the universal role of the United Nations.

107. Since the founding of the Organization, its usefulness and effectiveness have continually been called into question. The resolutions it has adopted, the solutions it has worked out, the recommendations it has made, have never really fulfilled the hopes cherished by peoples stricken by crises and conflicts; they have never completely allayed the tensions and upheavals in the world. Therefore, despite the heterogeneous nature of the Organization and its complexity, it should show a more definite spirit of consensus and return to its original objectives, namely, the noble ideals of peace and development laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

108. The sweeping currents of ideas, discoveries and technological innovations should lead to a change in the relations between nations; all such changes should lead to a true world balance. Unfortunately, reality is quite different. We are, in fact, witnessing a resurgence of intolerance, insecurity, selfishness and violence. Despite that gloomy picture, we shall not give in to either defeatism or scepticism. Despite numerous stumbling-blocks, the United Nations continues to be the forum in which discussions and negotiations on the fate of the world are held.

109. In today's world, which is characterized by diversity, the right to be different should be recognized as a fundamental principle governing relations among States, a right to be different that the United Nations fosters and develops, the right of each people to flourish within the context of its own history, its own culture, its own beliefs and the political and economic system it has freely chosen. When denied to others—as is so often the case—this right to be different becomes a source of turbulence, hatred and confrontation.

110. In Africa, in Asia, in Europe, as well as in America, evidence of such intolerance and selfishness is all too common. Often, peoples are stifled. Their legitimate struggles for their inevitable emancipation and their power to decide their lot in full exercise of their sovereignty are being thwarted by sordid personal interests.

111. Are examples necessary? The situation prevailing in southern Africa is a very eloquent case in point. It is, of course, true that the agreements recently concluded between South Africa and some countries of the region are an encouraging step along the road towards peace. However, that remains problematical. So long as SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, is denied recognition of its national rights, peace cannot be lasting and total. It is more than ever important that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be fully observed and implemented.

112. The Central African Republic welcomes the recent agreements concluded between France and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to withdraw all foreign forces from Chad. It hopes, however, that the simultaneous withdrawals will be effective and complete, not just from the capital, N'djamena, and its immediate environs, but from all Chadian territory. Chad must regain possession of the whole of its original territory. That would enable the Government of that brotherly neighbouring country finally to dedicate itself fully to the task of reconciliation and national reconstruction begun by President Hissein Habré.

113. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, our delegation believes that an excellent basis for seeking a solution can be found in the resolutions adopted at the eighteenth and nineteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. In that connection, we cherish the firm hope that the next session of that Assembly will provide an opportunity to assess the efforts made by the countries involved.

114. With regard to the question of the Middle East, everyone knows that the Palestinian problem lies at the heart of the conflict. No acceptable solution can therefore be arrived at which ignores the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination under the aegis of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that connection, we shall continue to support any initiative in line with the spirit of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) aimed at bringing about a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

115. In the same context, the Central African Republic makes an urgent appeal to the international community to spare no effort to preserve and guarantee the national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and neutrality of Lebanon.

116. In the name of the principle of recognizing the right to be different, Democratic Kampuchea should be enabled fully to exercise its sovereignty. To that end, we hope to see the full application of the principles laid down by the Organization.

117. The Central African Republic also supports any initiative designed to enable Afghanistan to regain its national rights and its status as a neutral, non-aligned country.

118. The problem of Korea remains a pressing one. The persistent tension in the Korean peninsula is of concern to the Central African Republic. Thus, as part of our contribution to the efforts being made by the international community to reduce such tension, we shall continue to urge both parties, which undeniably aspire to reunification, to pursue their dialogue on the basis of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,² which set forth the principles for such action. Free, direct dialogue, free of outside

interference, would unquestionably enable the parties to establish the conditions for the restoration of the mutual confidence indispensable for the maintenance of peace in the region. Both parties could, in the mean time, plan for their simultaneous admission to membership in the United Nations.

119. Given the situation prevailing in Central America, the Central African Republic believes that negotiation is the only appropriate means for achieving a peaceful solution and for promoting the harmonious coexistence of the States of the region.

120. These several examples of the refusal of certain States to recognize and accept the right to differences are based on a two-pronged interest. First, there is an ideological interest, since those States which reject the right to differences are often members of an alliance bloc. A treacherous complicity does, indeed, exist on the part of part of the international community. That complicity impedes mutual understanding and confidence. And then there is strategic interest in the policies of certain States which have embarked on the arms race in order to maintain their military and economic domination.

