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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with a solid tradition, the delegations of States Members of the United Nations are meeting for the thirty-ninth time since it was founded for an annual evaluation by international diplomacy of the record established by the great family of nations since the last session of the General Assembly, in connection with the Organization's task of promoting peace and progress in the world on the basis of constructive dialogue and peaceful coexistence.

2. This is not a purely routine gathering nor a mere ritual repeated automatically every 12 months. Rather, the annual session of the General Assembly is an ideal opportunity for Member States to exchange opinions on the serious, major concerns of our day and solemnly to reaffirm their faith in the purposes laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. It is in that spirit that the Rwandese Republic is taking part in the work of this session.

3. At the present time, the international community is confronted with many major threats—threats that result from the increase in hotbeds of tension, from the persistence of conflicts for which attempts at settlement and mediation have remained ineffective, and from the crisis that continues to undermine the international economy.

4. Given these threats, only tireless efforts, within the framework of the objectives of the United Nations, allow for a measure of optimism as to the prospects for a calmer and more harmonious atmosphere in international relations.

5. While, at the political level, serious dangers continue to threaten international peace and security, on the economic level the situation remains characterized by stagnation that persists and worsens as the years go by.

6. The negative repercussions of this situation, which is a tragedy for the least developed countries, whose socio-economic prospects remain particularly grim, are many. I will mention but a few: galloping inflation, the constant deterioration of the terms of trade, the heavy indebtedness that is a source of concern for many developing countries, the slowdown in economic growth—not to mention the deficits and food shortages facing different parts of the world, and above all the African continent, which

is haunted by the spectre of hunger caused, in particular, by its unpredictable climate.

7. The size and seriousness of these problems, which are made more acute by the structural imbalances that now characterize international relations and by the protectionist designs of the industrialized countries, mean that comprehensive, lasting solutions are urgently needed.

8. The rich and industrialized countries, in close co-operation with their partners in the third world, must adopt new strategies to ensure the implementation of programmes and action plans better adapted to the objective of promoting the economic development of the developing countries, which, in fact, are becoming poorer day by day, and of reducing the gap, which is widening steadily at the expense of those countries on the economic level.

9. This objective is a challenge. It would not be difficult, much less impossible, to meet that challenge. It is a question of will, of determination and of political commitment, which should be reflected specifically in the stabilization and upward revaluation of the prices of commodities and raw materials on international markets, in an increase, in terms of volume and quality, of development assistance, especially for the least developed countries, and in the reduction of the interest rates on the international financial markets.

10. Above and beyond these measures, the objective of giving new impetus to the world economy, taking into account the interests and needs of all the partners, is dependent on the structural and fundamental reforms that are necessary to make the present system more harmonious and to establish a new international economic order based on complementarity and active and effective solidarity.

11. Global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, the principle of which was decided on at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, remain the appropriate framework for the promotion of that new international economic order.

12. We therefore deplore the fact that those global negotiations have not yet begun. Such negotiations should make it possible to adopt specific provisions to promote, within the framework of mutually beneficial co-operation and firmer solidarity, the economic launching of the so-called developing countries and the steady development of their partners in the industrialized world.

13. It is in this spirit that the Rwandese Republic attaches a great deal of interest and importance to the North-South dialogue, the long-overdue relaunching of which would be in the interests of the entire international community.

14. In spite of the efforts made by the United Nations, especially within the framework of the tasks of its specialized agencies, such as UNDP, UNCTAD and UNIDO, we must recognize that this dialogue is now at an impasse. Thus, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, concluded its work without having arrived at concrete results, contrary to the hopes and expectations of the developing countries, whose industrialization needs remain considerable because the transfer of the capital and technology that would make it possible for them to ensure the development of their natural resources has not taken place.

15. Apart from the North-South dialogue, Rwanda attaches a great deal of importance to the promotion and strengthening of horizontal co-operation among the countries of the third world. We support the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in April 1980, with a view to the progressive promotion of the socio-economic integration that will make it possible for our continent to achieve collective self-reliance. Furthermore, Rwanda seeks the continuous development of its relations of co-operation with other third-world countries, on the bilateral as well as the multilateral level and especially within the framework of Arab-African co-operation.

16. The crisis that is undermining the world economy and that worsens steadily as the years go by is certainly a generalized one. However, its impact is felt in different degrees according to the specific problems that stem from it or that it exacerbates for given countries, given regions or given categories of countries.

17. Hence, the effects of the crisis are particularly serious for a country which, like Rwanda, is one of the group of least developed countries and is confronting various handicaps, such as being landlocked, lacking natural resources and suffering from a shortage of arable land, a problem that is all the more important since agriculture constitutes the main economic activity of a population with a particularly high growth rate and a disproportionate economic growth rate.

18. Faced with these handicaps, Rwanda relies above all on the national effort to ensure the development of its economy, but the resources that can be thus mobilized are tragically inadequate given the magnitude of our needs. For example, we are compelled to have recourse to intervention by our foreign partners for more than 60 per cent of the finance needed to implement the most important and urgent part of our five-year development plan.

19. In these conditions, an increase in international development aid is of crucial importance for a country such as Rwanda. We are therefore extremely concerned at the steady trend towards reduction in the financing capacity of international agencies such as UNDP, the World Bank and, more precisely, its subsidiary the IDA, whose work is particularly appreciated by the developing countries which are not in a position to meet the terms for credit at market rates. At the same time, with rare exceptions, we have witnessed a stagnation of resources devoted

to development aid in the framework of bilateral co-operation.

20. In this context, few industrialized countries have been able to meet the target and commitment to devote 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to development aid and, furthermore, pledges made at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, have not yet been followed by concrete action with a view to reducing the constraints faced by that category of countries.

21. Far from yielding to pessimism, as far as we are concerned, Rwanda remains convinced that the efforts and initiatives aimed at promoting effective solidarity in the international community will make it possible to stem the negative effects of the present crisis and to offer to the third-world countries the resources they need to escape from underdevelopment.

22. On the basis of this conviction—which is at the same time an expression of hope—on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, I should like from this rostrum to reiterate the most heartfelt and sincere thanks of our people to all the partners, friendly countries and international organizations that support our country and will continue to back it in its development efforts.

23. The African continent, where most of the countries in the least developed category, as defined by the United Nations, are located, is particularly harshly affected by the effects of the international economic crisis. In addition to the negative factors inherent in this generalized and persistent crisis, Africa is at grips with natural disasters such as drought and desertification, which, because they considerably reduce agricultural production, year after year worsen the problem—and I would even call it the tragedy—of hunger, which, according to available statistics, threatens approximately one third of the total population of the continent.

24. In the course of years, the number of African countries facing the dramatic effects of climate changes increases steadily. Thus, this year, as a result of a long and unusual drought, Rwanda, my own country, registered a deficit of 60 per cent in its normal agricultural production. Given that situation, the Government of Rwanda was compelled to request emergency food aid from its foreign partners in order to make it possible for the hardest hit population to confront the present shortages.

25. My delegation wishes here to renew the sincere thanks of the Government and people of Rwanda to all the friendly countries and international agencies that responded so generously to our appeal.

26. Rwanda feels that international co-operation in respect of food strategy is necessary in order to promote the adoption and implementation of appropriate programmes of action that can make it possible for the countries experiencing climate disturbances and a progressive reduction in their agricultural production to guarantee food self-sufficiency.

27. At the political level, the situation prevailing in the international community is still marked by a number of crises, the persistence of tension in various parts of the world and the pursuance of overt conflicts that bear the seeds and the growing danger of a new world cataclysm. These tensions and conflicts stem from differing interests or from the

determination of oppressed peoples to obtain, at all costs, recognition of and respect for their most fundamental rights, such as the right to freedom and independence.

28. Countries which express complete support for the ideals of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the fate of those peoples. It is in this context that the Government of Rwanda is very attentively following initiatives aimed at promoting a policy of détente in southern Africa and at putting an end to the violence that so seriously imperils development in that long-suffering region of the African continent.

29. For several months, that policy seems to have been prevailing, even in that racist minority South African régime which has accustomed us to its arrogant will to defy continually principles of morality and international ethics.

30. Should we believe that that régime has now changed for the better and that it is now inspired by a real and effective will to commit itself to constructive changes with regard to respect for rights recognized for all peoples under the Charter of the United Nations? Raising this question is tantamount to voicing the hope and the wish that the course of dialogue, to which South Africa seems to be committing itself, will enable its neighbours to remove those obstacles which it is placing in the way of their security and development and, at the same time, that this dialogue will turn out to be a constructive one, making it possible to achieve the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people to independence, as well as those of the majority of the South African population to live in a society in which the value of man and his dignity will no longer be determined by his race or the colour of his skin.

31. If this hope and aspiration are not achieved, it would be an illusion to expect a positive effect from what, for South Africa's part, would be a parody of dialogue and a game of duplicity likely to jeopardize the development taking place in southern Africa that would promote and facilitate the implementation of the process laid down by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) aimed at ensuring Namibia's accession to independence. At the same time, that evolution should commit South Africa to a policy of genuine democracy, putting an end to the humiliations and acts of oppression imposed in that country by a minority régime which practices anachronistic racism.

32. The Rwandese Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which is recognized by the international community as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its struggle, in particular at the diplomatic level, for recognition of the right of that people to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the United Nations and without the imposition by South Africa—which is in military occupation of and illegally administering the Territory of Namibia—of conditions extraneous to the problem of the independence of Namibia, which would constitute unacceptable interference in matters relating to the sovereignty of another country.

33. The Rwandese Republic would also like to reiterate its solidarity with the authentic liberation movements recognized by the international community which are struggling for the triumph of human

rights, dignity, freedom and justice in South Africa. Thus, the Rwandese Government condemns as a ruse which deceives no one the constitutional amendments to which the Pretoria régime has resorted in desperation, as well as the electoral masquerade in which it has engaged within the framework of a strategy designed to perpetuate its odious policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The Rwandese Republic demands the cessation of this policy and the establishment in South Africa of a genuinely democratic society based on equality of rights and respect for the dignity of all South Africans.

