



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/42/PV.28

8 October 1987

ENGLISH

Forty-second session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 7 October 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- General debate [9]: (continued)
- Statements were made by:
 - Address by Mr. Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand
 - Mr. Ibrahimi (Algeria)
 - Mr. Marshall (New Zealand)
 - Mr. Johanes (Czechoslovakia)
- The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives [34]

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

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

The meeting was called to order at 10.20.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. PREM TINSULANONDA, PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Mr. Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, Mr. Prem Tinsulanonda, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. TINSULANONDA (Thailand): Permit me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand and on my own behalf, the warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are confident that your recognized qualities and experience will ensure that the Assembly's proceedings will be conducted with smooth efficiency, wisdom and fairness, and that we will achieve a successful conclusion.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the outgoing President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly, who is a distinguished son of Bangladesh and Asia, for his invaluable contribution to the work of the Organization during the past year.

In a world beset by a host of political and economic problems a nation's cohesiveness and resilience are of the utmost importance. The success of Thailand since the Second World War is a good example.

In one way, the Thai experience is unique. We the Thai people have been blessed with the Thai monarchy. This institution is at present personified by

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the ninth King of the House of Chakri. He has been and continues to be the central, unifying element of the Thai nationhood. He is the moral inspiration for our Government and people. He is the soul of our nation.

In the next nine months two events of the greatest significance to the Thai nation will be celebrated. The first, in December, will be the sixtieth anniversary of His Majesty's birth, which, to the Thai people, marks one of the most important milestones in a person's lifetime. Then, next July, he will become the longest-reigning monarch in Thai history. The celebrations of those two events will provide the Thai people with opportunities to display their boundless respect, profound gratitude and immeasurable affection for their beloved monarch.

As a working monarch in the national mainstream, our King has always been in close touch with the people. He has tirelessly and selflessly devoted himself to the progress and welfare of the people, especially those in rural areas. In these efforts he has always been assisted by Her Majesty the Queen and other members of the Royal Family.

The Thai King believes that all his subjects have a right to share in the benefits of the nation's progress and prosperity. He has pioneered rural development projects designed to help the people fulfil their basic needs and achieve self-sufficiency. These projects have brought an increased measure of prosperity to the rural poor. Many of the projects have been funded from his own personal resources. He has also led in the search for a humane way to help the hill tribes abandon opium cultivation. He has initiated crop substitution and integrated development schemes. These have been carried out by my Government. As a consequence, the output of opium has been reduced significantly over the years.

The international drug problem is of great concern to my country. For this reason we participated actively in the International Conference on Drug Abuse and

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

Illicit Trafficking at Vienna in June this year. The meeting, under the inspired presidency of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, was able to create a programme of action by Governments to cope with this global problem.

The royal oath taken by Thai monarchs includes the vow to render aid and comfort to all in need. During the past 12 years Thailand, under the reign of King Bhumibol, has been recognized for its compassion to fellow human beings uprooted by war and oppression. Thailand has offered temporary shelter to nearly one million refugees. These are the Kampuchians, Laotians and Vietnamese who have fled into Thailand since 1975, and especially since the invasion of Kampuchea in 1978. Over 350,000 still remain.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

A major cause of this plight of such magnitude has been the aggression and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese armed forces. This problem poses the major obstacle to peace and stability in the region. It is not only a threat to the security of Thailand and South-East Asia, but also an economic drain on Viet Nam's own resources and a waste of the assistance given to Viet Nam by its friends and allies. In addition it imposes a humanitarian burden on its neighbours and on the international community. Vietnamese deeds in Kampuchea violate the United Nations Charter and international law. For this reason, year after year the General Assembly has condemned Viet Nam's actions and demanded the total withdrawal of its forces from Kampuchea. The General Assembly has endorsed the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination and to choose its own Government without foreign interference. Over two thirds of the United Nations membership have also remained firm in their call for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. The future Kampuchea should be neutral and non-aligned and should pose no threat to any country.

The countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) will continue to work for such a settlement. Their latest effort was on 16 August 1987, when they endorsed the proposal that the Kampuchean factions engage in a dialogue with the Vietnamese at a gathering. This gathering is envisaged as an initial step towards the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Recent developments have indicated an increasing convergence towards a desire to bring about an end to the conflict in Kampuchea. We call on the leaders of Viet Nam to turn this desire into reality. Let them withdraw their forces from Kampuchea, as they have said they would, but let them do it now and not in 1990, as proclaimed.

We agree that national reconciliation at an appropriate time is a prerequisite for a political solution. One personage who is vital to the Kampuchean drama is

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We believe that under his tutelage and leadership the Kampuchean people can heal their wounds and band together to bring about a rebirth of the Kampuchean nation.

Thailand wishes to record its deep appreciation of the United Nations Secretary-General's devoted and tireless efforts to restore peace in Kampuchea. We urge him and the international community to intensify their efforts towards this end. In particular, Thailand calls on the major Powers, which wield great influence, to become even more conscious of this problem, which affects not only the Kampucheans but others as well. It is encouraging to observe that some of them have begun to discuss among themselves the way to resolve this question, as evidenced in the continuing series of dialogues between such major Powers as the United States, the Soviet Union and China. On several occasions Thailand has raised this matter with many international leaders and requested them to assist. It is iniquitous that this tragedy of untold suffering has been allowed to be prolonged. Actions leading to a just and lasting solution should and must be taken without undue delay. Everybody must lend a hand.

Only after Kampuchea has regained its sovereignty and independence will that part of South-East Asia be able to turn swords into ploughshares. Only then will the countries of the area be able to reconstruct their shattered economies. Then, and only then, will their peoples be able to enjoy the benefits of peace that are taken for granted elsewhere. Then, too, will the rest of us in South-East Asia be able to realize our full potential as a part of the rapidly developing Pacific Basin. Together we can give meaning to Pacific dynamism, which can impart great benefit not only to this region but also to the world at large.

The aspiration to achieve peace and prosperity through common efforts and co-operation finds good expression in the endeavours of ASEAN. This year has already witnessed the twentieth anniversary of the founding of ASEAN. The birth of

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

ASEAN was indeed a major turning point in the history of South-East Asia, based as it is on shared interests and values, as well as pragmatism and tolerance. The concept of free association has thus made its mark in a region where colonialism ran rampant not so long ago. ASEAN co-operation has indeed stimulated regional growth and prosperity over much of the past two decades. ASEAN is scheduled to hold a few months from now its third summit meeting to chart the course of its peaceful and constructive co-operation for the next decade.

In this regard, Thailand is pleased to learn of the agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate and short-range missiles and of the forthcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. We hope that after this important beginning further efforts will be made to reduce the strategic missile arsenals by 50 per cent. Effective measures are also necessary in the fields of chemical and conventional weapons.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

In Africa, the Namibian people and the black majority in South Africa have been victims of unilateral oppression for generations. Thailand once again joins in the call for the eradication of the apartheid system and for the immediate implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibia.

The problems of the Middle East continue to be on the agenda of the world Organization. Thailand supports United Nations efforts to restore peace in the region on the basis of security for all States, withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, self-determination for the Palestinian people, the territorial integrity of Lebanon, cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and withdrawal of forces to the international boundary. In the latter context, Thailand takes note of Security Council resolution 598 (1978), which was adopted unanimously, and hopes that it will be fully implemented.

The situation in Afghanistan was caused by the single-minded pursuit of unilateral goals on the part of one of the world's most powerful nations. The problem can be resolved only on the basis of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which demand the total withdrawal of foreign forces, and exercise by the Afghan people of their right to self-determination.

The position of Thailand on these issues has been firm and consistent. Our position is based on the United Nations Charter and international law, and is in harmony with a majority of the Member States. The Secretary-General, too, enjoys Thailand's confidence and support in his patient efforts to find peaceful solutions to these problems. My country is always willing to assist in these efforts, any time, anywhere.

Not all the urgent problems are of a political nature. Many of them are economic. The international economic system has created a web of interdependence. No nation stands alone. For this reason, Thailand is fully committed to an open and liberal world trade system.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

However, some countries, particularly the more affluent, have adopted trade policies and measures which obstruct open and free international trade. Besides hindering the North-South dialogue, they also work against the interest of all nations. Developing countries with open economies, like Thailand, have already had to cope with the problems of low agricultural and commodity prices. These problems are compounded by protectionism against the export of products in which we enjoy inherent comparative advantages. Without the expansion of exports, we cannot sustain our economic growth. This would have major repercussions on our national development and on the well-being of our people. We therefore call on all countries concerned to show a sincere desire to co-operate. For only through such co-operation can we succeed in remedying the present international economic disorder.