121. Thus, while the Central African Republic welcomes the negotiations under way on disarmament, it also deplores the fact that they are brought to stalemate at a time when the proliferation and development of arms are reaching alarming levels, thus perpetuating the vicious circle of destruction.

122. The disarmament we so fervently wish for cannot be achieved solely through regional security and arms limitation agreements. All States must be aware of the pressing and collective task of championing international peace and security.

123. The Central African Republic is firmly convinced that the effective development of all the countries of our community is a condition for global balance and a guarantee of peace. Development also means the right to life and therefore it cannot be jeopardized. We call on the developed countries to contribute effectively, through bilateral or multilateral agreements, to the realistic development of the countries of the third world. For, one and indivisible, peace requires, if it is to be preserved, the universal development of all the members of the international community.

124. The inadequacy of the present international economic system is resulting in enormous difficulties for the developing countries. Will the alarm so often sounded ever be heard?

125. While concerned with providing a minimal decent standard of living for our peoples, our countries are rarely able to find the means to implement the economic plans and programmes which have been drawn up. Thus, we continue to suffer severely from the effects of the world economic crisis and from the shortcomings of the economic system. We deplore the attitude of certain industrialized countries which act as though the developing countries should come to terms with their poverty levels and even be content with them.

126. The countries of the third world are struggling not only for the right to development but also for a more significant mobilization of the means for development. The unbreakable link between the right to development and the right to security requires, in turn, the developing countries to observe an indispensable and reasonable balance between the means

allocated for security and those given over to development.

127. Thus, it is regrettable that, after the adoption in 1974 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], there is still a gap between the socio-economic development efforts of certain industrialized countries and others which are less industrialized.

128. The international crisis seems to have disallowed any claim of the developing countries to such development, and therefore to life. The assistance which is accorded them, dwindling day by day, is clearly inadequate and the terms of trade are growing worse at a dizzying pace.

129. Our countries are in debt and are bowed under the burden of the amounts due; these debts are worsened and inflated by the crisis of the international monetary system. At the same time, our balance of trade shows a deficit and access to development sources and new technology, which are so badly needed to maintain development projects, seems to be denied to us solely because we happen to be developing countries.

130. We continue to be greatly disappointed, and we state this in this lofty gathering, all the more so because our hopes have faded since the work of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, and of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna earlier this year.

131. A joint definition of new international economic regulations by the industrialized countries and by the third world is needed today. The entire international community would benefit from the beginning of global negotiations designed to putting a halt to this crisis.

132. The results achieved in three years by the Military Committee for National Recovery in working to restore and rebuild the Central African Republic are very encouraging and are a cause of satisfaction for us because they result first and foremost from our own efforts.

133. But such success is also due to the valuable assistance given by friendly countries and by international organizations, including the United Nations. I should like once again to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Secretary-General and his co-workers for the unceasing concern which they continue to show for the Central African Republic. The road is still long and the task an arduous one. That is why we should like to be assured of the continuity and stepping up of international assistance.

134. While observing the third anniversary of accession to power of the Military Committee for National Recovery, the Head of State, General André Kolingba, began his speech as follows: "For three years now the Central African Republic has seen the Military Committee for National Recovery at work. These three years have been imbued, above all, with peace,"—I repeat, with peace—"a factor working for stability and a *sine qua non* condition for any kind of development."

135. That equation of peace and development is the basis of the philosophy of action advocated by the Central African Republic, on both the domestic and the international level.

136. For we have faith in the possibility of warding off those ills which loom as a serious threat over the future of the international community. The solution lies in respect by all States for the fundamental values of the right to differences and the right to development.

137. That is the message which General André Kolingba, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery and Head of State, deeply convinced of the ability of the Organization to resolve world problems and drawing inspiration from the well-springs of our philosophy, has entrusted us to present for the consideration of the Assembly.

138. The entire Central African Republic joins us in wishing all possible success for the work of the Assembly.

139. The PRESIDENT: The end of the general debate marks the end of the first important stage of the work of this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

140. One can say that perhaps there was nothing unusual about this year's general debate, apart from the fact that we heard statements from 150 members, including eight heads of State or Government in all, and that we completed the debate one day ahead of schedule.