34. The amendments made to the South African constitution are only internal minor changes in a system whose basic principles have in no way changed. Thus, because they are black, the majority of South Africans continue to be treated as foreigners in their own country, kept outside political institutions by a régime which exploits them to the hilt and denies them their most fundamental rights. Furthermore, the policy of forced migration of populations and the establishment of bantustans with sham independence continues unabated. This is why the Rwandese Republic continues to denounce the reactionary, unacceptable policy of the South African Government. In the present context, this consistent attitude of the Government of Rwanda is accompanied by the fervent wish that the staunch supporters of the doctrine of *apartheid* will heed the voice of reason and the legitimate claims of the oppressed people. At the same time, we hope that South Africa will do everything necessary to fulfil the commitments it has undertaken *vis-à-vis* certain front-line States, in order to establish a climate likely to ensure genuine and effective détente in southern Africa, in a spirit of mutual respect and in the interest of the sacred cause of independence and freedom.

35. It is in this spirit that the General Assembly calls for profound, substantive changes in South African policy to ensure the positive development of the situation prevailing in that region and the establishment of a just and democratic society in South Africa to end the vicious circle of excessive violence.

36. The Rwandese Republic firmly believes in the virtues of dialogue as long as it is constructive and free from ulterior motives designed to compromise established principles and concepts.

37. The Government of Rwanda believes that it is in the context of such a frank and constructive dialogue that other major political problems facing Africa should be satisfactorily solved. I have in mind here the conflicts in Western Sahara and in Chad, which, along with the problems of southern Africa, are matters of great concern to the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

38. The conflict in Western Sahara is a problem of decolonization, and it can be solved only through respect for and the application of the universal principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination. By virtue of this principle—and we deplore the fact that it can be applied in a selective manner, to the detriment of the people of the Sahara—the necessary steps should be taken in good faith and a spirit of confidence to enable that people freely to decide its own future.

39. To this end, at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization

of African Unity adopted a resolution advocating a direct dialogue between the protagonists in the conflict and the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara.¹ The timetable established in this connection has not been respected, but the resolution nevertheless constitutes a suitable basis for an equitable solution that deals justly with the Saharan people and enables them to exercise their rights. In the same spirit, the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/40 on 7 December 1983.

40. Deeply committed to the universal principle which recognizes and establishes the right of all peoples without exception to self-determination, the Rwandese Republic cherishes the hope that Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO² will embark resolutely on negotiations in order to achieve a cease-fire without delay and organize a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU.

41. For some 20 years, Chad has been in the grip of a fratricidal conflict resulting from divisions and disputes which sap its energies, despite the appeals for dialogue and national reconciliation constantly made by the international community, particularly from this rostrum.

42. Thus, during the thirty-eighth session [30th meeting], on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, I noted that the continuance of this conflict seriously impeded the development of that brother country, which needs the contributions of all its sons and daughters to ensure its reconstruction and guarantee the rehabilitation of its economy, which has been devastated by so many years of war. Last year I also stressed that this work of national reconstruction and rehabilitation constituted a challenge which all the people of Chad had to meet in order to ensure their future. There is one prerequisite in this regard: the people of Chad must overcome the divisions and disputes which fuel the struggles for power and the futile quarrels. Indeed, the settlement of the Chadian problem is first and foremost a matter for the Chadians themselves, united in their efforts to achieve the fundamental goal of effective and lasting national reconciliation and in the search for a political settlement that will enable the people of Chad to safeguard the higher interests of their country, preserve Chad's territorial integrity and consolidate its independence, while guaranteeing that all their vital energies will be devoted to rebuilding its institutions and developing its economy.

43. In the Horn of Africa, the political climate is still marked by continuing tension, which causes grave concern. The Rwandese Republic believes that the parties involved should adopt, within the context of brotherly dialogue, a strategy that can bring peace, security, détente and stability to this area, which is one of the most sensitive in Africa. This strategy should be worked out and adopted on the basis of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as advocated by the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The delegation of the Rwandese Republic is convinced that respect for these universal principles, which form the basis of international morality and ethics, will promote within the comity of nations fruitful relations transcending the political and ideological differences that result in the kind of disputes

of which we see examples in the present situation in the Horn of Africa.

44. While we must deplore the problems that hinder the promotion of a climate of security in Africa, we have to say that the continent does not have a monopoly of tensions and conflict situations. The objective of promoting genuine, effective and constructive détente within the international community is hampered by latent or declared conflicts which are developing or are being carried on in other parts of the world.

45. For more than 30 years, faithful to the principles of international law, the countries that love peace, justice and freedom have deplored the situation prevailing in the Middle East. It is a dangerously explosive situation, which seriously threatens the security of the States of the region, and even international security, because of the denial of justice to an entire people—the Palestinian people—through the unacceptable, arrogant policy of a State, Israel, whose policy has become the law of force, replacing the force of law. The rejection of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the occupation of Arab territories, the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, an aggressive policy in constant defiance of the principles of international law—these are some aspects of a continuing crisis which the United Nations constantly deplores, a crisis that is the responsibility of one State that has not drawn the lessons of its own history and has therefore become an implacable and unyielding enemy of a people fighting for the recognition of its most elementary and fundamental rights.

46. In the view of the Government of Rwanda, whose solidarity with the Palestinian people results from an objective analysis of the factors involved in the crisis and whose position on the matter has been constant, any solution to the Middle East conflict aimed at establishing a comprehensive, lasting peace in the region must be based on recognition of, and respect for, the inalienable, fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. These include the right to its own homeland, in which it may establish the institutional and governmental structures of its own choice, with respect for the principles of international law, under the auspices of its legitimate and authentic representatives. In this spirit, I repeat, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, the unswerving support of the Rwandese Republic for efforts to preserve cohesion within the Palestinian resistance, as well as our solidarity with the Palestinian people, which, under the banner of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], is pursuing its just struggle, in legitimate self-defence, to secure recognition of its rights, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

47. The State of Israel, which rejects out of hand decisions concerning respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, is also notable for a blatant disregard for the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. It seems to have set itself the goal of placing Lebanon under its protection, jeopardizing the efforts of the leaders of that martyred country to implement a comprehensive plan that would guarantee security and stability for the benefit of all Lebanese and would open the way to national reconciliation. Part of that country's territory has been under Israeli occupation since the tragic events of June 1982. Faced with this situation, the delegation of Rwanda

believes that the total, unconditional withdrawal of the foreign troops of aggression that occupy nearly one third of Lebanese territory will enable the Government of Lebanon to exercise its sovereignty over the whole of its territory, preserve the independence of its country and work to rebuild its economy in a climate of peace, security and national reconciliation.

48. Five years ago, the differences that for more than 100 years had been a source of tension between Iraq and Iran erupted into an open conflict which has caused ever-increasing casualties and material losses. Recent developments in this conflict, and the prospect of a merciless war of extermination, give rise to grave apprehensions about the risk of its leading to a larger-scale confrontation, which would be a serious threat to international peace and security. The United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have spared no effort to persuade the two belligerents to take part in negotiations to end an absurd and costly war which seriously jeopardizes the interests of two brother countries that are raising the stakes in a way that harms the interests of their peoples. Once again, the delegation of Rwanda expresses the hope that Iraq and Iran will be persuaded by the repeated appeals to return to the path of peace and once and for all to abandon the path of hate and bloody and destructive conflict.

49. Since the thirty-fifth session, among the serious problems which, because they interrupt the momentum gradually acquired by the policy of détente, stand in the way of international peace and security, the Organization has been dealing each year with the crisis which broke out at the end of 1979 in Afghanistan. The majority of Member States have taken a clear stance in favour of the total and unconditional withdrawal from that country of foreign forces, in order to enable the Afghan people to settle its problems in full sovereignty and free from all foreign interference.

50. In South-East Asia, since December 1978, the Cambodian people has been tragically undergoing foreign interference in a political crisis which has turned into a bloody power struggle.

51. We regret to have to note that there has been no tangible and substantive progress towards a settlement—settlement remains entirely theoretical—of the situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia, which sows the seeds of tension and instability in Asia, harming the spirit of détente and harmony which should underlie international relations.

52. In this context, it is urgently necessary that the needed steps be taken to foster and facilitate the search for political solutions to the Afghan crisis and the Cambodian problem, with scrupulous respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

53. That same reliance on the fundamental principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations should also be seen in the context of bringing together in unity nations which are still divided.

54. In line with these principles—whose complete implementation would promote the effective establishment of an atmosphere of peace and détente throughout the world—the Rwandese Republic greatly appreciates and supports the tireless efforts and initiatives aimed at promoting gradual normali-

zation of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, while waiting for the realization of the legitimate aspiration of the German people to regain its unity at the end of a process in which dialogue and respect for the right of all divided nations to seek the ways and means to regain their unity in peace and free from all outside interference and pressure constitute a principal element.

55. Rwanda firmly believes in the virtues of dialogue and is devoted to the principle that divided nations have the right to seek, by themselves and without outside interference or pressure, the best formula to promote the reunification of their countries and the participation of their peoples in building a world of peace, complementarity and effective solidarity. That is why we also support realistic initiatives aimed at ensuring, in that spirit, the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation.

56. Since 1974, the island of Cyprus has faced *de facto* partition. Despite the efforts made by the United Nations, this problem persists, and there seems to have been no progress along the lines hoped for by the international community as a whole towards the achievement of a solution which would allow every Cypriot citizen to return to his home and to live in a country where communal characteristics complement one another rather than sowing fratricidal quarrels.

57. The problem of Cyprus is one in which reunification should be brought about through peaceful negotiations, without outside interference and with respect for the territorial integrity of the country.

58. The serious concern aroused by the persistence of open crises and by the proliferation of hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world has been exacerbated by the present escalation of the arms race, a frenzied race which is dragging mankind towards a new conflagration—towards its own annihilation. The arms race will lead to massive genocide; it has already had a negative impact, with a continuing and increasing buildup in the struggle for influence.