The most pressing problem of all time confronting any Government is the well-being of its people. Here, in the case of Thailand, the inspiration from our King has always been very important to my Government. As stated earlier, His Majesty has pioneered a great number of projects for the rural poor. Following his initiatives, my Government has allotted a major part of the national budget to development programmes for rural areas throughout the Kingdom.

Despite the economic difficulties facing developing countries in the world today, Thailand continues to obtain substantial economic growth. Our rate of growth is estimated to be close to 6 per cent in real terms this year. This is due partly to the Government's success in providing incentives and in stimulating the economy. It is also due to the close co-ordination between the public sector and our private sector. We expect our economy to continue growing, which will in turn bring better health care, better food, better shelter and a better standard of living for our people.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

It is clear that, for Thailand, the role of the monarchy has proved to be indispensable. The monarchy is a moral force that binds all elements in the Thai nation. It is a force that works for the greatest good of the Thai people. As we in Thailand celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the birth of our King, we also see it as an opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the cause of international peace, security and harmony. We are resolved to reaffirm our steadfast support for the United Nations. This is what the King himself stated in his royal address at the opening ceremony of the secretariat building of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, in Bangkok, on 24 October 1975:

"The United Nations has set for itself the high ideals of maintaining international peace and security based on the principles of equality and friendly relations among all nations, and it has, in actual practice, always tried its utmost to co-ordinate and promote the efforts of large and small countries all over the world to create mutual understanding and co-operation in order to solve the various problems in economic, social, human rights and other fields."

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

The United Nations has indeed played a tremendously active role in bringing Member States together to solve international problems and crises. It must continue to champion the cause of international peace and security as well as the well-being of all the peoples of the world.

The gathering of so many Heads of State and Heads of Government at the General Assembly each year testifies to the importance the world attaches to this Organization. But we hope that the fruits of the deliberations and discussions on these occasions will not leave only empty echoes of good intentions.

Let us turn these good intentions into positive action, action which brings just solutions to our problems, action which brings real and beneficial changes to our world.

If we do these things, then we will know that we have done our very best to create a better world for mankind.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic): The Algerian delegation warmly congratulates you, Sir, on your election to preside over the General Assembly at its forty-second session. Your long experience in international affairs and especially your awareness of problems closely linked to United Nations activities justify the honour the Assembly has done you in giving you this onerous task. We are convinced that you will do your work to the great benefit of the Assembly.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In electing you, Sir, our Assembly also wished to honour your country for its role in working significantly for a future in which dialogue and co-operation have a special place. My country is honoured to enjoy such dialogue and co-operation with your country. I assure you that you will always have the fullest support from me personally and from my country.

Your position was previously held by Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury. Showing his authority with regard to the matters before the Assembly and making himself available to all, he constantly demonstrated his inexhaustible personal resources, which he put at the service of the general interest. He was thus a credit to a brotherly country, Bangladesh, but even more of a credit to the whole international community. I hope that he will accept our expression of gratitude and my brotherly wishes for his future health and happiness.

Our Organization has benefited greatly from being able to count on the unflinching devotion to duty of the Secretary-General, his absolute commitment and his tireless work in the efficient service of the shared interests of its Members. With his identification with the United Nations in the promotion of peace and development through dialogue, joint efforts and universal action, he embodies a conviction, which is infectious, that our Organization is irreplaceable, especially at times when attempts are made to question that.

The agreement in principle between the United States and the Soviet Union on the withdrawal and destruction of short-range and medium-range missiles based in Europe is, though it has yet to be formally confirmed, certainly a long-awaited event. Coming after a period of dangerous tension in super-Power relations, it offers timely hope of a better future in international relations. It is naturally very important, since it will be the first genuine nuclear disarmament agreement yet reached. We therefore welcome it and applaud its achievement.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

However, if the agreement is to have a significant historic meaning, apart from its importance in providing a moment of détente in super-Power relations, which have been troubled, it should set a lead for bilateral and multilateral negotiations. It is essential from this point of view that those concerned resolutely pursue the negotiations on the gradual reduction of strategic weapons and the prevention of an arms race in space, and that agreements be drafted or finalized on the banning of nuclear tests and on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

Close to Europe both in immutable geographical terms and in terms of a constantly changing history, Algeria cannot but be concerned when matters affecting Europe can affect Algeria's security, as is shown by the Magreb's involvement in the two World Wars and the fact that it is within range of the missiles I have mentioned.

Algeria's promotion of extended dialogue and in-depth co-operation with the countries involved in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process should be understood in that light. Its action, taken with the other non-aligned Mediterranean countries, as was recently demonstrated at the meeting in Brioni, Yugoslavia, is aimed at accelerating the establishment of equal security for all in the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In this regard, measures concerning disarmament, the relaxation of tension and the promotion of greater security must be extended to the whole of the Mediterranean area, because the major nuclear Powers have a special responsibility in this regard since they maintain naval fleets and weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the region.

That means that détente and understanding cannot be limited to any given region of the world, no matter how sensitive that region might be, because nuclear and conventional forces are concentrated there or because it might potentially be the scene of a major conflict. Since world peace is not divisible, nor can détente be, unless the errors of the past are to be repeated and people are to continue to be unable to lay sensible, lasting foundations for a better future for all.

The dividends resulting from East-West dialogue must also play a part in lessening local tensions and defusing regional hotbeds of crisis. The improvement in super-Power relations and, beyond that, the improvement in relations between the two major military alliances does not mean that the legitimate security concerns of the non-aligned countries, especially Mediterranean non-aligned countries, can be ignored.

Thus we return to the fundamental truth that the problems connected with world security are indivisible and therefore require a comprehensive, integrated approach. While the regional approach has its merits, it can validly use its specific resources in the promotion of world peace only in conditions of non-discrimination and respect for the equal right of all States to security.

In the still troubled context of international relations, each of our countries must be able to contribute its brick to the edifice of peace. This is the expression of loyalty to the United Nations and faith in its ideals. It is

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

also the essential measure of the contribution of each country to the advent of a new era in international relations - relations which we hope will bring peace, stability, security and progress for all.

That brick in the edifice of peace Algeria gives to the Maghreb, in the unshakeable conviction that that grouping of countries has no other choice, no other future, than that in the unity which is its natural destiny.

It is a sign of our times that peoples are committed, in addition to affirming and preserving their specific identity, to seeking and finding with their neighbours and immediate or traditional partners the common interests and shared aspirations that enable them, because their concerns are the same, to overcome mistrust and past misunderstandings and formulate together a unitary project that reflects the new requirements of development and the increased need for greater security.

This is especially true with regard to the peoples of the Maghreb, the expression of whose genius and creativity in their daily life derives from a unique heritage of culture, religion and civilization. In order to preserve that heritage they have in the recent past, had to fight in solidarity and together make the greatest sacrifices. The great Arab Maghreb, supported by the strength that the past has given it and undaunted by present obstacles remains an aspiration for the future and is an objective to work for. My country, even before its independence, decided to commit its will, determination and means to the attainment of that objective, thus making it a strategic objective desired by the people and pursued by their leaders. It is a task which, to be worthy of the values it proclaims, cannot proceed in ignorance or with disregard of that which is essential to the authenticity and legitimacy of that unitary project: respect for the fullness of the rights of each people called upon to carry out the work.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Together with the other Maghreb leaders, President Chadli Bendjedid took the initiative in moving to a new stage in the Maghreb unitary process directed towards economic integration and collective political efforts based on the Treaty of fraternity and harmony between Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania.

The purpose of that initiative was to expand the prospects for joint action by the countries of the Maghreb within the framework of that Treaty and to proceed progressively and methodically in such a way that each step would prepare the next and build on solid past achievements until the ultimate goal, unity, was achieved through the will and to the advantage of all.

We do not underestimate either the arduous nature of the task, the scope of the problems yet to be solved or the obstacles to be overcome. Since the united Great Arab Maghreb is an inevitable reality of the future, it is necessary now to make the proper choices and ensure the determination and active participation of all. We have no doubt that in all decisive instances the proper choices will be made and the determination and participation of all will be there.

Originally established by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a peace plan that is now universally endorsed sets the framework, defines the conditions and identifies the means for achieving a negotiated peaceful, just and final solution of the conflict. The essential requirement is direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario front, the two parties to the conflict, on the conditions for a cease-fire and a referendum on self-determination. And, finally, the referendum can only be authentic if it is free from all administrative or military constraints.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are today engaged in a joint good-offices process. Algeria welcomes the joint initiative of the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General in sending a technical mission to the Territory to determine the methods necessary to ensure the holding of a credible referendum organized and monitored by the OAU and the United Nations. We hope that this mission will be able to carry out its task validly, thereby enabling the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General to submit appropriate proposals for implementing the peace plan laid down in OAU resolution 104 and endorsed only last year by the General Assembly in its resolution 41/16.