141. From my vantage position at the podium as I listened to the statements, and from my assessment of the various bilateral discussions and dialogues which have taken place during the past three weeks—in hotel rooms, along the corridors of the General Assembly Hall, on the thirty-eighth floor, in the offices behind this Hall and even at cocktails, luncheons and dinners—I have the feeling that we are off to a good start. Considering the international political climate immediately before the session began, and taking into account the formidable tasks which confronted and still confront us, I can say that developments over the past three weeks augur well for the rest of the session.

142. The heads of State and Government, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and other heads of delegation have set the scene and plotted the path which I believe we can pursue. Now we are about to embark on the more difficult task of dealing in depth with the various issues on our agenda. If we can maintain the atmosphere which has pervaded the session so far, I believe that by the time we conclude our work we will have taken one, perhaps two or even three, small steps towards achieving the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

143. Before adjourning the meeting, I would like to thank the Assembly for fulfilling the commitment we made earlier, that is, to enhance the proceedings by refraining from the practice of congratulating speakers in the General Assembly Hall after their statements. It is my earnest hope that the commitment will remain in force throughout the rest of the session, and that the Main Committee will emulate the example of the Assembly. I also hope we shall improve on our record of starting meetings on time. I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

144. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, may I thank you most sincerely for allowing me to exercise my delegation's right of reply to the statement made in exercise of his right of reply by my friend and colleague, the representative of the Republic of Indonesia, on 3 October [*19th meeting*] in

reaction to our major address to this body made by Mr. Namaliu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of my country, on 1 October [15th meeting].

145. My delegation welcomes the testimony and acknowledgement by Indonesia that our border issues are both important and dear to the hearts of our peoples and Governments. We have been engaged and will always constructively engage ourselves with the Government and people of Indonesia in the spirit of goodwill, co-operation, understanding and accommodation at all times as friendly neighbours.

146. West Irian was declared a province of the Republic of Indonesia before Papua New Guinea was granted independence in 1975 by the United Nations. We therefore had no real say in the matter. However painful it may be, my Government and people accept and respect this fact, and we have at no time violated Indonesia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We therefore deserve to be respected in the same manner.

147. My Government and people humbly request the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia to observe and respect our sovereign rights, territorial integrity and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

148. My Government has protested to the Indonesian Government on three occasions. All three occasions involved violations of our territorial sovereignty. The first violation was in 1983 with regard to the construction of a road which crossed into my country at four points. The second violation occurred on 22 March 1984 when two military aircraft entered our airspace. The third violation involved 53 Indonesian soldiers crossing into the territory of Papua New Guinea on 21 June 1984.

149. My Government was not satisfied with the explanations offered by the Indonesian Government and, therefore, our Minister for Foreign Affairs stated at the present session: "We have then sought to look beyond our protest for ways of avoiding a repetition and of maintaining and strengthening good relations with the Government and people of Indonesia." [*Ibid.*, para. 333.]

150. Our border issue has been raised in this august body for that purpose and that alone because we are friendly, open and understanding people.

151. The separatist elements to which my friend and colleague referred are found mainly on Indonesian soil, but some have been forced by the circumstances and conditions in Indonesia to find refuge in Papua New Guinea, and my Government has asked for the direct involvement of UNHCR, but the Indonesian Government has refused this valuable source of help. The Government of Papua New Guinea has always honoured the 1979 basic agreement and does not allow the Free Papua Movement to operate from its soil for very good reasons.

152. In conclusion, the Government of Papua New Guinea is committed to its policy of independent, co-operative and constructive neighbourly relations with other nations. We give our highest and continuous assurances that the forthcoming visit by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to Papua New Guinea before the end of this month is greatly welcomed; it is both desirable and most appropriate because our peoples and Governments very much need genuinely to maintain and promote our friendly and mutual relations in a spirit of

goodwill, understanding and co-operation at all times.

153. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): In the course of the general debate, several speakers have again indulged in slanderous accusations against my Government while referring to the so-called question of East Timor.

154. This recurrent exercise, carried out by the same handful of delegations year after year, has become a routine which surely does not add anything to the quality of our debate. We have heard again the same wild allegations of tortures, massacres and even genocide, of famine and violations of human rights. In total disregard of all facts to the contrary, the canard is perpetuated of large-scale military operations in the territory and of international humanitarian organizations being denied access to East Timor.

155. My delegation has time and again exposed this persistent pattern of disinformation and deliberate distortion of facts for what it is: a systematic campaign to malign my country and my people and a desperate attempt to keep alive a non-issue built around a non-existent cause.

