

General Assembly

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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 10 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

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(Spain)

later:Mrs. CASTRO de PARISH (Vice-President)(Costa Rica)later:Mr. DE PINIÉS (President)(Spain)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Castro (Philippines) Mr. Kafe (Comoros) Mr. Al-Thani (Qatar) Mr. Choudhury (Bangladesh)

- Programme of work

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

<u>Mr. CASTRO</u> (Philippines): I wish to convey to you, Sir, the felicitations and best wishes of 54 million Filipinos on your unanimous election as President of this historic fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Republic of the Philippines has had centuries of historical relations with the Kingdom of Spain. That is why we are confident that under your able and sagacious leadership the causes of the universal peace and development so vitally needed in our time will be further advanced this year. I also wish to commend your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, whom I had the pleasure of working with in Bandung, Indonesia, during the recent meeting to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Asia-Africa Conference.

Since we began the general debate 17 days ago, 14 Heads of State or Government, 88 Foreign Ministers and 25 plenipotentiaries have stated from this rostrum their respective national positions on issues currently on our agenda. They have also articulated their visions of the future based on our common experience during the past 40 years as the United Nations moves inexorably forward to the next millenium.

Like my predecessors during the past four decades, I will at the outset deliver the recurring opening salvo, so to speak, of our yearly policy statements before this forum, which is a resounding call to all nations to heed the universal clamour for peace and the rule of law in international relations. If the Philippines persists in its efforts to pursue the course of peace it is because we have suffered successive invasions and domination by many foreign Powers. That is why as early as 1935 we solemnly enshrined in our Constitution a declaration

renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and adopted the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of our land. In 1973 we expanded those noble objectives by proclaiming in a new Constitution our adherence to a policy of peace, equality, justice, freedom, co-operation and amity with all nations. Thus, it is inevitable that we share the frustrations of many of our brothers and sisters here present at the slow progress towards universal peace.

The peace that we seek is not merely the absence of bi-national or regional conflicts but internal peace brought about by a universal respect for the right of sovereign States to equality and non-interference in their domestic affairs.

Respect for Philippine democratic institutions was established freely by the sovereign electorate in free, fair, open and universal suffrage when we ratified our new Constitution, which created a republican parliamentary form of government, in 1973, when we voted for members of our parliament in 1978 and again in 1984 and when we re-elected President Ferdinand E. Marcos for a third term in 1981. The Filipino electorate will once again go to the polls in 1986 to elect their provincial governors as well as city and municipal mayors and council members and in 1987 to elect a President of the Republic. All we ask is scrupulous respect for United Nations resolutions and declarations on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States so that our people will be able once again to exercise freely their right to self-determination. Also, and above all, we call for strict non-interference in the problem of insurgency that has confronted our people since 1946. We should like to assure the General Assembly that, as in the past, the Filipinos are capable of settling this problem by themselves. There is no danger whatsoever that the Philippines will become a flash-point of conflict, as has been the macabre wish of the Western media during the past two years.

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

While others have placed the entire responsibility for the awesome task of peace-keeping on the United Nations and condemned it for its apparent ineffectiveness, the Philippines would like to believe that the United Nations has done more than any past concert or collectivity of sovereign States. We have at least reined in the atavistic human forces eager to plunge the world anew into a cataclysm.

True, there have been and are still ongoing regional wars and conflicts, but through the instruments and mechanisms that we instituted in the United Nations Charter we have effectively arrested their degeneration into more catastrophic proportions. Who will deny the pacific roles played by peace-keeping forces in Kashmir, Korea, Congo, the Middle East, Cyprus and Lebanon? There is no doubt that the conflicts that we have seen since 1946 would have deteriorated beyond rational proportions had it not been for the timely interposition of a United Nations presence.

Indeed, as we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization, we should consecrate a day to the memory of those who have dedicated their lives to the service of international peace, such as the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, Count Folke Bernadotte and Ralph Bunche - the first and third of whom were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, to their lasting personal credit as well as that of the United Nations, which they served valiantly. The labours for peace are unending. Let us not forget either that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have similarly been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their contributions to eradicating the scourge of war.