It goes without saying that if the conflict in Western Sahara is to be finally settled by means of a referendum, that referendum must meet the indispensable requirements of justice and regularity. The concept and the carrying out of the referendum must not, therefore, presuppose a result that would confirm and legitimize a fait accompli and thereby give the occupying force a military or administrative presence that could greatly influence the result of the referendum.

The continuation and consolidation of the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU demonstrate that there is the good will to give assistance and take action to ensure the end of this fratricidal conflict. That is true, particularly, of the fraternal intervention of King Fahd Ibn Abdelaziz El Saoud, the sovereign of Saudi Arabia and the guardian of the Holy Places. This is a praiseworthy intervention that deserves our greatest appreciation.

Algeria endeavours to add stones to the edifice of world peace wherever local tensions or regional crises call for its contribution or its efforts at the side of others. That is true of the Middle East crisis, the painful situation in fraternal Lebanon, the fratricidal conflict that is draining the finest human and material

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

resources and potential of Iraq and Iran, and the situation in Chad, to which my country extends best wishes for national reconciliation and reconstruction in its entire territory.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian people continue to be the victims of an intolerable situation. They have been unjustly robbed of their homeland and are forced to struggle for the full restoration of their national rights. Forty years of struggle bear witness to the impossibility of bringing peace back to the region if the right of the Palestinians to an independent State established on their historical territory, Palestine, is not realized. A solution to the Middle East conflict inevitably requires the restoration of the occupied Arab territories, including El-Qods Al-Sharif. Lebanon's tragedy lies at the heart of our concerns. In its cruel ordeal, it can rest assured of our solidarity. Algeria is and will remain beside it in its efforts to mobilize its forces and bring together all its sons in restored national unity and understanding, and to affirm its authority and sovereignty over all its territory ravaged by Zionist occupation.

The solution to the Middle East crisis must be comprehensive. It is unimaginable outside the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Such a conference remains, in this respect, an irreplaceable requirement, since it alone can embrace all the dimensions and aspects of the crisis.

We are among those who believe that the idea of such a conference, or even agreeing to hold it, is not an end in itself. The important thing is to identify what is to be involved. In that respect, there are four factors that must be taken fully into account if everyone's goal today is really to ensure a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

First, there is the nature of the conference. Its limits and its inability to provide the real solution expected of it would become immediately apparent if it were reduced to being an umbrella covering a series of bilateral negotiations - territorial or otherwise - and failed to address itself to the central parameters of the crisis, that is, the Palestinian question. To cover up the Palestinian question would be to forget that it is and will remain the original cause of the disputes in the Middle East and that if, as such, it is not solved there can be no real peace in the region.

Secondly, there are the powers, the competence, of the conference. How could anyone venture to relieve the United Nations of its primary responsibilities in that respect, when we know the stake it has in the issue in view of its past role in the Palestinian tragedy? The United Nations continues to have complete and full responsibilities in this question, and they must be expressed within the international conference to be convened.

Thirdly, there is the matter of participation in the conference. The Palestinian question is the central issue to be resolved, and that cannot be done if its authentic representatives are absent and their aspirations and wishes are excluded - for they are the only representatives who can validly formulate and defend those aspirations and wishes.

Fourthly, there is the objective of the conference. How could that be anything but simple recognition of this natural right recognized by everyone: the right to self-determination, through the exercise of which the Palestinians would regain their homeland?

The war between Iraq and Iran continues. Today it is spreading dangerously in the Gulf, putting at risk the security and stability of fraternal countries in the region. This war, which is now in its eighth year, has become one of the bloodiest

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

and most devastating in modern times. It is being waged to the increasing detriment of the real interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq. But an inevitably common destiny requires them to work harder to identify the ways and means of finally bringing a peaceful end to their conflict so that, together, they can resolutely devote their potential to all the areas of solidarity which today unite the third world, faced with so many challenges.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

The Secretary-General is working to bring the war to a halt. Algeria cannot but encourage and support him in the peace endeavours entrusted to him by the Security Council so that the Gulf can once again be a region of understanding and co-operation and peace and world security can be preserved.

Algeria is an active partner in all the struggles being waged by Africa in a striking example of the mobilization of resources. In its efforts to attain full liberation and to foster its development, our continent is unfailingly and untiringly meeting its responsibilities. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is playing a vital strategic role in this respect. It is up to the international community to meet its responsibilities towards a continent unfortunately characterized by, inter alia, persistent racial domination and an unparalleled state of underdevelopment.

In southern Africa, one cannot but admire the determination of the people of South Africa in their struggle fully to regain their rights and to throw out apartheid, which is stepping up its repression even as it is increasingly being abandoned by the sources of support that once justified its existence and provided the resources it needed for survival. The struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) are exemplary in terms of their achievements and the scale of the sacrifices they have made and represent one of the key lessons of the late twentieth century, which will finally see the end of racial oppression. Today, at this late stage, when energetic measures under Chapter VII of the Charter have still not been taken, one wonders how such a crime against humanity, a crime condemned by history, could have been committed and allowed to continue without evoking the necessary determination to put an end to it. At the very least we are

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

duty-bound to ensure that the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States receive the decisive support called for in this final phase of their struggle.

The border dispute between Chad and Libya has mobilized the resources of the OAU, which has demonstrated its capacity to provide the framework for the search for and attainment of a solution to the dispute. The committee of Heads of State set up by the OAU, which met recently in Lusaka, Zambia, has mapped out the appropriate path to be followed, which represents a significant and promising first step. Libya and Chad, whose proximity demands that they co-operate and reach an understanding, will, we trust, find within themselves the sense of responsibility and courage necessary to ensure that what divides them today will tomorrow yield to mutual respect, understanding and progress for these two brother peoples.

In Central America, real prospects of achieving a lasting peace and co-operation in the interests of all the peoples of the area have emerged, thanks to the peace plan agreed upon in Guatemala on 7 August and the dedication of President Arias of Costa Rica and the other Central American leaders. This supplements the tireless efforts of the Contadora and Lima Groups. It is to be hoped that this agreement will enjoy the sincere and unreserved support of all who are in a position to assist in the restoration of peace and harmony in the region.

Algeria hails the political, economic and social achievements of Latin America and sincerely hopes they can be consolidated for the benefit of the peoples of Latin America so that their group of nations can reaffirm its place and confirm its role with respect to the defence of the essential cause of the Non-Aligned Movement and the developing world.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In Harare, at the summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, and in Brioni recently, at the ministerial conference of Mediterranean members of the movement, our countries made clear their views on the question of Cyprus. My country identifies with their stated position, endorses it and hopes it will provide the basis for a solution.

The present system of contemporary international relations is a source of instability for all and an impediment for the developing countries. This fact prompted certain remarks made before the Group of 77, which I should like to share with the Assembly today:

First, the developing world has lived up to its internal responsibilities with respect to development, but that has proved far from adequate.

Secondly, the internal adjustments made by the developing world, at great political, economic and social cost, did not provide the expected result - far from it. At the very best, they had a negligible effect, as a result of the rigidity and inappropriateness of the external economic environment.

Thirdly, these internal adjustments have shown the vital need for comprehensive structural adjustments. These are necessary now, if on all sides there really exists the political will to resolve the structural development crisis which the present system of international economic relations has created and serves to perpetuate.

Fourthly, to talk about comprehensive structural adjustments inevitably implies the involvement of the United Nations, one of whose essential goals is to promote international co-operation for the well-being of all peoples.

Hence, fifthly, the need for a reinvigorated North-South dialogue with precise objectives. The future of peace lies in disarmament and development, which are indissolubly linked and interdependent.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Sixthly, and lastly, at a time when the North-South dialogue is dwindling, the United Nations has the duty to revitalize it, with our assistance and co-operation.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

The United Nations finds itself today at the crossroads. It must take up problems relating to the very survival of mankind at a time when the Organization sees its very existence threatened. On the one hand, we have a devastating nuclear arms race, which threatens the survival of life on our planet; on the other hand, we have a proportion of mankind whose precarious economic conditions have resulted in the tragic impossibility of assuring the basic means of survival. One is as morally unjustifiable as the other is in terms of common humanity. This dramatic situation was highlighted at a recent conference which pointed to ways for dealing with the disarmament-development equation.