59. In spite of the efforts made by nations which cherish peace and which are aware of the effects of this arms race and of this escalation, there has yet to be any substantial progress towards disarmament. It is time—high time—that negotiations were resumed and that they resulted in the adoption of effective, specific measures in the context of true and effective détente, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, resolutions which are in keeping with the wishes and aspirations of the international community.

60. The preservation and promotion of peace requires a staunch and persistent will to negotiate in order to achieve the gradual and balanced reduction of the arsenals which were established and which grow day by day in an atmosphere of mistrust and fear, pressing the Powers directly involved unceasingly to arm themselves further.

61. In this process, we see a spiral which I would not hesitate to call frenzied; it takes up major human, material, scientific and financial resources which would be more usefully employed for humanitarian ends, especially the promotion of social and economic development, in particular for the disadvantaged countries.

62. The Rwandese Republic is convinced that the frenzied arms race can in no way guarantee international security and that, on the contrary, it is leading mankind inexorably to the brink of the abyss, and we share the same concerns and the same aspirations of all the other countries that are actively pressing for the limitation and reduction of expenditures on arms, which should be reallocated to peaceful and humanitarian objectives. This reallocation would be a highly significant and positive factor towards curing the ills of the world economy, particularly in the present period of continuing crisis.

63. In referring to the great political, social and economic problems now at the heart of the concerns of the international community, I wished to review, on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, the main challenges which the United Nations must contribute to meeting in order to remove the major obstacles to the promotion of more harmonious international relations, marked by an effective will to establish a climate of peace and security and to provide for the social and economic development of all peoples in a spirit of mutual trust and active solidarity.

64. In spite of the very real difficulties we must continue to confront with hope and optimism, the Organization has a generally positive record in this regard, in so far as it remains within the context in which, for 39 years, the Assembly has regularly adopted resolutions and decisions defining appropriate means of settlement for the great political, social and economic problems of today.

65. The Rwandese Republic regrets that most of these resolutions and decisions remain dead letters. But this should not make the United Nations lose sight of the noble objectives of the Charter and thus to inspire hope for a better world, a world based on the great vision of peace, security, and social and economic progress in a climate of dialogue, mutual trust, complementarity and solidarity among peoples.

66. It is in that spirit that today, on behalf of Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and President-Founder of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, I solemnly renew the commitment of the Rwandese Republic to continue to contribute, to the best of its ability, to efforts to consolidate and strengthen confidence in the United Nations, on the basis of the fundamental principles enshrined in its Charter. In this respect, the delegation of Rwanda hopes that the work of the General Assembly at the present session will lead to decisions that will enable the United Nations to establish new landmarks on mankind's journey to the effective and complete implementation of the objectives which flow from those principles.

67. In that context, Mr. President, you have been entrusted with a very important task, that of guiding the work and the debates of this Assembly. In view of your talents and your experience as a wise and knowledgeable diplomat, the delegation of Rwanda is convinced that you will be able to discharge, in an outstanding manner, the difficult task entrusted to you, which is a tribute to your outstanding personal qualities and your competence, and a tribute also to the constructive role played by your country, Zambia, in the United Nations.

68. In expressing in my turn, as other speakers before me have done, our warm and fraternal congratulations on your election as President of this

thirty-ninth session, I should like to stress that your election does outstanding honour to our continent and, in particular, to a country with which the Rwandese Republic is gratified and honoured to have excellent relations of brotherly friendship.

69. I should like also to pay a tribute to Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, who presided over the work of the thirty-eighth session with most commendable efficiency.

70. I should like also to take this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General the expression of the great esteem which the Rwandese Republic has for the far-sightedness, competence and dynamism with which he dedicates himself to the achievement of his noble and onerous task.

71. Finally, before leaving this rostrum, I should like, on behalf of the Rwandese Republic, to welcome into the United Nations its 159th Member State, the independent Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam. The Rwandese Republic heralded its accession to independence on 1 January 1984 as a further step in the achievement of one of the fundamental aims of the United Nations, the liberation of all peoples from the yoke of colonialism. Its admission bears witness to the universality of the Organization as well as to our unswerving devotion to the principles enshrined in the Charter.

72. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to see you, an illustrious son of Africa, occupying the post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. I congratulate you most sincerely. Your election is well-deserved recognition of the vast diplomatic experience and stature which you have acquired in the course of many years of association with the United Nations. Your election is, at the same time, deserving recognition of your country, Zambia. Our two countries are linked, not only by territory, people and history, but also by a common resolve to struggle against oppression, colonialism and racism and to promote justice and the economic well-being of the deprived part of humanity, which is the greater part. This oneness of purpose and complementarity of efforts has joined us in the group of front-line States, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In welcoming your leadership of this session, my delegation pledges its fullest co-operation.

73. I wish also to record the deep appreciation of my Government to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who with dedication and competence so effectively conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

74. Allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General. It takes hard work, dedication and perseverance to ensure the smooth operation of the United Nations, especially at a time when the Organization is undergoing financial problems and facing crises of political confidence even *vis-à-vis* some of its own Members. We are pleased to note that he has shouldered his responsibility with commitment and resourcefulness.

75. My delegation is happy to join other delegations in extending a warm welcome to the new nation of Brunei Darussalam. Its admission brings us a step closer to the total eradication of the scourge of colonialism and towards the ultimate goal of universality of membership of the United Nations. We look forward to friendly relations with the Government of

Brunei Darussalam and its delegation here at the United Nations and in other forums.

76. Since the last session, the political and economic problems facing the international community have increased in complexity, critical initiatives have stagnated, and our capacity to provide hope to a weary world has diminished. Indeed, the enemies and critics of the United Nations have been reinforced by its apparent helplessness in the face of continuing conflict, insecurity and poverty in the world.

77. Perhaps our resolve is needed nowhere more than in southern Africa. Since the last session, there have been significant developments in the region—significant not because we have as a result of them come any closer to the elimination of *apartheid* or colonialism but because those developments have, in fact, been seized upon by the detractors of African freedom to retard the liberation struggle. The countries directly involved have put the present situation in its proper context and their statements before this Assembly stand for the record.

78. The history of South African oppression and aggression against the black people inside and outside South Africa is well known. In fighting the war in Mozambique and Angola, South Africa has wanted to create a buffer zone for *apartheid*. The triumph of the MPLA³ and FRELIMO⁴ in Angola and Mozambique, respectively, has obviously been a great blow to the sinister desire of the *apartheid* régime to surround itself either with economically dependent and totally submissive African States or with puppet governments.

79. Today, South Africa has not ceased to react to internal and external opposition to *apartheid* by seeking to control its neighbours through a variety of methods, including a combination of false promises, destabilization and outright military attacks and occupation.

80. The choice facing the countries of southern Africa is clear. Either they bow to the evil of *apartheid* or they must be prepared to become its victims. They have paid dearly for their commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*.

81. In this regard, Tanzania is deeply distressed that, out of the so-called concern for strategic, economic and security requirements, which in fact is a front for long-held political misconceptions, a policy of acceptance of or accommodation with *apartheid* is now being assiduously fostered. The invitation to Prime Minister Botha to visit some Western European countries, as well as some of the statements we have already heard from this rostrum, is but another aspect of that policy.

82. The situation in southern Africa admits of no neutrality. In essence, *apartheid* represents a negation of our common humanity, which we seek to safeguard and foster by our commitment to the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The struggle against *apartheid* is, therefore, the responsibility of the international community as a whole and not the burden of the countries of southern Africa alone.

83. That the *apartheid* régime is supposedly now ready to talk to the Governments of the countries of southern Africa which it thought it could obliterate at the time of independence is in itself a measure of the failure of the régime to subdue them. Yet, we reject the premise that these overtures by *apartheid* South Africa mean that it is now freedom-loving or peace-

loving, for *apartheid* can offer no peace to its victims, and neither can they. The victims of *apartheid* are primarily the black people of South Africa. If the racist régime is willing to talk peace, it is addressing the request for dialogue to the wrong people. Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique or Zimbabwe do not threaten the South African régime. It is the black people inside South Africa that the régime has to settle with. South Africa has to talk with the people of South Africa through their national liberation movement. For its part, Tanzania reaffirms its total support for the South African liberation movement.

84. The events in southern Africa must continue to be seen in their true context of South African aggression and not with an assumed image of South Africa as a peace-maker. There can be no peace or accommodation with *apartheid*, and those who now echo the empty propagandistic pronouncements of the racist régime should know that they are in fact contributing to the undoing of all that has been achieved in the global campaign to isolate *apartheid*. To preach accommodation or neutrality with regard to racism is immoral and politically unacceptable. My President, Julius K. Nyerere, said in an address to the Fifth Summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, held at Gaborone on 6 July 1984:

“It is irrelevant that *apartheid* South Africa has strong allies and that the economic and military muscle of *apartheid* is sustained to a very great extent by Western States through trade and other forms of co-operation; *apartheid* remains immoral and any support given to South Africa is immoral. It is rejected by public opinion even in the very States which give support to South Africa, as well as the vast majority of the South Africans. Immorality is immorality—even when it has powerful supporters—and *apartheid* is immoral.”

85. For Namibia, we have a plan which has been accepted by the parties concerned and upon which there exists an international consensus. SWAPO, the front-line States, Africa and, indeed, the international community as a whole have invested a great deal of work, patience, hope and time in the evolution of the plan for the independence of Namibia. That plan would have been implemented several years ago but for the extraneous linkages and conditionalities mooted to thwart the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Let me reiterate my country's stand. We reject the use of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the sovereign State of Angola as a bargaining chip in the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. We also reject as illegal and unacceptable the continued occupation of southern Angola by South African troops, and we consider entirely reprehensible the attempt to tie the withdrawal of these aggressor troops to a cease-fire between the patriotic troops of SWAPO and the South African occupation forces in Namibia. We vigorously denounce the support given to the counter-revolutionary movement of UNITA.⁵ We reaffirm our unremitting support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the struggling people of Namibia. If the patience of the colonized and oppressed people of Namibia is not to run out, if their faith, trust and confidence in the United Nations and in the solidarity of the international community are to be sustained, the United Nations plan should be implemented without further delay.