Therefore, I reiterate the almost universal call for the immediate and total

withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and full respect for the right of all Kampucheans to self-determination. Specifically, we call upon Viet Nam to demonstrate anew its commitment to peace and the rule of law by respecting United Nations resolutions on the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem, particularly General Assembly resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6, 38/3 and 39/5. We appeal to all peace-loving States to continue their valuable support for the unceasing and determined efforts of all the Members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - the Standing Committee of which the Philippines has the honour of presiding over this year - to restore peace, independence, freedom and justice to the suffering people of Kampuchea. For, as long as one nation is under military occupation, the ASEAN vision of making South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality will remain in the limbo of geopolitics.

Let us make 1986 a genuine international year of peace in South-East Asia by our renewed collective demand for the liberation of Kampuchea from all foreign military forces before the close of 1985.

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

Indeed, in our time precedents are not wanting for foreign military forces withdrawing unilaterally from parts of Indo-China. Within the context of the principle that Asian problems must be solved through Asian solutions by Asians themselves, we in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are ready at any time to meet the Vietnamese and all concerned and interested parties, to discuss anything, to facilitate the speedy withdrawal of foreign military forces from Kampuchea. If we are to strengthen and give meaning to the United Nations as an instrument of peace, let us meet together now and pre-empt a bipolar solution to our regional problem - for it would be a serious blow to the sovereign rights of small States to have their fate decided by the big Powers.

Along the same lines, the Philippines supports all moves towards détente, entente and co-operation in the Korean peninsula and hopes that this will eventually lead to the upgrading of the status of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from that of Observers to full Members of the United Nations. This move will not only lend substance to the principle of universality but will also enrich the United Nations by the contributions of 62 million hard-working Koreans to the maintenance of international peace, security and development.

In Afghanistan, the continued presence of foreign occupation forces has likewise prevented the exercise of self-determination by the Afghan people and the restoration of their non-aligned status.

In the Middle East, the oil lifeline of most of the world's energy deposits in the region remains in peril and could be cut off at any time on account of the continuing Iran-Iraq war. If this were to happen, the world would be plunged into a depression of unprecedented severity causing untold misery to mankind. We should like therefore to associate ourselves with all people of goodwill in the world

who have called for a peaceful political settlement of this terrible war of attrition between two developing nations.

The Arab-Israeli conflict remains unresolved. Israel remains in possession of Jerusalem and the territories it occupied in the 1967 war. On the other hand, the right of Israel to exist behind secure boundaries remains unrecognized. In short, the issue continues to be stalemated and calls for imaginative settlement and initiative.

The Philippines has always sought to promote the pacific resolutions of international disputes. In 1982, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes. The Declaration embodies the sentiments of most States to solve their disputes through peaceful means. This goal must be accepted without any reservations and must be internalized by the international community with the active support of the United Nations. It is our hope that the protagonists in existing regional conflicts will retrieve this valuable document from their files and give it their thoughtful and Serious consideration - for, who knows, it might yet hold the key to honourable solutions to otherwise intractable conflicts.

Besides these international disputes, the process of change within some countries has resulted in domestic instability which is promptly exported to adjoining regions.

In South Africa, the policy of <u>apartheid</u> by that country which is offensive to the sensibilities of mankind, has resulted in untold sufferings for the majority of its people. Moreover, it threatens the stability of the whole region. On the eve of the International Year of Peace, we call upon South Africa to restore, to respect and to protect the fundamental rights of Africans and all Coloured peoples in that tortured land. We also urge South Africa to heed the call of the international community for an independent and sovereign Namibia.

The process of modernization has always been attended by instability, as old institutions are torn down and replaced by new ones. But in Central America this process has been complicated by the intrusion of big-Power rivalry in the process of change. It is time that the countries in that region were left alone to seek cut their own solutions and their own approaches for the modernization of their respective societies.

These political issues have been the continuing concern of the United Nations since its formative years. Over the years, international economic issues, which are just as destabilizing to world peace, have added a new dimension to global problems.

Two decades after the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD I), it is sad to note that the gap between the North and the South remains. Worse still, it is widening. In a nutshell, the primordial concern of the third-world countries remains the question of how to reduce the time frame of their development to meet the rising expectations of their peoples.

The pursuit of development requires massive infusion of investment funds. It cannot be denied that there is room for improvement on the measures which have been taken by some developing countries to increase domestic savings to finance their developmental needs. However, development projects require heavy foreign exchange components. In the final analysis, this requirement could only be met by making available adequate flows of foreign exchange to developing countries. This goal requires action on three fronts: trade, capital flows and official development assistance.