The pursuit and attainment of these objectives cannot be conceived without the United Nations, which must recover the vitality of its role and the full complement of its resources.

There is no alternative to the preservation and strengthening of the role of the United Nations. If, in this respect, reforms are necessary to enhance its efficiency and if it can be shown that there is room for structural improvements, we all have the duty to encourage this and contribute to it. But as the international situation makes clear, one cannot dispense with this tool, the only one available to mankind to pool the efforts of all and, finally, offer the prospect of universal peace and progress.

Mr. MARSHALL (New Zealand) (spoke in Maori; English text provided by the delegation): To the representatives of the countries of the world - greetings. Bring to us from your home countries the gifts we can all share, your words of wisdom and your love. I am very happy that we have all arrived here at this gathering of world leaders.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

(continued in English)

On behalf of New Zealand I add my congratulations, Sir, to those of the many speakers who have preceded me on your election as President of the forty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

Seven weeks ago the New Zealand Labour Government was re-elected with an increased majority. The Government was greatly encouraged by that demonstration of support from the people of our country for the policies we have pursued at home and overseas. My address today provides an opportunity for me to reaffirm the commitment of the New Zealand Government and people to the United Nations. That commitment comes from 42 years of membership of the Organization, from active participation in its work and from New Zealand's firm adherence to its ideals.

In this spirit of steadfast support for the United Nations I am happy to be able to announce here that the New Zealand Government has recently reviewed its capacity to contribute to United Nations peace-keeping operations. As a result, we have decided to notify the Secretary-General of our willingness to expand our practical contribution to that most important part of the United Nations work. We have participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations in the past. At present, we provide personnel for the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and we contribute financially to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). In future, we anticipate giving favourable consideration to requests from the Secretary-General for future involvement of New Zealand forces in peace-keeping for the United Nations. In our case, that would probably, for example, take the form of specialist teams from the New Zealand armed forces. Our broad purpose in making this commitment is to demonstrate active, practical support for the United Nations role of strengthening and monitoring international peace and security.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

Fundamentally the job of the United Nations is to preserve peace. That was why it was founded 42 years ago. That is why it remains so important in the world today. And in today's world that means that this Organization must address clearly and critically the overriding threat to international peace and security posed by the global arms race, and in particular the nuclear-arms race.

New Zealand's first priority in this Assembly is to work for the achievement of urgent reductions in nuclear weapons. The ultimate goal must be a world rid of nuclear weapons; a world in which no country can claim to have to rely on nuclear weapons as the guarantor of its security.

New Zealand has been greatly encouraged by recent developments in relations between the two super-Powers. Along with all other nations we welcomed their decision to agree in principle to scrap an entire class of nuclear weapons - the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) stationed in Europe and Asia. If that agreement in principle is followed, as it must be, by a treaty giving legal force to the political commitments made in Washington, it will mark a turning-point in the arms race. The INF agreement will be the first ever nuclear-arms reduction treaty. It will be testimony to the conviction that security can be maintained with fewer, not more, armaments, and that an increasing number of weapons is not necessary to preserve the peace.

An INF agreement will be a welcome first step. But it is only a first step. It must be followed by measures to bring about deep reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, and by measures to prevent an arms race in outer space. Moreover, if progress is to be made on those two fronts, it will be necessary to address as a matter of priority the perceived imbalance in conventional forces and thus to achieve a balance of such forces at significantly reduced levels.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev have themselves pointed the way. At Reykjavik last year they showed that there is no disagreement on the goals

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

that must be achieved: a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic nuclear arsenals and, ultimately, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. We urge them not to turn away from those objectives, not to turn away from the vision we saw from Reykjavik of a world without nuclear weapons. That vision will not be realized this year, perhaps not even this century. Yet it is an objective in the achievement of which every country in the Assembly has a direct and vital interest.

The immediate challenge is to find ways of working towards that goal while at the same time maintaining the security of every State and region.

New Zealand has long held that concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty is one important way to do that. In the resolutions that we, together with Australia and a number of other countries, have put before the Assembly, we have urged the international community to seize on the central means of putting a brake on the nuclear-arms race. While we have welcomed, therefore, the recent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to begin stage-by-stage negotiations on nuclear testing, we would nevertheless still urge the participants to see that those negotiations are more closely linked to the objective the Assembly has reiterated for so many years - an end to all nuclear testing by all States in all environments for all time.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

We will again be putting a resolution on nuclear testing before the First Committee of the Assembly. We will be calling on the Conference on Disarmament to break the impasse which has strangled effective multilateral consideration of this issue for the past five years.

Another issue which the multilateral disarmament process has so far failed to address adequately is the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Three years ago my Prime Minister David Lange noted from this rostrum the disquieting indications that the military competition between the two super-Powers might be moving into the new environment of outer space. Developments since that time have done little to allay our concern. New Zealand is unequivocally opposed to the extension of the arms race into outer space. We will be following closely the deliberations at the Conference on Disarmament on this subject next year and at the third special session of this Assembly on disarmament, where it can be expected to receive considerable attention.

However, there have been some notable achievements this year. Progress has been made at the Geneva negotiations on a convention to eliminate chemical weapons - some of the most barbaric instruments of war, the use of which we unequivocally condemn. We look forward to the early completion of that most urgent work. In addition, the successful conclusion of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which I was privileged to address just over a month ago, should have restored some faith in multilateralism. The consensus achieved at that Conference is all the more significant when considered against the pessimism that marked its preparatory process. It should encourage us as we prepare for the third special session on disarmament next year.

As a smaller nation with little power to influence the great nuclear-weapon States, we simply make a plea, an impassioned plea, to our brothers and sisters that have that power.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

We are now at a historic turning-point in the modern era. Having gone steadily forward in preparation for defence or conflict since men first formed groups and alliances, we have come to the brink. We, most of us, want to turn back. But there are still abroad fears that those whom we have not learned to know or to trust will keep pressing ahead, that to proceed with disarming will undermine our own security. Learning to trust each other enough, learning to tone down the rhetoric we use against each other, is now fundamental to the steps we need to take to enable this small, delicate planet and its people to survive.

That is why my country is so determined to see progress towards disarmament. The stakes are enormous. While the arms race continues in its nuclear and conventional dimensions, the security of each of us is at risk. New Zealanders do not expect others to act while we do nothing ourselves. Equally, we do not tell others how to resolve the particular security imperatives of their region as they seek to give substance to the principles of the Charter and to the international community's desire for a safer, less militarized world.

At home my Government has enacted legislation to ensure that New Zealand remains nuclear free. With our partners in the South Pacific Forum we have made a contribution to the security of our region through the adoption and entry into force of the South Pacific Nuclear-Free-Zone Treaty. That Treaty reinforces the non-proliferation undertakings already given by nearly all Forum countries through our adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It gives expression to the unanimous desire of all the independent and self-governing States of our region that our part of the world should not be used as a testing ground for nuclear weapons or a dumping ground for nuclear waste. For the zone established by the Treaty to be truly effective, however, we rely on the nuclear-weapon States to commit themselves unreservedly to respecting its provisions. It is our earnest

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

hope that all five nuclear-weapon States will demonstrate respect for the wishes of South Pacific States by adhering to the protocols to the Treaty. It is our particular hope that France will demonstrate its understanding of the sensitivities of our region, the region in which it seeks to be a partner, by putting an end to its nuclear-testing programme in the South Pacific.

The control and reduction of armaments may help to maintain international security. It is the use of arms that destroys it. The Charter accordingly imposes an obligation on all States to settle their differences by negotiation and not to go to war. In the Security Council the Charter created the means by which the United Nations could uphold the rule of law and work for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the ending of conflict. The Council's record is far from unblemished; we believe that its performance could be improved if its members would co-operate to settle disputes before the parties turn to conflict; and its decisions might be less often disregarded or defied if the policies and actions of the great Powers showed greater respect for the laws they enjoin others to follow.

New Zealand welcomes the rare unanimous decision by the Security Council to seek an end to the war between Iran and Iraq. We regret only that the conflict was allowed to continue for seven years before the Council intervened to fulfil the role assigned to it by the Charter. The Secretary-General may be assured of our full support in his patient efforts, on behalf of the Council and with the trust of both parties, to settle the conflict in accordance with resolution 598 (1987). It is to his office, too, that we look for assistance in ending the aggression against the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, which has continued year after year regardless of the wishes and condemnation of the General Assembly. Political settlements in both countries and the withdrawal of foreign forces from them are long overdue.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

In Korea, the armed confrontation still continues after more than three decades. The absence of Korean representation is a major gap in the universality of the United Nations. New Zealand shares the widespread view that the two Koreas should be admitted as Members of the United Nations as soon as possible and should pursue their negotiations towards reconciliation and, if possible, national reunification.