In this, the responsibility of the Western Five, and particularly the United States, to see to it that the plan for the independence of Namibia is not further obstructed cannot be overemphasized.

86. The Saharan people continue to be denied their independence. We regret that, despite the existence of United Nations and OAU formulas for the self-determination and independence of the Saharan people, one party to the conflict—Morocco—continues its obstructionist policies. We renew our appeal to the parties concerned, and in particular Morocco, to facilitate the work of the OAU Implementation Committee.

87. We are equally concerned about the future of the Comoros island of Mayotte. While we welcome the ongoing bilateral negotiations between the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros and France, we urge the parties in question to expedite the negotiations for the eventual restoration of the national unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros.

88. In Chad, the fratricidal conflict persists with the regrettable *de facto* partitioning of that country. My Government has followed with keen interest the efforts of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to bring the warring parties to the conference table. We commend him for his tireless efforts. We appeal to the leaders of the contending Chadian groups to put patriotism first, to come together and to agree on a future for their country which preserves unity and territorial integrity and militarily excludes foreign interference and involvement.

89. In the Middle East, we believe that a comprehensive and lasting peace can be achieved only if Israel unconditionally withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and recognizes the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State of their own. Israel must end its illegal settlement policy in the occupied territories. The need for all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized borders should be acknowledged. Meanwhile, we reiterate our support for the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

90. The war between Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned and developing States, has already caused tremendous devastation of human life and property. My Government has all along encouraged the mediation efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the individual countries which have offered their services in the search for an amicable resolution of the conflict. While we continue to encourage these efforts, we renew our earnest appeal to both Iran and Iraq to agree to a peaceful settlement. At the same time, we hope that all countries, particularly the major Powers, will desist from actions which might exacerbate the tensions in the region and widen the conflict.

91. Although the situation in the Middle East remains unsettled, my delegation is encouraged by the new spirit of reconciliation and national unity among the Lebanese people. This new spirit offers new hope for the future stability, national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Therefore, we call upon the international community as a whole to give whole-hearted encouragement and

support to the Lebanese people as they embark on the arduous road of national reconstruction. That process should be facilitated by the immediate cessation of the Israeli military occupation of southern Lebanon.

92. In Cyprus, intercommunal differences, exacerbated by foreign involvement, have led to the current unfortunate state of division. In a statement issued at the time of the unilateral action on the part of the Turkish Cypriots, my Government regretted their unilateral declaration of independence. We hope that the Cypriot communities will continue negotiations within the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General with a view to finding a viable and lasting solution which will preserve the ethnic diversity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. In this endeavour, however, those foreign countries most directly concerned, namely, Turkey and Greece, and the international community as a whole, should give the Cypriot people a genuine chance for dialogue and compromise. We hope the Secretary-General will continue to offer his good offices for that objective.

93. Tanzania supports the efforts of the Korean people towards peaceful reunification of their homeland. We are encouraged by the steadily growing willingness of the two parts of Korea to initiate constructive dialogue.

94. Central America remains engulfed in war or the threat of war. The civil war in El Salvador continues, and the threats of foreign intervention in Nicaragua and the unprecedented arms buildup around its borders and along its shores continue to be a source of serious concern. Over the years, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and all other countries of the region to live in peace, free from outside interference. We continue to see the persistent threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Nicaragua as ensuing from the deliberate refusal of some countries outside the region to accept the existence of ideological pluralism in the region. It is in this context that Tanzania will continue to reject any attempts to infringe on the sovereignty of Nicaragua or to undermine the independence of that country. The right of each State to choose its social, economic and political system without outside interference must be respected.

95. The Government of Tanzania has supported the initiatives of the Contadora Group and, in particular, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex], which the group has issued. The countries of the Contadora Group recognize that ideological pluralism is a reality in the region which must be accepted. These countries realize that respect for the right of peoples of the region to self-determination and political as well as economic independence are the firm basis for any successful negotiations among the countries involved for genuine and permanent arrangements for peace.

96. In Africa, as in many parts of the developing world, the refugee problem continues to preoccupy the Governments affected by the forced human migrations. More could have been achieved in terms of offering hope to the long-term needs of the refugees. We appreciate, none the less, the spirit of co-operation and generosity demonstrated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July

1984, by the Governments which responded readily and generously to the appeal of the Conference.

97. At the same time, we regard the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development, adopted by the International Conference on Population, held from 6 to 14 August 1984,⁶ as providing a workable guideline for the future elaboration by countries of appropriate population policies, taking into account the particular circumstances of each country.

98. This session marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. This is also the tenth anniversary of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. The first review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] will be carried out at this session. These are all important policy instruments aimed primarily at the acceleration of the development of the developing countries and the promotion of co-operation among all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality, justice and interdependence.

99. Unfortunately, the international community has failed to turn these policy instruments into effective action. What we have witnessed over the last 10 years is a disappointing record of inconclusive negotiations and persistent inaction. This failure to take appropriate and timely action has plunged the world economy into a deeper crisis and severely strained North-South relations. The deterioration in the economies of most developing countries has reached grave proportions. Severe balance-of-payments difficulties and unbearable debt burdens have become some of the most common features in most developing countries. And, while many developing countries, particularly in Africa, are suffering from an acute shortage of food, the preoccupation in Europe and North America is with reduction of supplies of foodstuffs in order to maintain farmers' incomes.

100. These are some of the realities of the present international order. But there are those who would wish to dismiss these lightly as third-world problems. Their relationship to, and impact on, the economies of the developed countries are often ignored as if the North and the South lived in two isolated planets. Thus, for example, although developing countries take over one third of the exports from the European Economic Community, the relationship between high levels of unemployment in these industrialized countries and the diminishing import capacity of third-world countries, caused by the collapse of the prices of the commodities they export, is hardly talked about! In his address to the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session, my President stated: "Economically, an impoverished customer is no good to a shopkeeper, a destitute man is no use to a farmer and a bankrupt creditor is a disaster for a bank." [*14th meeting, para. 26*]. These, too, are the realities of economic interdependence.

101. In order to achieve true interdependence, however, structural changes in the existing international economic system are imperative. This system has proved to be inappropriate not only for the development needs of the developing countries of the

post-colonial era, but also to its own architects. A frank exchange on how to restructure relations between developed and developing countries is therefore needed as a key element in the revival of the world economy.

102. But, at a time when such a dialogue is urgently needed, we witness deliberate manoeuvres by a few developed countries to disrupt the very process of negotiation. Surprisingly, these are the same countries which 10 years ago made strong pleas for accommodation and co-operation and the need to avoid confrontation. Some of them even talked about "global consensus for economic development". Their actions today reveal the hollowness of such pleas. We know now that consensus and accommodation to them means acceptance of the policies of domination and exploitation of the majority by a few developed countries. When such policies have been overwhelmingly rejected by the international community, then the whole process of dialogue is regarded as ideological politicization of technical discussions. Their immediate reaction to the aspirations of the rest of the international community is to try to put an end to any kind of dialogue unless such dialogue is conducted in accordance with the wishes and the rules of the few wealthy nations. The wave of notices of withdrawal from this or that organization and the threats to withdraw financial support for certain organizations do not help to improve the climate of international co-operation either.

103. In short, we are faced with a conflict between a call by the majority of mankind for structural change towards justice and true interdependence and a desire by a few developed countries to protect the existing inequitable system of international division of labour. But change is inevitable. The question is whether it will be such as to advance the well-being of mankind in a shrinking world or to risk catastrophe, whether nations will share in and guide such change or have it forced upon them in a manner they may find much less manageable. There is an essential international character to the struggle for human equality and human dignity and to the search for lasting solutions to the world economic crisis and the war against poverty. Let us agree at this session to launch the global negotiations and pledge our resolve to work tirelessly for their successful conclusion.

104. While the political and economic problems cast a gloomy shadow on the future of the world, nothing puts its survival in greater jeopardy than the spiralling arms race. Since the last session, the world has seen the further deterioration of relations between the super-Powers and the attendant resurgence of the politics of the cold war. New and more sophisticated weapons are being manufactured at an unprecedented rate, and concepts of limited nuclear war find expression in equally unprecedented military expenditures as the international situation unfolds the possibility of nuclear confrontation.

105. The politics of power are compounding the perceived sense of insecurity of countries and this, in turn, is fuelling the race for more weapons, including conventional weapons. The time has come to realize that the safety of the world depends on a courageous approach to the problems of arms control and disarmament, getting out of this vicious cycle of fear. In that approach, priority should be placed on nuclear disarmament, for it is nuclear weapons which pose the most immediate threat to the survival of mankind.

106. Any stability, however, must necessarily include the non-nuclear-weapon States, in particular third-world countries. Their role in the scheme of global stability cannot be ignored because they also have an interest in self-preservation. Their participation in the decision-making is a prerequisite for the solution of the security and economic problems which beset the world today. It was in this context of both involvement and breaking the impasse in the nuclear-arms negotiations brought about by the psychological barrier of mutual suspicion that my President, together with the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico and Sweden, issued a Joint Declaration on 22 May 1984 [see A/39/277], in which they called upon the five nuclear-weapon States to halt all testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and to agree to negotiate substantial reductions in their nuclear forces, with adequate verification measures. This measure towards general and complete disarmament should be complemented by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to transfer the resources thus saved from the arms race to social and economic development. Today, I wish to repeat that call to the nuclear-weapon States, and I hope that, in the interest of world peace, other countries will join us in petitioning those countries to negotiate.

107. The Indian Ocean continues to hold potential for big-Power conflict. We call on the big Powers to respond positively to the desire of the littoral and hinterland States for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

108. Present here at the United Nations are nations big and small, rich and poor, strong and weak. We are bound together by our common desire and resolve to nurture and preserve our collective freedom, independence and security. We all speak of peace, security and independence, and the Organization was established for the precise purpose of establishing these common ideals. We have heard a great deal about the diminishing moral authority of the United Nations. The influence of the United Nations has been questioned and its effectiveness is sometimes cynically dismissed. Admittedly, 39 years after the United Nations was founded, the greater part of the world has seen little peace and little relief from the oppression of poverty. Yet, the world would be poorer without the United Nations, for there is no denying that it provides an essential instrument for pursuing the objectives of world peace, security and development. Nothing can diminish the nobility of the goals of the United Nations. Separately and together, we must work to strengthen it as an organization for the regulation and promotion of beneficial international relations. The Tanzanian delegation pledges its full co-operation in this worthy endeavour.

109. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Sir, allow me to congratulate you sincerely on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. It is our confident hope that your vast experience in the diplomatic service and in United Nations activities will surely contribute to the success of the work of the present session to the benefit of peace, security and the progress of nations.

110. The Mongolian delegation warmly congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the membership of this world body.

111. The United Nations, which came into being in the aftermath of the most devastating war in history, has declared as its main objective "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Today, this vital task of ensuring the peaceful advancement of mankind has assumed particular urgency. Effective measures are needed to safeguard the right of peoples to peace and the right of States to security.

112. The extremely grave situation prevailing in the world is characterized by the mounting threat of a nuclear war. The most aggressive imperialist circles, and primarily the United States Administration, have taken a course of confrontation *vis-à-vis* real socialism and are bent on mounting an open offensive against the forces of national and social liberation.

113. Washington seeks to achieve military superiority over the socialist world. The deployment of United States first-strike nuclear weapons in some countries of Western Europe constitutes a dangerous step towards material preparation for a war against the socialist countries. Similar measures are being taken in Asia, especially in the north-east, in the immediate vicinity of the frontiers of the socialist community. In the Pentagon, the "Star Wars" scenarios are translated into practical policy, and measures to implement the notorious concept of "protracted nuclear war" are being developed.

114. All this is followed by actions aimed at undermining the foundations of the post-war settlement and disrupting the agreements on limiting the arms race and on disarmament.

115. In its attack on peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples, the United States nurtures and exploits the forces of militarism, revanchism, zionism and racism everywhere. State terrorism and brute force go hand in hand with direct armed aggression. The independence of Grenada has been crushed only because the people of that small country wish to have a social order that is not to Washington's liking. For the same reason, the United States Administration thinks nothing of resorting to gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua, or of committing open aggression against it. It was with strong condemnation that the world community learned about the latest preparations for an armed attack against that country, made in total disregard of the constructive attitude of the Sandinist Government and the peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

116. Threats, blackmail and subversion against the Republic of Cuba persist, and attempts are being made to destabilize its socialist order. Imperialist forces, in collusion with the racist régime of Pretoria, step up their intrigues against the independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and other front-line States in Africa. All this clearly testifies to the timeliness of the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union for the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" [A/39/244]. The General Assembly is duty-bound to pronounce itself resolutely in favour of the cessation of the policy of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other countries and peoples.

117. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that, however complex the international situation may be, it is possible to prevent war through concerted action on the part of the peace-loving forces.

118. Mr. Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, has stated that:

"The constructive initiatives and the concerted foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries inspire in the peoples the confidence that peace can be safeguarded. The guarantee of this is the further strengthening of the economic and defence potential of the socialist community and the consolidation in every way of efforts of all the peace-loving forces."

119. The ranks of the forces fighting for peace are becoming ever wider. The overwhelming majority of States throughout the world, among them the non-aligned countries, are actively in favour of relaxing international tension and against the use of coercion in inter-State relations. The mass anti-war and anti-nuclear movement continues to grow in scope and to intensify in different parts of the world. It is important that realistic statesmen and political leaders in the Western countries are increasingly speaking out against preparations for war.

120. Constructive measures for overcoming the dangerous situation in the world have been proposed in the Political Declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at Prague on 5 January 1983,⁷ and in the Declaration adopted at the high-level Economic Conference of the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [A/39/323, annex II].

121. These documents contain a whole set of measures for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and for the reduction and ultimate liquidation of nuclear weapons. Proposals have also been made with a view to creating favourable conditions for the adoption of such measures and for the promotion of confidence among States. Of special importance is the proposal for the renunciation of first-use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear Powers that have not yet done so. As urgent as ever is the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. The Moscow Declaration of the States Members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance places special emphasis on the importance of maintaining military and political parity at a progressively lower level and of pursuing constructive negotiations on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament, on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

Mr. Bucci (Italy), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. Implementation of the proposal for a quantitative and qualitative freeze on the nuclear-weapon arsenals of all nuclear States would constitute an important step in that direction. In this connection, the Mongolian People's Republic has expressed its support for the Joint Declaration of Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexi-

co, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [A/39/277], in which they appealed to the nuclear Powers to begin limiting and reducing nuclear weapons.

123. The Soviet-United States talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons are of extreme importance for lessening the danger of a nuclear war. The United States should withdraw the first-strike nuclear missiles deployed in some Western European countries so that the negotiations on this vitally important issue may be resumed.

124. The relations between the nuclear Powers play a particularly important role in improving the international climate. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the Soviet proposal that an agreement be reached on joint recognition of concrete norms in the relations between the nuclear States and on measures to make them binding. We consider it necessary for this timely proposal to be embodied in the resolutions of the present session of the General Assembly.

125. The proposal on the "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" made by Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [see A/39/243], for discussion at the current session of the General Assembly, is designed to prohibit, once and for all, the use of force in outer space and to safeguard mankind against the use of means of mass destruction from outer space. Early agreement on the prevention of the militarization of this vitally important area would open the way for joint efforts by States to use outer space for peaceful purposes. My delegation expresses its hope that the General Assembly will call upon all States with a large potential of space technology, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union, to open negotiations on this question without delay.

126. The situation in Asia has become increasingly complex and tense. The United States has taken to turning many parts of the continent into launching grounds for nuclear-missile forces. Particular danger lies in the fact that, with the participation of its Asian accomplices, Washington has begun to establish a new base for a nuclear-missile first strike directed against the socialist countries and other peace-loving States of the continent.

127. Intensified efforts have been made to create new military and political groupings and alliances. The Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle is conceived of as the crux of these projected formations.

128. Overt military and revanchist tendencies are making themselves felt once again in that part of the world, especially in Japan, which is being integrated more and more into the NATO bloc. Today, some tend to forget the lessons of history. Those lessons are most instructive. This is evidenced, for example, by the events that took place 45 years ago on the very eve of the Second World War. In 1939 Japanese militarism met with a powerful rebuff when it violated the independence and territorial integrity of our country with a view to carrying out its plan to create a pan-Asian empire of Japan. Frustration of the adventurist designs of the Japanese militarists by the combined operation of the Soviet and Mongolian armed forces in the region of the Khalkhyn Gol river dealt a hard blow to the aggressive strategic schemes of the forces of fascism and reaction.

129. The existing hotbeds of tension and conflict are being further exacerbated while new ones are being created on the continent. The so-called parallel actions of the imperialist and hegemonist forces often contribute to such developments.

130. A tense situation continues to exist in South-East Asia as a result of the intrigues of those circles, which are not willing to accept the new realities in that region. The situation is further aggravated by armed inroads by China on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, by the hostile actions of Thailand against the popular order in Kampuchea and by its recent open armed aggression against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which resulted in the occupation of a part of its territory.

131. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the stand of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, set forth in the statement of its Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued on 13 June 1984 [A/39/310], as well as in the White Book of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic published last month [see A/39/540]. The crux of the matter and its root causes were exposed with great lucidity in the statement of Mr. Phoun Sipraseuth, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, here in the General Assembly last week [17th meeting].

132. We continue to hold the view that the problems of South-East Asia can and must be resolved by the States of the region through constructive dialogue without any outside interference. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the proposals of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea for turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness. It resolutely opposes any attempt to use the United Nations as a cover-up for interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and stands for the speedy granting to that country of its legitimate seat in this world Organization.

133. We believe that, in the light of the present tense situation in the Far East, the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the immediate withdrawal of United States troops and of nuclear weapons from the south of Korea and on easing tensions in the Korean peninsula and around it assume greater relevance. My Government continues to support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country, without outside interference.

134. The interests of the Afghan people and those of peace in Asia call for resolute action to defeat efforts to escalate the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan pave the way for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan created by the hostile acts of imperialist forces and their accomplices. Once again we express our hope that the dialogue between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the representative of the Secretary-General will yield positive results.

135. The Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the expansionist acts of Israel and the increasing interference by the United States in the Middle East. It continues to believe that the settle-

ment of the Middle East problem should be achieved on the basis of respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to create its own independent State and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. My Government is in favour of convening an international conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, on an equal footing. It stresses the importance of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Government on 30 July of this year [see A/39/368] for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

136. We advocate an early cessation of the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. This conflict, marked by a further dangerous escalation, only plays into the hands of the imperialist forces that are seeking to advance their selfish interests in that region, and in the Persian Gulf in particular.

137. The Mongolian People's Republic favours a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the subject. Such a settlement calls, first and foremost, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the elimination of foreign military bases on its territory. We express our support for the good offices of the Secretary-General in this regard.

138. My Government consistently supports the efforts of the littoral States for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and is in favour of speedy implementation of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. It is, in our view, important that at its current session the General Assembly should clearly express itself in favour of convening an international conference on that subject in the first half of 1985. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the initiative of the Heads of Government of South Pacific States concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone in that region.

139. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view of the overwhelming majority of the world community that in the nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to constructive negotiations and the peaceful coexistence of States.

140. It was precisely this stand that prompted the proposal put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic in May 1981 that a convention be concluded on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. Its purpose is to establish the principle of the non-use of force in inter-State relations in the region, thus laying down constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations—that is, the principles of friendly co-operation—as a basis for these relations.

141. In this context, I should like to emphasize the importance of implementing the Soviet proposal on the elaboration of confidence-building measures in the Far East and on the development of good-neighbourly relations between the States of the region. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the efforts made by the Soviet Union to normalize inter-State relations with China as well as with Japan.

142. The strengthening of peace and international security is intrinsically linked with the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and with the eradication of racism and *apartheid*.

143. My delegation, as always, strongly condemns the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The Mongolian

people lends its support to the struggle for national and social liberation which the people of South Africa is waging under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa against the racist régime.