Exports of developing countries continue to be hampered by tariff and non-tariff barriers in the developed countries. What is more, the developing countries are getting trampled upon like the grass because of the proverbial guarrel between elephants.

AW/ve

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

Nowhere is this more evident than in the current trade wars among the industrial countries and the resulting surge of protectionism in some of these countries. While these protectionist measures by some developed countries are directed primarily against each other's trade, their impact on the developing countries will nevertheless be more devastating because of their fragile economies. The escalating war of protectionism among the industrial countries has literally crushed all efforts at economic modernization by the developing countries no matter how heroic they may have been. To us in the third world, this is more awesome than the threat of the so-called "star wars" because it has already brought about the impoverishment of our peoples.

It gives us some hope that in the last Bonn summit the leaders of the industrial countries, realizing the dangers inherent in a protracted trade war, called for a new round of trade negotiations where the problems of the third world will also be addressed.

My Government wholeheartedly supports such a proposal even as we express the hope that the industrial countries will redouble their efforts in implementing the results of past commitments under the multilateral trade negotiations.

The decrease in petro-dollars has stifled the flow of capital to developing countries. Moreover, the continuing budget deficits in some of the major industrial countries necessitate massive borrowings in the world capital markets by these countries. The developing States are thus often faced with the unenviable task of competing with these affluent countries for scarce loanable funds in the world capital markets at interest rates and conditions that serve to aggravate their already disadvantaged positions. Indeed, the increasing debt burden of developing countries has become more onerous by inordinate interest rates and conditions. The United Nations cannot long ignore this problem for it could

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precipitate a global financial crisis unseen in the history of mankind. International action is necessary to avert this looming catastrophe.

The flow of resources to developing countries has remained way below the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product arrived at by international consensus. On average, the donor countries have allocated only 0.4 per cent of their gross national product for official development assistance. As of 1984, only four donor countries have met or exceeded the 0.7 per cent target.

The shortfall of funds needed by the developing countries to meet their national development goals is a continuing crisis, and unless some drastic measures are taken the goal envisaged in the United Nations Charter of a peaceful and prosperous world will remain unfulfilled. New and bold initiatives are needed for resolving the issue. In this respect, it is high time the developed countries put a global perspective on some of their domestic programmes to reduce the inequities in their respective societies, such as those which encourage investments in depressed areas. Typically, such programmes consist of a package of incentives for relocating industries in those areas. These incentives could take such forms as lower income tax rates, low interest loans, free training assistance and the like. If the developed countries were to view the third world in the same manner as the depressed areas in their respective societies, investments made in the developing countries would then be entitled to the same incentives and investments as those made in those depressed regions. As an initial and minimal step, the developed countries could apply a lower tax rate to income derived from new investments in developing countries. This proposal would undoubtedly improve the flow of investments into the third world. The philosophy behind the preferential treatment given to investments in those depressed areas is based on the sound reasoning that ultimately such regions, once developed, would cease to be a burden and become contributors to the national well-being. There is no doubt that most of the developing third-world countries could contribute just as positively to international prosperity, benefiting everyone, if they were given equal incentives to develop.

Since the major obstacle to the development of most of the third world is lack of sufficient resources, we view with encouragement the coming talks between the two super-Powers on arms control. My Government hopes that these talks will result

in substantive cuts in defence spending. These savings could then be used for development spending. It has been estimated that \$900 billion dollars a year is spent on armaments by the whole world. Just a portion of this amount would go far towards accelerating the economic growth of the third world. Moreover, the world would experience a heightened sense of security through the mutual reduction of armaments.

The striving for development is, unfortunately, based on material things. In fact, most of the parameters used as indicators of progress are based on material goods. However, as the developed countries have already experienced, development has its dehumanizing effect. We note this readily in the robot-like treatment of workers in the assembly line, or the often-noted phenomenon of an individual in an advanced country cut off from all his roots in an atomized and fragmented society.

In the natural course of events man works to satisfy his physiological wants by the acquisition of material things; but, beyond a certain level of consumption, he seeks higher values in the form of psychic rewards or self-fulfilment. This drive for self-fulfilment can often be achieved only by a holistic development of the capabilities of an individual and of the various sectors of the community in which he lives. While the United Nations has rightfully been preoccupied with satisfying the material demands of the world, it is time we looked towards the future and defined those higher values which societies and man must seek as he strives for progress.