Few situations have preoccupied the United Nations longer than the South African Government's racist practices, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policies of destabilization in the region. Like those of the Commonwealth Group which last year sought to initiate a dialogue between the Government and genuine representatives of the black community, mediation efforts by the United Nations have come to nothing. The South African Government equates justice with white supremacy and right with the forces at its disposal. Its armies have marauded in territories of neighbouring States. Its police have detained both black leaders and children looking for something better than education for a life of subjection. For our part we have given effect to the measures against South Africa recommended by the Commonwealth to impress on the authorities in Pretoria the urgency of dismantling apartheid. But, sadly, I have to say that, in the absence of effective action by more countries or a firm response to the threat by the Security Council, I see little prospect that the South African Government will depart from its determination not to reject apartheid, but to tinker with it, at its own pace and in its own time.

Apartheid is a most brutal manifestation of racism and disregard of human rights. It is not, however, the only such manifestation. We all know too well the many abuses of human rights that occur in various countries represented in this body. The United Nations has done much valuable work in codifying universal

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

standards of respect for human rights. We must ensure that this work continues and that the standards already set are fully respected.

Abuses of human rights are a direct attack on the integrity of the individual. Terrorism strikes at the integrity of the community. It kills the innocent and cruelly disrupts the normal operations of society. It is also a threat to world peace. An important task at this session will be to build on the achievement of resolution 40/61 and thereby encourage the adoption of practical measures to deal with international terrorism.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

Another item of importance to New Zealand is that on Antarctica, an issue that has been on the Assembly's agenda since 1983. New Zealand is firmly committed to maintaining the Antarctic Treaty which has preserved the peace and stability of the region to our south over the past 27 years. We hope that the Assembly's deliberations on Antarctica at this session will bring further understanding and support for the Treaty, which any Member of the Organization is free to join.

Events in Fiji show that the South Pacific is not immune from turmoil or change. For New Zealand - a close friend and neighbour - these events have been a matter of very great sadness. Since the time of the first coup New Zealand has steadfastly supported the efforts of Fiji's Governor-General to return the country to parliamentary rule; we continue to regard him as the legitimate source of authority in Fiji. It follows that New Zealand does not recognize the legality of Colonel Rabuka's self-declared republic. Even at this late stage we hope that the people of Fiji will pull back and insist that their leaders find a just political solution which takes account of the interests of all. New Zealand trusts that the Governor-General will hold fast to the principles of legitimacy which have guided him thus far. We very much hope that no constitution will be adopted that would make Fiji Indians second class citizens in their own country. We want to see Fiji regain its rightful position in the Pacific region and on the wider world stage. Like all its neighbours New Zealand wants to see Fiji strengthened by a reassertion of its traditions of tolerance and good sense, playing an active part in the peaceful development of the South Pacific. Failure to achieve a solution would be a major set-back, not only for Fiji but for the entire South Pacific region.

Fiji's crisis is a recent development. We have, however, been concerned for some time at the dangers inherent in the situation in our closest neighbour

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

New Caledonia if the natural progress of that Territory to self-determination is frustrated. At the initiative of the countries of the South Pacific Forum, the General Assembly last year resolved that New Caledonia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of the United Nations Charter. Forum countries sought to have New Caledonia reinscribed on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories because of their wish to see a more constructive approach by the administering Power. Present policies serve to exacerbate divisions within the Territory and appear likely to frustrate movement towards independence.

My Government believes that France has a continuing role to play in the South Pacific region. But that will require a far-sighted approach to resolving the problems of New Caledonia and a sensitivity to the views and feelings of the peoples of the region. We have watched with genuine regret what has appeared to us to be a policy that does not take sufficient account of long-term concerns and solutions, bringing with it the prospect of more confrontation and division within New Caledonia.

Since last year's vote, France has promoted a referendum in New Caledonia, an exercise which in our view has not helped the political process there and about which, as we know from the debate which surrounded the passage of the referendum legislation through the French Parliament earlier this year, there are considerable doubts in France itself. A referendum which did not offer the full range of choices prescribed by United Nations practices and guidelines is deficient. It cannot be regarded as a free choice when the administering Power is committed to promoting one particular choice and the forces of government are directed to that end. A process of preparation during which options were not fully presented and were not adequately explained is a further serious deficiency. A period of preparation in which there was only circumscribed dialogue within the Territory

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

and throughout which there was a strong military presence, is no atmosphere for free and impartial consideration of New Caledonia's long-term future. In short, a political consultation that forced a substantial sector of the community to repudiate the very process, is inherently flawed. It is not a valid act of self-determination.

I appeal to the French Government to resume contact with all interested parties in New Caledonia, to accept the offer of dialogue which the South Pacific Forum has made and to involve the United Nations in the political process that is to take place in New Caledonia.

Elsewhere in the South Pacific the United Nations has played a valuable role in the decolonization process as Non-Self-Governing Territories have moved to self-government or to independence in accordance with United Nations principles and practices. For this reason my Government urges strong support for the moderate, principled and constructive resolution on New Caledonia which will be taken up in the Fourth Committee at this session of the Assembly.

For the most part the decolonization process in the Pacific has been peaceful and has laid the basis for good regional co-operation. That tradition has been continued this year with the proclamation of the Compacts of Free Association of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. New Zealand welcomes them as new members of the South Pacific Forum. We look forward to increasing contacts with the Micronesian Governments in the years to come and to the fulfilment of the United Nations role in the Trust Territory of the Pacific.

Political security must be reinforced by economic security. Not only in the South Pacific, but throughout the world, the effect of low commodity prices is having a serious effect. Growth in developing countries is expected to average only 4 per cent in 1987, half the average of the 1960s and 1970s. Hardest hit is

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

the agricultural sector which, in low-income developing countries, employs 70 to 80 per cent of the population.

Yet the undisciplined nature of world agricultural trade means that countries with a comparative advantage in agriculture have to compete for markets with subsidized exports that distort prices. The twin spectres of surpluses and starvation are an economic and moral outrage that cannot be allowed to continue, a contradiction which we must find ways to remove.

At its seventh session, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development noted that while many countries, developed and developing, are adjusting their economies, much remained to be done to reduce or eliminate "growth retarding distortions and rigidities". The positive forward-thinking spirit that marked that session should guide us in our efforts towards the elimination of trade-distorting measures. Crucial to these efforts are the negotiations currently under way in the Uruguay round. If we really believe in having a healthy international economy, contributing to world peace, we must ensure that these negotiations succeed.

As we work to improve the functioning of the system of international relations we must also work to improve the functioning of the institution that underpins so much of the system. Last year's financial crisis made clear that we, the membership, had failed to ensure that this Organization remained responsive to changing demands and circumstances. The financial crisis itself was precipitated by a failure on the part of some of the Members to fulfil their Charter commitments. It served to highlight, however, a more long-standing failure of the collective membership and of the institution to ensure the continuing revitalization of the Organization.

Every institution, no matter how noble its goals, needs to undertake from time to time a thorough-going reappraisal of its structures and procedures. In

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

recognition of this need, for instance, my Government is in the process of carrying out a far-reaching reform of the functioning of government in New Zealand. The United Nations is no different. It needs to change with the times.

From the work of the past year a number of studies and reforms are under way. They must be pursued to their conclusion. The financial crisis may have abated to a degree; the need for change has not. One of the areas to which my Government will pay particular attention is the review of management of the United Nations development effort to be undertaken by the Economic and Social Council over the next year. The United Nations and its agencies have a unique role to play in development assistance, particularly in areas such as the establishment of development planning mechanisms and negotiations by Governments with transnational corporations. But such assistance must be appropriate and effective. The special needs of the isolated island developing nations of the South Pacific are often inadequately met by structures and rules which have been set up to cover large continental recipients in other regions. Any decisions taken on the spot in the South Pacific by a more coherent United Nations presence would reflect more truly the South Pacific realities than decisions taken in places such as Geneva, New York or Bangkok.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

I offer those remarks not as the representative of a country that is critical of or disenchanted with the United Nations. Quite the reverse: as I said at the beginning, the New Zealand Government and people are firm supporters of the United Nations. We shall remain so. But we would be bad friends of the Organization if we failed to encourage it to change where change is necessary. The process of change is under way. Let us keep up the momentum, and let us get the balance right.