144. The Mongolian People's Republic continues to support the people of Namibia, which, under the leadership of SWAPO, is fighting for its freedom and independence. It condemns the manoeuvres of imperialist and racist forces designed to perpetuate the colonial régime in Namibia and joins the world community in demanding the immediate granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the well-known United Nations resolutions.

145. We support the granting of independence to the so-called small Territories, in particular Micronesia, and oppose the use of those Territories as springboards for military preparations.

146. The colonial policy of the leading capitalist countries is now implemented to a great extent in the sphere of economic relations with the developing countries. The terms "economic colonialism" and "financial colonialism" are frequently used now, and not without reason.

147. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the just struggle of the developing countries for the democratization of international economic relations on the basis of equality and equity. My delegation shares the view that the principles laid down in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] have assumed ever greater importance today. We continue to lend our support to the initiatives of the developing countries for the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

148. Next year, the world community will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the great victory over the forces of fascism and militarism. In that victory, a decisive role was played by the Soviet Union, which had borne the brunt of the Second World War. An important outcome of that victory on a world scale was the creation of the United Nations. The Organization has become a symbol of the aspirations of the peoples of the world and of their resolve never to allow war again. We presume that the world community will use the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization in 1985 as an occasion for enhancing its efforts for the realization of its central task—the elimination of the threat of a new world war.

149. In the questions of war and peace, no sober-minded person can or should be an unbiased observer. Ensuring world peace has indeed become the concern of all mankind. To achieve that goal, the peoples of the world are destined to play an active role and fulfil a very noble mission. In this connection, I should like to refer to a pertinent remark by the Secretary-General to the effect that without the understanding and support of the peoples of the world, Governments would not succeed in realizing the noble aims of peace, justice and prosperity for all.

150. The peoples have a sacred right to peace, that is, the right to the protection of international peace. Ensuring universal recognition of this sacred right by formulating and proclaiming it in a special document

of the Organization would, in our view, serve the interests of the common cause of upholding peace. Guided by those considerations, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has proposed for consideration by the General Assembly at its present session an item entitled "Right of peoples to peace" and has submitted a draft declaration on the subject [*A/39/141, annex II*].

151. We propose that all States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirm that the right of peoples to peace is inalienable and legitimate. Safeguarding that right and co-operating in its implementation should be declared to be a fundamental obligation of each and every State. We consider it important for the General Assembly to call upon all States to provide a legal and material guarantee of this right. That would include, for instance, the adoption by States which have not yet done so of legislative acts on the safeguarding of peace, on protection of the right of citizens to advocate peace and oppose the danger of war.

152. As material guarantee, practical steps should be taken to facilitate the proscription of the use of force in international relations, the solution of international disputes by peaceful means and the strengthening of confidence among States. To ensure the right of peoples to peace is tantamount to defending the right of States to security. This calls for active participation on the part of every State in efforts to undertake practical measures for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament goals. Nuclear-weapon States must be required to pursue policies directed towards the elimination of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to be guided in their mutual relations by standards conducive to the attainment of this goal.

153. We deem it important for the General Assembly to appeal to all States and international organizations to facilitate, in every possible way, the exercise of this fundamental right of peoples through the adoption of other appropriate measures, at both the national and the international levels.

154. The adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on the basis of the proposed draft would, in our view, represent an important political action on the part of the United Nations, aimed at mobilizing and intensifying the efforts of the world community to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. The adoption of such a document would also represent a significant step in combining United Nations efforts for maintaining international peace with the struggle of the world community against the threat of nuclear war and in favour of global security.

155. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about my country. This year is of special importance to our people. The sixtieth anniversary of the proclamation of Mongolia as a People's Republic will be solemnly commemorated this coming November.

156. This act marked the beginning of an historic stage of carrying out far-reaching social and economic transformations in the country. During the short period that has elapsed since then, Mongolia has been turned into a dynamically developing socialist State with a thriving economy and with a steady improvement in the well-being of its people. Our country is now successfully implementing the great tasks of completing the construction of a socialist society and is facing the future with optimism.

157. The Mongolian People's Republic has become a component part of the community of socialist States. It consistently pursues a policy of peace and friendship among nations. My Government devotes considerable effort to enhancing the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations aimed at realizing the main purposes of its Charter. My delegation will be guided by this aspiration of its Government at this session of the General Assembly as well.

158. Mr. PAZ BARNICA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are on the eve of a great celebration. In 1985 an organization which was set up to respond to the highest ideals of mankind will celebrate its fortieth anniversary: an organization created to strengthen international peace and security, to develop the links of friendship and co-operation among States, to promote respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of all human beings, to be the crucible in which all nations might work together to achieve their common objectives.

159. A great deal still remains to be done if we are to bring to perfection a legal community of States governed by an order that effectively ensures the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations: the establishment of "an order for the promotion of peace", as envisaged by the Viennese master, constitutes "one of the most urgent matters of our times, one on the outcome of which depends the destiny of civilization".

160. In an era characterized by uncertainty, we are obliged to reflect on the factors that prevent us from rising above a legal order which is still primitive, in spite of the advances achieved in the past 39 years. The extremely dangerous situations confronting mankind at large make it essential that we not only speak of disarmament but that we also disarm; that we not only speak of democracy but also democratize; that we not just speak of co-operation, but actually co-operate; that we not just talk of respect for the dignity of man, but dignify him.

161. Our world has changed radically since 24 October 1945. Fifty nations participated in the San Francisco Conference. The admission of Brunei Darussalam, which we are now pleased to welcome, reflects the universal calling of the United Nations with its 159 Members. The world population has doubled since 1945, in just 39 years. The Organization and the world have changed radically. While the borders of the international community have been extending at a dizzying pace, the means of sustenance of the peoples of the world are being reduced in a distressing way, a fact which strikes our conscience and causes us to reflect deeply on the world of tomorrow. The 1980s have been characterized by the worst world economic crisis in three decades, with incalculable social suffering.

162. Our third world, in particular, has been severely affected by fiscal deficits, by the servicing of the foreign debt, alarming unemployment, the high price of energy and of manufactured goods, a decline in our exports and in the prices of raw materials, a decrease in the level of savings and investment, the outflow of capital, natural disasters, the population explosion, hunger and war.

163. As though all this in itself were not extremely disquieting, at the same time the natural resources on which we count are decreasing or deteriorating, warning us that economic expansion at any cost

imperils the future of mankind since it undermines the biosystems which serve to sustain the economy.

164. Together with all these misfortunes, specialized sources report that during the recession in the world economy, from 1979 to 1983, global military expenditures increased from \$554 billion to \$663 billion, an increase of 20 per cent in barely five years, with world military expenditures reaching an average of \$145 per person. The same sources give the discouraging information that in 1980 the third world allocated greater resources for the import of weapons than for grain, in spite of the fact that those countries are agricultural in structure and require the basic means of subsistence.

165. Our world and the world of tomorrow are faced with a dramatic reality, responsibility for which cannot be evaded by any Member of the United Nations or by the Organization itself. The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should serve as a starting-point for an examination of the world's conscience. We must assess the achievements and failures, identify the pitfalls and find ways to overcome them, re-examine plans and policies and redefine them with a view to attaining the higher objectives of internal and international peace, of economic and social development, of world security and co-operation, with mutual respect and interdependence.

166. In this necessary assessment of our conduct as States, we must not fail to consider the unilateral, piecemeal interpretation that we often put upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The international obligations stemming from it cannot be distorted in their application on the basis of an odious policy of blocs that distort the common purposes of the United Nations.

167. Hegemonistic ambitions must not render nugatory the principles that determine the conduct of this world Organization. The interests of the North must not prevail over those of the South. The well-being of some must not, and cannot, be based on the poverty of others. The principles of the rule of law among nations must not be separated from one another nor from the obligations of each State towards its own people.

168. It is a matter of a need to return to the sources, to return to the original world-wide vision that inspired the attempt to design a different world. It is also a matter of the will to persist in strengthening the effectiveness and impartiality of the United Nations and the confidence in it as the main international organization, the best means to protect the interests of the community of nations, placing international norms above and beyond the particular interests of any of its Members, with everyone observing those international norms, without any discrimination on the basis of political, economic or social systems.

169. I shall now speak about Central America, about a tragedy of burning concern taking place within the framework of an obsessive confrontation in that strategic strip of land, lapped by the waters of two oceans, which joins the north and the south of the western hemisphere.

170. The Central American region is suffering the consequences of a long-standing, painful abandonment of the principles of justice, freedom and solidarity, which should always inspire its leaders and be the constant inspiration of its peoples. Central

America is suffering the consequences of unequal and disadvantageous relations with the most developed nations, which have exercised their hegemony or influence in the region. It is suffering the consequences of the predominance of economic interests over essentially human interests, which have been overlooked in the selfishness of the dominant domestic and foreign sectors, because greed has no dignity and knows no frontiers.

171. Central America is also suffering today from brutal external aggression, directly sponsored in a desire to acquire positions of political predominance and special strategic value, taking advantage of the conditions of political, economic and social crisis affecting the region.

172. In these very trying times, the Central American people has paid a very high price in blood and tears in its valiant struggle against dictatorship and totalitarianism, inequality and plunder, dependency and alignment.

173. The peoples of Central America share the feeling that such difficult circumstances must give way to a promising future, in a Central America free from foreign interference, whatever the source. The region must not be subject to exploitation, intervention or servitude. It must not fall prey to the expansionism of extracontinental Powers that seek to deny for all time its democratic and pluralist future, in a tolerant and open society, to which its peoples aspire with hope and resolve.

174. There is a path open to mutual benefit, respect for one another and honourable co-operation, genuinely democratic and participative, with no room for chains or violence. It is a path that can once and for all eliminate the spectre of totalitarian domination and reconcile peoples with their leaders in seeking freedom, justice, peace and progress.

175. This widespread feeling has found expression in most of the countries of the region, which, in spite of suffering a deep economic crisis and social imbalances, have chosen with wisdom the course of historic reform—representative, pluralist and participative democracy.