156. We would, indeed, have preferred to ignore this seasonal farce and not lend dignity to it by responding. However, the constant repetition of even the most ridiculous charges or claims, if not rebutted, has a tendency to make them appear in the end as "facts", even to those who originally fabricated them.

157. One delegation suggested that it was time for the international community to address itself seriously to finding a durable solution to a problem which, it was said, had dragged on for nine years. We wholeheartedly agree, for we believe that it is high time for the Organization to decide once and for all to let facts triumph over fiction and falsehoods and to allow the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese people to prevail over the self-serving interests of but a few.

158. It is high time for those who still cling to myths and wishful thinking to accept the fact that decolonization has taken place in East Timor and that its people have determined to choose independence through integration with Indonesia, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Far from invading and occupying another independent State as has happened elsewhere, Indonesia's role was precisely one of contributing to that process of decolonization by helping to ensure that in its essence and realization the democratically expressed will of the majority would not be overruled by the armed terror, intimidation and unilateral imposition of a ruthless minority, posing as pseudo-revolutionaries but in fact collaborators with the former colonial Power.

159. It is high time for those who espouse the lofty principles of self-determination and of democracy based on majority rule to realize that they cannot at the same time continue to support the obsessions of a small, unrepresentative group of political adventurers in exile without doing grave injustice to the real interests of the East Timorese people.

160. Indeed, it is high time to bring to a definitive end this so-called question of East Timor and to remove the item once and for all from the agenda, where it should never have been inscribed in the first place.

161. Allow me now to direct my remarks to some of the statements made by the representative of Vanua-

tu. For the past two years, we have observed the propensity of the representatives of Vanuatu to engage in hostile statements and offensive remarks on Indonesia and Indonesia's foreign policy. So far we have restrained ourselves and remained silent, for we were only too willing to allow Vanuatu some time to adjust to a new world of independence and interaction among sovereign States. Some of the things the representative of Vanuatu said this afternoon, however, are of such a nature that they cannot and should not remain unanswered. He has taken it upon himself to comment on the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. We do not know what his real motives are for doing so, but let me reiterate what I have said in replying to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea on 3 October [19th meeting]: whatever problems have arisen between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea have either been or are being amicably resolved between our two Governments, as is appropriate between close neighbours genuinely interested in maintaining friendly and mutually co-operative relations.

162. We therefore question the propriety and the motives of Vanuatu in intruding on these questions, which, mildly put, constitutes unwarranted and unwanted meddling in the internal affairs of others. Even worse than his intrusion in the bilateral affairs of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea are the offensive remarks by Vanuatu's representative about one of our provinces, Irian Jaya, to which—and this is quite revealing of his neo-colonial mentality—he persistently refers as “West Papua”. I shall not repeat what he has actually said, but his allusions become clearer when I recall a statement made by his Prime Minister. On 10 August, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu was reported as stating that Vanuatu does not recognize Irian Jaya as an integral part of Indonesia, that it regards “West Papua” as a Melanesian State in the same way as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and that he would demand that Indonesia accord independence to the people of “West Papua”.

163. For the benefit of Vanuatu, as a newly independent State and a relatively new Member of the Organization, I should like to remind its representative that, after five years of physical revolution and 12 years of unflinching struggle against the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism, the people of Indonesia finally succeeded in restoring its territorial integrity when, in 1962, with the assistance of the United Nations, Irian Jaya was reunited with the Republic. Subsequently, in 1969, the act of free choice by its people was endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 2504 (XXIV).

164. The Indonesian people, therefore, cannot take lightly any threat to its national unity and territorial integrity, for the preservation of which it has paid in blood and with great sacrifices, even if that threat comes from a country which, by its intemperate and immature past acts and words, can hardly be taken seriously.

165. Should we interpret the statements of the representative of Vanuatu as a statement of intent to reopen the issue of Irian Jaya? If so, let the Assembly take note that the onus of provocation will be solely for Vanuatu to bear. The representative of Vanuatu in his statement continues to allude to the thesis that nationhood should be based on race and that existing State borders should be redrawn along racial and

ethnic lines. Does he realize the implications of his statement? Does he understand at all how many State borders in Africa, Asia and elsewhere would have to be reviewed and redrawn if we were to accept the validity of such a pernicious notion?

166. Indonesia is a multiracial and multi-ethnic nation, where unity in diversity is the bedrock of our country's strength. There are perhaps more Indonesians of Melanesian stock in the eastern part of our Republic than there are to be found in the entire South Pacific. Together with their brothers and sisters of Malayan and Polynesian extraction, they have shared a proud history of principled struggle and actual revolution for independence, national identity and integrity. By what right, I ask, does Vanuatu now attempt to speak for them?