It is within this context that the Philippines at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly proposed the inclusion of an item entitled "New International Human Order: Moral Aspects of Development". It is the hope of my Government, in pursuing this initiative, that the world will look beyond the satisfaction of material wants, beyond the usual parameters of economic growth, and strive for the establishment of an international order which will consider man as the object rather than the subject of development.

The United Nations is indeed beset with numerous global problems, as we have indicated; but in the long run the survival of this body will rest on the ability of each Member nation to maintain domestic stability. In our interdependent world, instability in one country can easily be exported to its neighbours.

While the political reforms in my country that I adverted to earlier cannot by themselves ensure domestic stability, they will be meaningless in the face of widespread economic deprivation. Therefore we are happy to note that the steps we have taken during the past two years are now leading towards a complete national economic recovery. The economic slide, which just a few months ago was cited by critics of our Government as presaging the imminent economic collapse of our country, has been reversed. We achieved this dramatic turn-around by pursuing a policy of fiscal restraint and monetary contraction. Our rate of inflation, which peaked at 63 per cent in the latter part of 1984, has been reduced to around 12 per cent; consequently, economic productivity has been stimulated. By the end of this year we are confident that it will be down to a single digit level.

On the fiscal side, we have reduced our budget deficit to 1.8 per cent of our gross national product. This reduced deficit was achieved by pursuing a policy of fiscal restraint on governmental expenditures. At the same time, we were able to collect more taxes by the efficient administration of existing tax laws and by broadening our tax base by eliminating tax exemptions.

During the first six months of this year we experienced a balance-of-payments surplus of \$2.5 billion. This figure is a dramatic turn-around from the \$1.8 billion deficit we experienced in 1984 and the \$2.7 billion shortfall in 1983. The deficit in our balance of trade has likewise decreased from \$316 million in the first half of 1983 to \$261 million in the first half of this year. We achieved this reduction notwithstanding the depressed prices for most of our

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

primary export products. Our imports for 1984 were 12.6 per cent lower than in 1983.

Recognizing the scarcity of foreign exchange at the moment, we have changed our development strategy from the establishment of capital-intensive heavy industries in favour of a more balanced agro-industrial development. Our policy of giving incentives to the development of export-oriented industries has resulted in the diversification of our exports. In 1960, for example, only 4 per cent of our total exports were non-traditional in the form of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods. By 1980 our non-traditional exports expanded to 36 per cent of our total exports, increasing further to 58 per cent in 1984. In our drive to increase our foreign exchange earnings to meet our developmental needs, we have also tapped other sources of invisible earnings, such as tourism and the remittances from our workers abroad.

All these statistics on economic growth and recovery will be meaningless, however, if the wealth accumulated by a country remains concentrated in the hands of a few. Even more important than the increase in a country's wealth as indicated by the growth of its gross national product is the overriding question of how this wealth is redistributed. In other words, who benefits from this growth?

Our recent performance on this score is noteworthy. The share in income of the bottom 60 per cent of the families in our society increased from 21.7 per cent to 22.9 per cent between 1981 and 1983, or by 1.2 per cent in two years.

This incremental gain may not appear large at first glance. None the less its significance is not lost on our people. It confirms that the policies we have pursued all these years are headed in the right direction - towards the goal of an egalitarian and democratic society that we all envision for our people.

The Philippines has managed to overcome all its problems owing mainly to the continuing partnership between our people and our Government in meeting challenges that threaten our national existence. The prevalent view during the last two years, fanned in no small measure by foreign media, is that our Government has lost the confidence of its people and that our country is undergoing a crisis of legitimacy.

It gives me pleasure to state in this august forum that the most recent poll conducted by the Businessmen-Bishops Conference, an organization known for its independent views, totally belies this claim. The results of its nation-wide survey revealed that 44 per cent of our citizens approved of the performance of President Marcos and that only 25 per cent were in disagreement; the reliability of this survey has not been questioned by the numerous opposition parties.

Given the continued trust of our people in the ability of our present leaders to meet the continuing challenges of our time, the Philippines looks forward to the future with confidence.

Our main goal remains that of development which, in the words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI is the other term for peace. We shall pursue this goal, relying in the main on our resources and on the industry and innate ability of our people, through self-reliance.