176. Of course, this is only the beginning of a journey that should have begun long ago. It is the manifestation of a political will struggling to be translated into new economic and social opportunities, but it is significant that when the peoples of Central America have had the freedom to choose they have chosen freedom.

177. The United Nations recognizes, as an essential part of the general order that is the basis of peace, the right to self-determination of peoples. All the peoples of Central America must be able freely to determine their present and future, without decisions being imposed on them, without the force or pressures of the apparatus of the State continuing to violate their right freely to decide their political, economic and social organization through the exercise of their sovereign ability to choose their leaders. This is a prerequisite for the establishment of lasting peace in the heart of that hemisphere.

178. Another requirement for the return of peace is that the Central American States commit themselves firmly and in good faith to reducing their military arsenals to limits strictly compatible with the maintenance of public order and national defence. The establishment of offensive forces in Central America, the introduction of new, heavy armaments and the

alienating militarization of society, together with secret, threatening military commitments and the establishment of impressive armies—these are all elements that unsettle international peace and security in Central America. They prevent the creation of a climate of détente and trust, and at the same time oblige neighbouring States to find compensating formulas for defence, thus tending to divert huge human and economic resources to maintain a balance of security, which implies large social sacrifices and political costs that could be avoided, to the benefit of those that have little or nothing and need so much.

179. The Honduran Government stresses that it is essential to end the arms race in Central America, to limit the number of weapons and troops and to begin immediately general disarmament, under strict and effective international controls. My Government appeals to the conscience of Central American countries and calls on them to declare before the international community their formal commitment to the objective of disarmament as an indispensable condition for peace. At the same time, we urge all Member States to discuss appropriate measures that might be adopted by the United Nations to focus its disarmament efforts on the establishment of an arms regulation system applicable to the countries of the third world, which have an important moral obligation to their peoples to check the arms race and an international obligation to their neighbouring countries to reduce their arsenals and the numbers of their troops, in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of peace and security among nations.

180. Since April 1983 we have been actively participating in the negotiations sponsored by the Contadora Group. Our contribution has been aimed primarily at promoting the establishment and development of democratic, pluralistic and participatory systems in the five Central American countries, at establishing a system of regional security based on the reduction and control of armaments and troops, at eliminating the foreign military presence, and at achieving mutual observance of the principle of non-intervention. We have also advocated co-operation for economic and social development with a sense of deep-rooted solidarity.

181. On 7 September last, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Contadora Group submitted a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex]. That comprehensive draft text provides for the establishment of a series of legal obligations to be assumed by us, the States of Central America, as regards political, security, and economic and social matters and machinery for international verification and control of these obligations.

182. The Government of the Republic of Honduras accepts the substantive obligations in the Act and, as it has already stated, it reaffirms that it is ready to assume each and every one of the responsibilities deriving from the negotiating process which must continue, until the signing of that important document, for the present and future of Central America.

183. Honduras does not shrink from any of the legal commitments it will enter into under the strictest compliance with the principle of the reciprocity of obligations and their fulfilment in good faith by all the Central American States.

184. Honduras is prepared to have its political conduct governed by the tenets of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, as established in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

185. Honduras is prepared to accept on-site international verification and control of its electoral processes and of the other political commitments it makes.

186. Honduras is prepared to promote and respect human rights because it is deeply convinced that the guarantee by the State of the dignity of the individual is a moral and pragmatic duty.

187. Honduras is prepared to begin negotiations immediately to limit, reduce and control its arsenal, its troops under arms and its military installations, within 90 days, as proposed by the Act, or sooner, and to agree on applicable timetables for reductions.

188. Honduras is prepared to submit to a strict system of on-site verification and control of all the security obligations it undertakes.

189. Moreover, Honduras is prepared to demand of any State that undertakes the same obligations that it faithfully fulfil them, for Hondurans are not seeking a truce which, through the kind of deception with which we are familiar, would only mask an opportunity to legitimize a system of oppression. We will not tolerate use of the Contadora initiative to conceal the madness of the arms race, or the preparation of campaigns of domination, or terrorism and sabotage, or intervention, or trafficking in arms. Honduras does not want a truce that merely meets the needs of the instant; it seeks rather a stable and lasting peace based on justice and nourished by freedom.

190. Therefore, we shall insist on three basic points: security in the implementation of any agreement; effective verification and control in respect of the fulfilment of obligations; and determination of the fate of the irregular forces once they lay down their arms and once a solution is found to the internal conflicts in which they are engaged. Those who have already affirmed their acceptance of the Contadora Act must prove their good faith in the negotiations to take place among the five Central American States, so that the Act may become a binding agreement, one that can be fully implemented and verified.

191. Some have already said—while swearing fealty to the Contadora Act—that they are not prepared for any arms reduction, but rather intend to continue to arm themselves. There are indications that the claimed commitment to democracy is but a new and disgusting publicity stunt. These positions are nothing less than a violation in advance of what they are hypocritically claiming to accept, only to ignore it later in bad faith.

192. In spite of all this, my Government completely shares the view of the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group that: "The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate" [A/39/495, annex I] In this respect, my country and my Government will spare no effort to help reach agreement on the 21 objectives⁸ so painstakingly identified by the Contadora Group in its endeavour to promote peace, security and co-operation in Central America, an endeavour which we hold in high esteem and which

compels us to reiterate our deep thanks to the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

193. Today, we have extended, on behalf of Honduras, a cordial invitation to the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua to meet with us on 19 October at Tegucigalpa in order to analyse the Central American situation and to give real momentum to progress towards the signing of the Contadora Act.

194. As a discordant note, just a few days ago from this rostrum bold accusations were made, attempting to involve my country in a supposed invasion of Nicaragua. For three years now we have been hearing that alarmist outcry, whose falseness and inaccuracy are clear.

195. On 19 March 1982, Commandant Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, affirmed in a letter to the Security Council⁹ that an invasion of his country was "imminent". The *Washington Post*, on 20 March 1982, reported that the Sandinist Government was continuing to prepare its people to face possible invasion. It reported that on that same day a programme was being initiated for the building of air-raid shelters and that the 70,000 troops which at that time composed the armed forces of that nation were in a state of alert.

196. Subsequently, on 25 March 1982, the Commandant again stated that Nicaragua had called for a meeting of the Security Council, given the "imminence" of intervention in Central America, since "events painted a picture which made it clear that intervention was on the way".

197. On 10 November 1982, the *Financial Times* referred to a note which the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry had circulated on 8 November 1982, in Managua, stating that "those actions were indicative of an imminent invasion of Nicaragua".

198. On 19 January 1983, an official communiqué from the Foreign Ministry of that country, transmitted to the Security Council, announced that preparations were under way "for the launching of even more far-ranging acts of aggression" against Nicaragua.¹⁰

199. In another letter addressed to the Security Council on 5 May 1983, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Nicaragua announced "the launching of a new stage of the invasion" of Nicaragua.¹¹ Four days later, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nicaraguan Administration said that he could confirm the existence of an invasion which was continuing to spread terror in the country. On 19 May of that year, the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister told the Security Council that an immoral and unjustifiable armed invasion of his country was taking place.¹²

200. In contrast with what, in the view of the Government of Nicaragua, was already a *fait accompli*, on 8 November 1983, during the debate on the situation in Central America during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [47th meeting], the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister stated that at that very moment clear preparations were under way for an invasion of Nicaragua. Similar assertions were made at the Assembly's thirty-seventh session [34th meeting].

201. The *Financial Times* of 18 November 1983 reported that "an invasion psychosis had taken over the Nicaraguan nation" and that "the Sandinist

leaders were preparing the population for what they considered to be an imminent invasion by the United States and its Central American allies”.

202. Once again, on 3 February 1984, the representative of Nicaragua stated in the Security Council¹³ that a war between Honduras and Nicaragua was being provoked by the United States to justify intervention.

203. Then again, on 2 April 1984 in the Security Council, the representative of Nicaragua stated that in the next few days another invasion was expected from Honduran territory.¹⁴ Months later, on 7 September, he stated again that the political terrain for the invasion was being prepared.¹⁵

204. It is because of all these unfounded assertions that it comes as no surprise to me that once again an attempt has been made to take advantage of the credulity of States represented here with a paranoid statement of a much-announced but never realized invasion of Nicaragua.

205. A consideration of the dates when these accusations were made clearly draws attention to the link between them and some of the meetings in the peace-making process of the Contadora Group, and, curiously enough, the invasion which is now claimed to be “imminent” coincides precisely with the date when we, the Central American States, are due to decide on a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

206. None the less, we must acknowledge that there is a basic difference between earlier affirmations and the most recent one made, since, in the latter, in addition to a date being given—15 October—we were told the number of invaders, the number of planes and helicopters, the types of weapons that will be used and the routes that will be followed. There was one thing missing—an indication of the exact hour when the operations will begin and the places where, in the generous land that nourished the inspiration of Rubén Darío and encouraged the now frustrated ideals of Sandino, the new pass of Thermopylae in these imaginary Spartan battles will be.

207. In clear contrast to this attitude, on the date for which this hypothetical invasion of Nicaragua is announced, the President of the Republic of El Salvador paid tribute yesterday, in this forum [*24th meeting*], to the efforts of the Contadora Group in convening the armed opposition to a dialogue of internal reconciliation in his country. That example should be followed by those who proclaim unconditional acceptance of the Contadora Act but who offer to negotiate in the language of weapons.

208. Since international peace is an asset that links us closely with the nations of other continents, Honduras has promoted closer relations between Central America and other regions of the industrialized world so that, through international co-operation, tension in the region may be reduced.

209. In September 1983, representatives of the Central American Governments attended a meeting at Brussels so that, together, before the representatives of other Governments and international organizations, we might reflect on the needs and expectations of the countries of our region. That gathering was a palpable demonstration of the fact that the countries of Central America share common interests with the world outside and that intraregional co-operation may establish solid links between us and provide benefits for all our peoples.