167. We were greatly surprised by the allegation by the representative of Vanuatu that a South African company participates in the exploitation of Irian Jaya's oil resources. Again, I should like to remind him that Indonesia, as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as a member of the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, nominated by Governments, and as a member of the Group of Oil Producing and Oil Exporting Countries, committed to the oil embargo against South Africa, cannot be accused of such a thing. We have no relations with South Africa in any field, and that cannot be said of all of us here.

168. Therefore, we ask the representative of Vanuatu to substantiate his allegation, lest he be unmasked once again as a source of baseless and repeated slander against my country.

169. Separatism, incitement to separatism and threats to the territorial integrity of States are matters too serious, especially for the non-aligned and other developing nations of the world, to be irresponsibly bandied about. We have never begrudged a newly independent nation the urge to show itself also capable of revolutionary zeal in the historic and world-wide struggle against colonialism, but I wish to suggest to Vanuatu that, in trying to make its mark in this respect, it would be in its own best interests to exercise greater circumspection, maturity and restraint.

170. Mr. BARBOSA MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has noted the statements made during this debate concerning the situation in East Timor. This is within the context of the facts stated in the progress report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/39/361 of 25 July of this year. We wish to reiterate what was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal in his statement at the current session, on 24 September, to the effect that without dialogue it would not be possible to reach a solution of international conflicts. He said:

“We are entirely sincere when we say that we want to see a solution found to the problem of East Timor and that we are confident a global solution, one that respects international principles and human rights principles, can be found if this dialogue continues.” [5th meeting, para. 263.]

171. My delegation will therefore refrain from comment. We do so bearing in mind the decision of the General Assembly to postpone the debate on East Timor until its fortieth session [decision 39/402] and the mandate conferred by virtue of resolution 37/30

on the Secretary-General, whose efforts continue to receive the firm support and whole-hearted co-operation of my Government.

172. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to reply to the statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Solomon Islands [29th meeting] regarding our nuclear tests and the future of New Caledonia. First, regarding the nuclear tests, I remind the Assembly of the main conclusions of the committee of eminent foreign scientists, open to all countries of the South Pacific region and presided over by Mr. Atkinson, which visited the French testing centre in October of last year. The very fact that the scientific committee took the responsibility of publishing its conclusions proves that it found its reception and the working conditions at Mururoa satisfactory.

173. Moreover, those internationally known scientists noted—and I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to this very important point—that the level of ionizing radiation at Mururoa and in the South Pacific is lower than in other regions of the world. In particular, it is lower than in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and other geographical regions of the world—and I am speaking now of all continents.

174. Regarding the transfer of radioactivity that could take place, according to the conclusions in the committee's report, this might occur, at the earliest, in 500 or 1,000 years' time, that is, in five or 10 centuries hence, or in 10 or 20 generations—and I ask the Assembly to reflect on this—this is based on the hypothesis that the power of all the tests carried out in Mururoa would be 100 times greater than that of all the tests in the past 10 years.

175. Those, therefore, are the conclusions supported by the eminent experts from the scientific community invited by the French Government to visit, freely and in the best possible conditions, the French testing centre at Mururoa. Their statistics and observations need no further comment.

176. I should like now to turn to the future of New Caledonia. Everybody knows that, as the French Government has indicated on many occasions, the population of New Caledonia will be called on to exercise its right to self-determination. It was in that context that the French Government organized in July 1983 a conference in which all the political forces in the Territory participated. That conference adopted by consensus a declaration which establishes a certain number of principles, which my country has duly endorsed, regarding the countries of the South Pacific region.

177. For the time being, a statute providing for broad national autonomy has been adopted. A territorial assembly will be elected by a ballot set for 18 November 1984. Finally, a referendum on self-determination in 1989 will allow for all possible options, including that of independence.

178. Such is the policy of France. A process has begun. That process encompasses all the conditions necessary to ensure the population of New Caledonia, in all its diversity and as a whole, a future which we hope will be one of peace and brotherliness. That process will continue.

179. Mr. MOLISA (Vanuatu): I have asked to speak in response to the desperate, flailing attacks upon my country by the representative of Indonesia. As Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vanuatu, I stand by our statement delivered today. We will let history judge who has spoken the truth. The international community shall be the judge.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

²Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.