I end as I began, drawing on the wisdom of the Maori people of New Zealand. There is a Maori saying which goes,

"A warrior who works hard at growing food will not fail".

That expresses in a nutshell what this Organization is all about. We must be firm in our resolve to maintain the peace, but must look also to improving the lot of all our peoples. Getting the balance right is an international imperative.

Mr. JOHANES (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you heartily on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its forty-second session. We are sincerely pleased that this great honour has been bestowed upon a representative of a fraternal country, the German Democratic Republic. I wish you every success in carrying out your responsible duties.

I wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and to assure him of Czechoslovakia's support in his praiseworthy work on behalf of the United Nations and the entire international community.

The general debate thus far has indicated - and I should like to believe - that the current session will make a significant contribution to the solution of the most urgent problems facing us today and that it will help in shaping the concept of a non-violent and nuclear-weapon-free world in which comprehensive security for all mankind would guarantee for everyone in the world the most fundamental of human rights: the right to a life in peace.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

That hope is especially justifiable in the light of the agreement in principle between the USSR and the United States of America on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons, an agreement of great political and psychological importance. The conclusion of such a treaty, which is so strongly desired by the nations of the world, would lead for the first time in history to the agreed elimination of part of the world's accumulated nuclear arsenals. It would be a great step towards a genuine process of disarmament and would show that improvements are not confined to outlining theoretical programmes but are rather taking a concrete form.

Prospects are opening for reaching further important agreements. The productive results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe can undoubtedly be counted among the positive developments. An atmosphere of businesslike constructive dialogue prevailed also at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the States signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. Consultations are being held between representatives of countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on measures for conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. Another positive international development is the contact between representatives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the European Economic Community.

A valuable contribution to the process of strengthening peace and understanding among peoples and improving the world situation has been made by the New Delhi Six. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been undertaking peace-making activities, as was shown clearly by the outcome of its summit conference, held at Harare.

All this confirms the emergence of a new thinking on a broad spectrum of issues in international relations. That new thinking is finding its way also into

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

the halls and conference rooms of the United Nations, an organization designed to mould civilized relations among all countries and to harmonize their interests on a new basis.

We are convinced that these glimmers of hope derive from real factors. We are seeing the establishment and strengthening of a broad front of individuals, organizations, parties, governments and States united by their mutual goal of preserving human civilization. The socialist countries are doing their part in this struggle by taking qualitatively new initiatives based specifically on the process of activating the intrinsic potential of socialism and implementing programmes of restructuring. It could not be otherwise, since the ensuring of a lasting peace is an indispensable condition for the attainment of the objectives of restructuring and for the acceleration of social and economic development.

However, we are aware that on the balance sheet of international relations there are still many items on the debit side. The arms race is continuing. New programmes of armament costing billions are being launched. Local conflicts persist and threaten to grow into major international crises. Like a scar on the conscience of mankind, mass violations of human rights such as racism and apartheid persist. Crises in the world economy are growing worse. Environmental problems are reaching critical dimensions.

All this sets a clear imperative for politicians, who bear a responsibility for the future of their nations: they must do their utmost to avert nuclear disaster, ensure stable peace and jointly resolve the most pressing problems of mankind.

We are not far from the date when the first day of a new century and a new millenium will appear on our calendars. We have a unique opportunity to pass this planet on to posterity as a safe and good place to live.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

That context gives special prominence to the humanistic legacy of the great October socialist revolution, the seventieth anniversary of which will soon be commemorated by mankind. That was an event of extraordinary, epoch-making importance. It introduced into world politics the concept of peaceful coexistence between States with differing social systems. It is of more than symbolic significance that in its very first document, Lenin's decree on peace, the October Revolution rejected armed force as an instrument of foreign policy.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

Today in Czechoslovakia, in the socialist world, a major restructuring of all spheres of social life is under way in the light of those ideas, and the process of deepening socialist democracy is continuing. This is all tied very closely to universal human values, to the need to build and establish relationships of close joint action among States in our interrelated world, where the relationship between the national and the international is changing. It is an appeal to work together and make use of all the possibilities available.

The Czechoslovak people have a vital interest in the success of the peace policy. They regard it as a guarantee of their present and their future. In the words of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak:

"We shall contribute to the strengthening of the front of peace, sound reason and realism in the world so as to make the prospects of peace ever safer."

That aim is also being pursued through the initiative concerning the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security introduced in this forum by the socialist countries. It should constitute a set of specific, jointly agreed measures that would primarily provide, to an ever increasing degree, for greater effectiveness and practical reinforcement of the binding power of the fundamental laws of international life as embodied in the United Nations Charter.

The reality of a secure world is inseparably tied to its safeguards. The mechanism for this should be the United Nations. This is our understanding of the well-known article by Mikhail S. Gorbachev that was published on the eve of this session. We believe that the suggestions formulated therein will give a strong impetus to the activity of the United Nations and of all States in building and safeguarding comprehensive security.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

We believe that the creation of security guarantees in the military sphere, the adoption of concrete measures for halting the arms build-up and proceeding to step-by-step disarmament, and the reduction of the military potential of States to reasonable levels are of decisive importance. Such measures would be conducive to the implementation of the programme, vital to mankind, for the elimination of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. That programme is realistic because it is based on the need to ensure equal security for all participating countries at all stages of the disarmament process.

We are confident that the first genuine breakthrough in the field of nuclear disarmament will be the conclusion and implementation of the treaty on the global elimination of Soviet and United States intermediate-range and operational-tactical nuclear missiles. We have done our best to facilitate that positive move towards real disarmament and we are ready to continue our efforts in the expectation that other countries directly concerned will proceed in the same spirit.

The conclusion of this treaty at a summit meeting should be a historic prologue to the unfolding of a comprehensive process of disarmament in which a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, with consistent observance of the Soviet-United States anti-ballistic-missile Treaty, could be the next step.

We welcome the idea of stepping up the work of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament so that it may gradually become a permanent, universal negotiating body on disarmament. In our view it should work on a year-round basis. We feel that it would be appropriate to consider this subject also and to adopt corresponding measures, for instance at the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, to be held next year.

Another hopeful sign this year is the development with regard to a convention on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of stockpiles of such weapons. The conclusion of such a convention would also be an event of

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

great importance for all mankind. In this context, we appreciate the constructive statement of the Soviet Union in Geneva this year that in the negotiations it will proceed on the basis of the legal stipulation of the principle of mandatory inspections upon request and without the right of rejection. We fully endorse that approach and hope that other countries will proceed on the same lines. That position is a demonstration of the readiness of the socialist countries to ensure effective verification of the entire disarmament process in conditions of openness and confidence. In this spirit we want to take an active part in consideration of verification questions in the United Nations as well.

The need to resolve the issue of a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons is ever more imperative. We believe that this, too, will be significantly facilitated by the agreed comprehensive phased negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

We continue to regard it as extraordinarily important to prevent the stationing of weapons in space and agree on a programme of joint practical action in the peaceful uses of outer space. We support the establishment of a system of international verification of the preservation of peace in outer space.

Global security is closely linked with the strengthening of security and the development of peaceful relations, co-operation and confidence in Europe, a continent which, unfortunately, is still burdened with an excessive quantity of nuclear and conventional arsenals. That is why it is especially necessary to have a policy of détente, that process of consolidating the foundations of the common European house that is proof of the viability of the principle of the coexistence of the two systems. Today, after some vacillation and even stagnation, and doubts having been overcome, the all-European process is again gaining momentum. More pronounced results have been achieved in the political, military, humanitarian and other spheres.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

The Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to agree on a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe remains highly topical. We are encouraged by the fact that the contours of future talks on those important questions, as well as on the development of confidence- and security-building, have begun to emerge in Vienna. We consider that those issues must be dealt with from the point of view of their interrelationship within the framework of the all-European process.

An important part of European security and co-operation is the whole complex of mutual economic contacts. In order further to advance such contacts we proposed at the Vienna follow-up meeting the holding of a European economic forum in Prague, at which the whole range of questions relating to development in trade, industrial co-operation, finance and other specific areas would be addressed.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

Of no less importance in our view is the further development of co-operation in humanitarian matters. We are engaged in a constructive solution of these issues in both multilateral negotiations and bilateral relations. The entire humanitarian dimension of the European process, including respect for the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights, should be considered at the proposed conference, the holding of which in Moscow we fully support. At the same time, it is our assumption that it is necessary to have an all-embracing approach to this subject, an approach that we are consequently pursuing.