210. That belief in joint action prompted the President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdova, in March of this year, to propose to the President of Costa Rica, Luis Alberto Monge, the promotion of a co-operation agreement between the European Economic Community and Central America. The President of Honduras stated to his Costa Rican counterpart:

“I feel that Central America should avail itself of your visit to Belgium to express, on behalf of our countries, the great importance we attach to the negotiation and signing of a co-operation agreement with the European Communities. . . .

“I need not enumerate all the advantages that the entry into force of such an agreement would have for Central America. . . . It would widen and deepen the already significant level of aid and make it possible to extend it to new sectors, thus enabling the extension of its benefits to those countries of the region now receiving little or no aid. . . . Your action in an area of common interest for all Central Americans is a factor that could contribute to a relaxation of tension in the area.”

211. The response of European democracy has been positive, and a political and economic dialogue has already begun which we hope will continue and provide short-term benefits.

212. Indeed, only a few days ago, on 28 and 29 September, an historic meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the member States of the European Community, of Spain and Portugal and of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group was held at San José. On that occasion, Western Europe emphasized its interest in contributing to democratic development in Central America as the best way of achieving the stability of the isthmus. This is clear evidence of international solidarity, for which Honduras pays a tribute to the European nations that attended that meeting. At the same time, my country expresses its fervent hope that permanent formulas for mutual benefit between the two regions, which have historic links and share growing expectations, may be achieved.

213. In Latin American economic and financial matters, Honduras supports the provisions of the Declaration of Quito, adopted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held on 12 and 13 January 1984 [*see A/39/118*], and the Cartagena Consensus, signed on 22 June 1984 by the representatives of 11 Latin American countries [*A/39/331*], which reflect the progressive strengthening of Latin America's capacity to respond to the international economic crisis and to buttress their systems of co-operation in order to promote and encourage the economic development and social progress of our countries.

214. The Latin American efforts cannot be dissociated from the efforts that have been made and are being made by the Group of 77. On the occasion of the celebration of one more anniversary of the establishment of that body, we must insist on the need to bring about closer co-operation among the developing countries and to promote global negotiations, making it possible to find appropriate solutions to the problems hindering the establishment of a world economic system based on justice. We must begin to overcome the most harmful effects of the economic crisis, which calls for urgent responses—above all, from the industrialized countries, since, to

a great extent, external factors beyond the control of our countries seriously limit our capacity to overcome them.

215. My country attaches particular importance to the activities of the Economic and Social Council, whose fundamental role is to contribute to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. Honduras believes in the need to promote the principle of multilateral co-operation, which has provided so many benefits for our countries. To that end, we must re-examine the existing instruments of co-operation so as to adapt them to the dynamics of contemporary society and to isolate them from any attempt at politicization which could adversely affect the positive and multifaceted work done by the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

216. I should like also to emphasize the humanitarian work carried out by ICAO. In particular, I should like to stress the agreement to amend the Chicago Convention¹⁶ so as to include a rule recognizing categorically the principle of non-use of force against civilian aircraft in flight.

217. At the thirty-eighth session [26th meeting], I expressed my Government's indignation at, and strong repudiation of, the downing of a Korean civilian aircraft and the deaths of 269 innocent persons. This year the national conscience of Honduras has been greatly concerned over a similar event, in which, without prior notice, the Nicaraguan army downed an unarmed Honduran helicopter which was carrying a group of civilian professionals. That condemnable act was praised by the Government concerned when it declared itself responsible for that odious crime.

218. Two recent conferences, the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City in August, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna also in August, recalled to us the close links between development, population and industrialization. My country urges the continuance of the efforts in these fields of vital importance, particularly for the developing countries, and we are encouraged by the interest that is increasingly shown in finding solutions to these very complex problems.

219. On 9 December, the time for the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea¹⁷ will expire. So far, 135 countries have signed it. That Convention constitutes an outstanding example of renewed international co-operation. We urge those States that have not yet signed the Convention to do so and to respect its contents and its unity.

220. For some years, Central America has been experiencing a distressing phenomenon caused by prevalent instability and violence in the region. This has led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of persons from their places of origin. In view of the tragedy dividing families in our region, my country and my Government have accepted the obligation, imposed by humanitarian feelings, which have always characterized Hondurans, to give refuge to more than 50,000 refugees and displaced persons of various nationalities. These are being cared for by Honduras, with the valuable assistance of international organizations and specialized agencies, such as UNHCR World Relief Refugee Services, Caritas Internationalis, Médecins sans frontières, Catholic

Relief Services, the Mennonite Church, the International Red Cross, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration and many others that are contributing directly or indirectly to improving the living conditions of the refugees and displaced persons. My Government is deeply appreciative of all these efforts.

221. In recent days, and because of political change in El Salvador, which now has a democratic, freely elected Government, my Government has provided for the voluntary repatriation, under international supervision, of 18,000 Salvadorians now in my country. This will be done with respect for the relevant criteria and norms established at the international level. None the less, Honduras will keep its borders open to all human beings who feel insecure and seek protection outside their own territory.

222. I should like to express just and well-deserved appreciation to the United Nations for its invaluable assistance, to the specialized agencies and to the Governments that have supported us in meeting the needs of refugees. I appeal to all Members of the United Nations to maintain and increase their economic and moral co-operation with the agencies that assist in mitigating the plight of these unfortunate people.

223. We have followed with concern the development of situations of tension that threaten peace in other regions of the world. We share the anguish and suffering that conflicts cause to other peoples and nations.

224. My Government reiterates the need to find a just solution, negotiated in good faith, to the South Atlantic conflict. It is of the utmost importance for the strengthening of peace that comprehensive negotiations be resumed in respect of the sovereign, historic claim of Argentina to the Malvinas Islands. We ask the Secretary-General to persevere in the use of his good offices to promote understanding on the basis of justice.

225. We reiterate our forceful condemnation of the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and of Afghanistan. Their peoples must be enabled to exercise their right freely to determine their own destiny. We appeal to all free nations to repudiate the barbarous foreign intervention in those suffering regions of the world.

226. With regard to the question of Korea, my country believes that the remaining manifestations of the cold war must be ended calmly and fairly. The Republic of Korea, like any other State that meets the conditions set out in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, has a right to be admitted as a Member of the Organization. The South and the North of Korea should resolve their differences purely by peaceful means and direct negotiations. The international community should encourage an approach designed to establish trust and bring about reconciliation between the two parties so that the barriers of fear and controversy may be overcome.

227. Honduras rejects the presence of foreign troops in Namibia and deplores the delay in establishing an independent, sovereign State. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is the basis for a lasting, peaceful solution.

228. Similarly, we reject the racist policy of *apartheid* applied in South Africa and deplore the recent violence that caused further loss of life in that tormented region of the world.

229. Our conscience has been shocked constantly by the bloody and irrational struggle that continues in Lebanon. The recent tragic, senseless acts of terrorism against the forces entrusted with maintaining the peace and against diplomatic representatives in Beirut cost hundreds of lives, creating an international problem to which the United Nations should pay particular attention and which should be repudiated by all its Members.

230. In this context, I remind the General Assembly of an event that shocked the entire civilized world. I refer to the attack on United States diplomatic staff in Teheran by armed elements, who occupied the embassy and held the officials hostage in the building for many months, making their release conditional on the payment of an infamous ransom. This was a challenge to the most fundamental principles of diplomatic law and conduct. There has also been a wave of international violence against the embassies of Honduras in different countries. The embassies have been dynamited, causing material damage and physical injury to diplomatic officials. Such cruel acts must be severely condemned by the community of nations.

231. The causes and extent of the reckless war between Iraq and Iran are incomprehensible. This is war which must come to an end, a war between two partners in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which, instead of opposing each other, should strengthen their co-operation, for the benefit of the third-world countries. This struggle of unheard-of fanaticism leaves fields desolate and interferes with important strategic channels of communication and international supplies.

232. The President of this session of the General Assembly is an outstanding representative of Africa, that vast region of the world which is still experiencing the fever of emancipation which derives from the establishment of the United Nations. A representative of Zambia, he will have the responsibility of guiding our debates at what is a dramatic time for the human race. In this he can rely on his efficiency and skill, as well as the support of the international community.

233. As we review the present state of international relations, our spirits are indeed troubled. There is hardly a region in the world which is not affected by the scourge of war, by lack of respect for human rights, by the negation of the right of peoples to self-determination, by hunger, injustice and oppression.

234. We must together undertake the task of regaining the faith that has been lost—faith in mankind, faith in its future, faith that history will be able to forge nations free from blindness and hatred.

235. We hope that that deep feeling of faith in our ability to overcome our problems will illuminate the work of the President, as head of the General Assembly, so that the purposes and principles decided upon almost four decades ago will give strength to our debates, thus increasing understanding and hope.

236. Let us therefore reflect on assessments that have been made by experts on the historical development of the United Nations on the essence and importance of this forum of universal debate.

237. Thus, it has been said that the two minutes of meditation or prayer at the beginning and the end of the session every year are too short “to acknowledge how much this vast undertaking, with all its complications and difficulties, must rely on divine assistance”. We have also been invited to imagine what a revelation it would be “if we could in some way form a joint impression of what is going on in those many minds at that extremely important moment” when the General Assembly is beginning or ending its sessions. “What hopes are contained therein, what determinations, what destructive intentions and what legitimate calls for assistance and guidance? A glance would be enough to reassure the fearful minds outside of the sum total of patience, valour, loyalty with respect to what is right and pure integrity that go into this common effort which perhaps represents the sole hope left to mankind.”

238. It has also been said that that “would be the faithful reflection of the United Nations, but only God sees that”. We might see the true and final design of peace, visible thus far only as an incomplete outline, but taking shape as the message of the United Nations is brought to the world. The disbelievers will see how many hearts are echoing the words of Saint Paul to the Corinthians: “For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries”.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

²Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁴Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

⁵União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

⁶*Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. A.

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

⁸*Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16041, annex.

⁹*Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1982, document S/14913.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983, document S/15567.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1983, document S/15746.

¹²*Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Year, 2437th meeting.

¹³*Ibid.*, Thirty-eighth Year, 2513th meeting.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 2527th meeting.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 2557th meeting.

¹⁶Convention on International Civil Aviation (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 15, No. 102).

¹⁷*Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.