At the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member States held in Berlin this year we called on the countries members of the NATO to engage in joint consultations on military doctrines. We reaffirmed that the Warsaw Treaty States will never, under any conditions, launch military actions against any State or alliance of States unless they themselves become the object of an armed attack, and they also stated that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

As a country located along the line of contact between the two military and political groupings, we are very much interested in a supervised withdrawal of nuclear and other offensive weapons from national borders. We have therefore, jointly with the German Democratic Republic, proposed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor along the line of contact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe. Similarly, we have put forward a joint initiative for the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Central European region. This measure could be the first step towards the complete elimination of chemical weapons.

It is our view that stability would be strengthened significantly through implementation of the plan of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for a

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

limitation of armaments and for enhancing trust and confidence in Central Europe.

We call upon our partners to take a constructive stance on these proposals of ours and thus to engage in the solution of the questions of common security in a spirit of co-responsibility.

The ensuring of comprehensive international security is unthinkable without energetic efforts to bring about a just settlement of international disputes and conflicts which, in a number of places, continue to undermine world peace and stability.

We are deeply concerned over the dangerous escalation of military tension in the Persian Gulf, which threatens to result in an internationalization of the conflict. We fully support the United Nations Secretary-General in his efforts to bring about a termination of the Iraq-Iran war and we call for a consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). The safety of navigation in the Gulf must be provided for by efforts of the international community as a whole.

We speak out with all resoluteness in favour of the holding of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and of other parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The convening of such a conference is gaining ever increasing support. We regard as a key question the consequent exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the establishment of their own State.

We commend the adoption of a peace plan for Central America at a meeting of the presidents of the countries of that region held this year in Guatemala and we appreciate the meritorious activity of the Contadora Group and of the countries supporting it. We value the determined steps taken by the Nicaraguan Government to

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

carry out the decisions adopted. We vehemently condemn the illegal pressure exerted on this country, which is in direct contradiction with the basic norms of international law.

We are indignant over the untenable situation in southern Africa. The escalating acts of repression by the ruling racist minority against the native African population, the persisting occupation of Namibia and the overall increase in the aggressiveness of the Pretoria régime are destabilizing factors in international developments. We demand that all those who bear direct or indirect responsibility for the perpetuation of this perilous state of affairs proceed to adopt mandatory and effective sanctions, in harmony with the will of the international community, thus contributing to the eradication of apartheid. We resolutely support the just struggle of the front-line States against South African expansion.

Our full support is extended to the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with increasing co-operation from all national forces. We are convinced that this policy, together with the peace-making mediation of the United Nations, will lead to a just settlement of the existing problems. In parallel, an end must of course be put to outside intervention against this peace process.

We welcome the fact that the idea of national consonance and harmony is gaining ground also in Kampuchea. We fully support the recent declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which shows a realistic move towards genuine reconciliation and should therefore not remain unanswered.

We firmly advocate the solution to the problem of Cyprus through the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, to provide for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of this non-aligned country.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

Due credit must be given to the constructive proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a view to dissolving tensions on the Korean peninsula and achieving the withdrawal of foreign forces and nuclear weapons. The initiative for a reduction of armed forces by both sides and the manifest willingness to take important unilateral steps in that direction is a significant contribution to the achievement of a peaceful reunification of the country.

A valuable contribution by the United Nations to efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of disputes is the working out of a draft declaration on the enhancement of the effectiveness of the principle of non-use of force in international relations. We express our desire to see this declaration unanimously adopted by the Assembly at this session.

A considerable contribution to the attainment of the aims and objectives of our Organization in the field of global security could be made through implementation of a number of regional projects that have been contemplated. Worthy of primary attention in this regard are, in our view, the concepts of security, co-operation, confidence, and reduction of armaments in the Asian-Pacific region, the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the conversion of the Mediterranean into an area of peaceful co-operation, and the proposal for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. Extraordinary interest has been shown in recent days in the important initiative of the Soviet Union to ensure security and co-operation in the northern regions of our planet; Czechoslovakia fully endorses the initiative.

The key tasks of achieving comprehensive security are also linked with the need for a basic improvement in international economic relations.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

Along with the other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia takes an unequivocal stance on these questions. A realistic solution can be found in generating the economic security of every State, of entire continents, and of the whole world within the framework of a comprehensive system of international security. This presupposes, among other things, the adoption of effective measures to break the fetters of massive indebtedness. What is required is the restructuring of the world monetary system, additional easements for the least developed countries, and gradual elimination of protectionism. Briefly, what is needed is the overcoming of backwardness through the dynamism of broad international economic co-operation.

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

Similarly, we consider it necessary to develop further the ideas and conclusions of the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. In their memorandum to the Conference the socialist countries presented an integrated plan for a realistic solution to those questions. We express our appreciation of the contributions made by all the participants to the success of the Conference.

As regards the ecological dimension of security we see the underlying solution of the relationship between man and nature in all aspects of human activities, in an improvement in the quality and rational utilization of the environment and of its resources in the interests of individual nations and of people everywhere. This includes measures to prevent abuse of the environment as a result of industrial and agricultural production, the use of preventive measures and early warning systems, and reparations for damages in cases of ecologically dangerous accidents. Sooner or later, ecological security must also encompass elimination of the most hazardous factors that threaten to destroy the conditions for life on our planet, namely, weapons of mass destruction.

For our part, we approach the discussion of these problems in all seriousness. As a State situated in the centre of Europe, we are confronted by those problems in an especially urgent manner. We allocate large sums of money for their solution. At the same time, we realize that an overall solution can be reached only if forces are joined within the framework of a global strategy for environmental conservation. We would urge the United Nations to begin to formulate such a strategy without delay. For our part, we are prepared at this session to contribute to such a programme.

The endeavour to participate actively in finding constructive solutions to international problems has a long-standing tradition in our country. It emanates from the inherent interests of our people, from the very roots of our socialist

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

society, and from the foreign policy of our country. In these efforts, we proceed from the assumption that the United Nations is an irreplaceable global mechanism for co-operation designed to solve the fundamental questions of our times and to serve as a universal guarantor of peaceful coexistence and comprehensive security. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to do its best to enhance the prestige of our Organization and make full use of its potential in the interests of peace and the security of nations.

AGENDA ITEM 34

THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA: THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND PEACE INITIATIVES

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/42/127-S/18686)
- (b) Draft resolution (A/42/L.2)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with the decision taken at the plenary meeting yesterday afternoon, the Assembly will now consider agenda item 34.

In this connection, a draft resolution has been circulated in document A/42/L.2. I call on the representative of Costa Rica to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): As a result of the decision taken by my Central American colleagues, I have the honour to present the draft resolution on the Agreement for peace in our region, which was prepared with the presence of the ambassadors of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. Accordingly, Mr. President, I wish first of all to thank you for the speedy attention you gave to our request to have this matter considered before the conclusion of the general debate. We sincerely appreciate your promptness in responding to our request to be heard, your courtesy and the accommodating and

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

thorough manner in which you discussed our request with us, and I wish to place our appreciation on record. We thank you very much.

In his address to the General Assembly two weeks ago, the President of my country said the following:

"The Costa Rican delegation to this Organization will present to the Assembly the peace plan signed in Guatemala. We shall ask for approval of that plan in a resolution of the United Nations and for its adoption by this Assembly. We shall ask that it be backed by the full political force that the nations of the world bring to bear on identifying and supporting just causes in this forum. I am confident that we shall receive that support. I am certain that, together, we can say that the power of diplomacy and the validity of political accords undertaken in good faith will always be more effective than weapons, that they will always be stronger than war. I am certain that we shall walk the path of peace together in order to banish war from our region once and for all." (A/42/PV.8, pp. 7-8)

The proposal made by President Arias represented instructions for us, the representatives of Costa Rica in the United Nations, and was a request for support by all the members of the General Assembly. However, the Guatemala Agreement was signed with five presidents, it followed that the request was not simply Costa Rican. Like all the activities carried out under this heading, it is made on behalf of, and for, all the countries of Central America. That is why we turned first to our brothers from the historic Central American region in making our request for co-sponsorship. As the Governments of the countries of the Contadora Group and its Support Group work in a dispassionate, altruistic, patient and intelligent manner in pursuit of peace, it was only natural for us to seek the companionship of the five Central American countries in this undertaking as representatives of their Governments.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

It is sufficient to say today that both requests - that from Costa Rica to the Central Americans and that from Central America to the countries of the groups I have mentioned - had the warmest possible reception, revealing a spirit of unity that has not always existed between Latin Americans. The working sessions marked stages in a drafting process in which efforts were made to attain the best possible result, our common goal, without doubt arising as to whether the endeavour would contribute to peace in Central America and would express the general satisfaction at the prospects of peace emerging. The result of those lengthy sessions is the draft resolution. It is now up to representatives to judge whether our efforts deserve the Assembly's approval.

Many delegations have generously and spontaneously offered not merely their support but sponsorship. The group putting forward the draft resolution preferred to limit the number of sponsors, not out of disregard for or lack of appreciation of the offers, but because we thought it sufficient that the whole international community appreciated the existence of the political will for peace in Central America, which the Secretary-General correctly considered did not exist last January. We therefore decided that the sponsors should be the parties directly concerned, without putting on record or judging the positions that each of us had assumed in the past. As a Central American, I wish to express appreciation for the support and the expressions of sympathy, encouragement and willingness to co-operate given in the course of the general debate.

Central America has taken up the attention of the United Nations throughout all the years in which we have been one of the world's centres of crisis. Representatives of a wide variety of countries have expressed their satisfaction at the possible reduction of conflict, so the Assembly may imagine the feelings of us Central Americans at the possibility of peace, an end to war and a lessening of the suffering of our peoples.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

We have presented a draft resolution that does not seek to pass judgement on the conflicts, nor does it contain condemnations or put responsibility on anyone. It expresses the gratification we have perceived from the statements made in the Assembly and the desire to obtain the Organization's support so that this effort may result in the reality of stable and lasting peace and so that the democratization, justice and development needed to attain that peace may become a reality.

Our draft resolution seeks a mandate for the Secretary-General, who, acting under the powers given by previous resolutions, last November offered his services to the Central American countries and their colleagues in the Contadora and Support Groups. His offer was made at one of the most discouraging moments in the process of pursuing peace in Central America, when every effort seemed to have failed and the progress made through the tremendous work of the Contadora Group seemed to have reached a dead end. The Secretary-General's offer had two great merits: it showed that the reserves of energy for the pursuit of peace in Central America had not run out and that the United Nations was still prepared to make a further effort to attain peace in any conflict area in the world.

Today the offer made last November can become an invaluable source of assistance, which the Central American countries will require in the coming months. That is why we call on the Assembly to reinforce the action already taken by the Secretary-General, together with the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States (OAS), thus showing that the United Nations, created in response to a war which had threatened the destruction of human civilization, can support, strengthen and bring order in continuing efforts to end every war - all wars.

This is a fitting occasion to express the satisfaction with which we have followed the joint endeavours of the United Nations and the Organization of American States with regard to the Central American crisis. Those endeavours

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

started last November, when both Secretaries-General offered their services, to which I have just referred. Since the founding of the United Nations we have had the difficulty of knowing who should deal with the problems of the western hemisphere - the regional Organization or our universal Organization. With the joint measures taken in connection with Central America, the two Secretaries-General have shown the best way to deal with these problems, developing a stronger and more effective line of action.

When both Secretaries-General agreed to be members of the International Verification and Follow-up Commission provided for in the Agreement signed by the Central American Presidents, they again showed their spirit of service and understanding of the problem, an attitude that needs the support of Member States. That is why, in calling for the provision to the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the necessary facilities, my Government commits itself to present a similar draft resolution in the Organization of American States. In doing so, we hope to be joined by the other Central American countries and the countries of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. In that way, both Organizations will be able to make a decisive and effective contribution to the process of peace and democratization in Central America.

The United Nations is an Organization set up to achieve peace, but we recognize that normally the parties to any conflict come here not to advocate peace but to defend national interests as seen by the Governments we serve. There may be among us a great sense of brotherhood; that is inevitable in the work of an Organization so diverse and so full of varying interests, so rich in different theories as to how to improve the societies established by man. But there are rarely occasions for the free expression of that spirit. We recognize that today, with regard to Central America, such expression is possible. Our Presidents, who,

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

in shouldering their weighty responsibilities, took on the task of producing a peace plan, and our peoples, tired of struggle and worn down by suffering, hope that the United Nations will today be a source of encouragement for the road ahead and a source of support in the days to come.

A plan, like a resolution, represents a decision, but it is not in itself a tangible reality. Peace in Central America may be far off or near at hand but, as President Arias Sanchez said in his address,

"Today a new climate is evolving in Central America. A waning faith is being reborn: it must be helped to flourish. We must believe again in freedom, in dialogue, in free expression of the will of the people."

(A/42/PV.8, p. 7)

One realizes simply from reading the newspapers that in Central America it is now a matter not of losses on the battlefield, but of reopening collective means of communication, negotiation and cease-fire; and one can see the reality of this change. The Assembly can contribute to all that by adopting the draft resolution we have presented. On behalf of all Central Americans - not a few or even a majority, but all - I ask that it be adopted.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/42/L.2. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution A/42/L.2 was adopted (resolution 42/1).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of the United States of America has asked to speak in explanation of vote, and I now call on him.

Mr. MARTINEZ PIEDRA (United States of America): The United States is pleased to see the international community join together to support the process that the Central Americans have established to achieve genuine peace and pluralistic democracy in Central America. We are encouraged by the accord signed in Guatemala on 7 August 1987 by the Presidents of the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, which we believe is an important step towards achieving that goal.

The struggle for democracy is an indispensable part of the struggle for peace in Central America. The Guatemala Agreement, which we have just endorsed, provides for dialogue, amnesty, reconciliation and free elections. Most importantly, it incorporates a commitment on the part of each signatory to promote an authentic pluralistic and participatory democratic process. Four of the countries of Central America have made great advances and are far along the democratic path. However, one lags far behind. If this Central American initiative is to be successful, all of the signatories must comply with all the terms of the Agreement.

For example, the Guatemala Agreement is quite specific in its terms dealing with press freedom. Therefore, we await with great hope and anticipation the establishment of complete freedom for television, radio and the press in Nicaragua. We take absolutely seriously the commitment of every Government in

(Mr. Martinez Piedra, United States)

Central America to protect the right of political groups to have ample access to the means of communication, general enjoyment of the right of association and the ability to hold public demonstrations and exercise unrestricted oral, written and televised publicity as well as free movement for members of political parties for purposes of proselytizing. The reopening of one opposition newspaper or one radio station is a good first step, but it is not enough.

The Agreement signed by the Central American Presidents clearly calls for the establishment of democratic societies where individual freedom is enshrined and protected. A truly democratic society will not emerge without national reconciliation. The United States calls on the Government of Nicaragua to emulate the example of the Government of El Salvador by initiating an open dialogue with its armed opposition, rather than trying to impose its will solely through unilateral action. We hope to see the elimination of block committees that restrict and repress the citizens of Nicaragua. The United States also notes with some alarm the recent actions taken by the Government of Nicaragua to threaten to draft participants in demonstrations into the Sandinista military. Such actions raise doubts about the will to carry out the promises made at Guatemala this past August.

To breathe life into the words to which we have committed ourselves today, we will need to monitor closely the unfolding of the peace process. The United States remains concerned about security issues, especially the presence of foreign troops and the predominance of Sandinista military might in Central America. The Guatemala Agreement is a set of overlapping and interlocking commitments to which all signatories are bound. The Agreement will not succeed unless all signatories fulfil all of their commitments.

(Mr. Martinez Piedra, United States)

The United States believes that the regional body, the Organization of American States, should take the lead in assuring compliance in response to the requests of the Executive Commission of Central American Foreign Ministers, established under the Agreement.

The members of the Organization of American States have the interest, the experience and the knowledge to deal wisely and effectively with events that are so important to hemispheric security and stability. Only through a concerted regional effort will the hopes of the Guatemala Agreement for a lasting peace reach fruition. Much work has to be done and much progress has been made by the nations of the region. Much more remains to be done. Let us allow this momentum to continue so that true peace can emerge in Central America.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): It was not our intention to take part in this debate, since we had foreseen what has happened: total support from the international community for the peace process in Central America. Nevertheless, now that the representative of the United States has referred directly to us, we should like to make the following comments and observations.

First of all, we are encouraged by the fact that the representative of the United States has supported this resolution. This could be evidence of our hope that the United States can accept the wishes for peace expressed by the Governments of Central America and that it will not in any way attempt to prevent success for the Guatemala agreements.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

My country has been committed to peace and continues to be devoted to peace. We need peace. We want to attain it. Unfortunately, throughout this time we have witnessed only a policy of aggression from the United States. It is our hope that, in the spirit that is emanating from Central America, we may also count on the Government of the United States to stop acts of aggression and the financing of forces against our country. That would be the most effective way in which the United States Government could demonstrate its wish for peace in Central America and its determination to support the text approved today by the international community.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.