But we shall at the same time always consider ourselves as part of the global community. When President Marcos assumed the presidency of the Philippines in 1965 he ruled out an inward-looking and xenophobic approach to development. He selected instead a strategy that would link our national economy to the global economy.

Consistent with this vision we have recognized the importance of foreign investments and we have corresmondingly assigned specific roles for foreign participation in our development, as spelled out in our investment priorities programme. We therefore look forward to sharing the benefits of international prosperity while contributing our own share towards its attainment.

We shall pursue and achieve our development goals under a system of orderly change, which will not destabilize our society and, ultimately, those of our neighbours. In our interdependent world, instability in one country is transmitted quickly to other areas.

President Ferdinand E. Marcos, in his book entitled <u>The Filipino Ideology</u>, said that

"we shall continue to support the United Nations in the firm conviction that this world Organization remains our only hope for international peace". Unfolding before us are new roles for the United Nations system as the world knocks at the threshold of the twenty-first century. Increasing international contacts and the growing interdependence of nations require new forms of co-operation even as new problems complicate the fate of humanity. The failures of old structures and programmes open the door to the new age. The idealism of the young and their determination to participate in building a better world are vital elements necessary to strengthen the United Nations system and prepare it better for the widening dimensions of its responsibilities.

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(Mr. Castro, Philippines)

The United Nations remains the primary guardian of man's universal conscience and the preserver of its ultimate significance. Despite its idealism, or perhaps because of it, this Organization is still mankind's best hope for peace and progress. As long as the United Nations exists, man's dream of and work for a world of peace, prosperity and freedom stand a better chance of fulfilment. It is infinitely desirable that we keep this Organization a living and dynamic body ever responsive to the needs and aspirations of mankind. We can do no less for our sake and for that of future generations.

That is why I should like to end my statement with a quotation from our esteemed Secretary-General, Don Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who has reminded us all that

"great effort of will and intelligence is going to be needed to build a system which will effectively preserve peace and which will work in the interests of

all peoples of this Earth".

May he therefore continue to persevere in his Herculean task that has been the dream of mankind since the dawn of civilization.

Long live the United Nations.

<u>Mr. KAFE</u> (Comoros) (interpretation from French): Slightly more than a week ago the Zionist entity committed an act of criminal aggression against Tunisia in blindly bombing a Palestinian camp situated close to the Tunisian capital, causing dozens of casualties among innocent victims.

This act of State terrorism, which has added one more to those already perpetrated by Israel against Arab countries, again reveals its true face and very clearly brings out the objectives it has set for itself, assisted by its strategic allies.

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(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

At a time when the international community is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, this act of aggression, seen as a crime against mankind attests to the contempt felt by the Zionist entity for the sacred principles of peace and justice set forth in the United Nations Charter.

My country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, unreservedly condemns this criminal act, and I should like here and now, on behalf of the Government and people of Comoros, to reaffirm our unswerving support and brotherly solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Palestine and Tunisia.*

I should like to take this opportunity to state how distressed the Government and people of Comoros were by the tragedy that struck Mexico.

I take this opportunity once again to express to the Government and people of that country our heartfelt condolences and to offer them our profound sympathy.

^{*} Mrs. Castro de Barish (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

It is particularly gratifying to me to convey to Ambassador de Piniés, on behalf of my delegation, our hearty congratulations on his election to the presidency of this session. We are convinced that his diplomatic gifts, experience and familiarity with all issues acquired in his service in important posts both in his country and in the United Nations will be a reliable guarantee of the success of our work.

Let me also hail the skill, authority and dedication displayed by his predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, the representative of a fraternal country, Zambia, in discharging the important responsibilities entrusted to him, thus doing honour not only to his country but also to the whole of Africa.

I shall not fail once again to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr.Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless and constant efforts in the service of world peace.

This fortieth session of our Organization during which we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of its founding is, for us, a historic event offering us the opportunity to take stock of these four decades of existence and to gauge the scope of the role it has been able to play as an international organ created to promote peace, security and co-operation in the world.

We are compelled to acknowledge that in the face of the inexorable multiplication of perils the peoples of the world have never felt so keenly the threat which looms daily over them and jeopardizes their very existence. Hence our concern at becoming aware of the growing inability of our Organization to confront the manifold challenges facing mankind, particularly those that represent a direct threat to international peace and security. And hence our awareness of the pressing need to take the measures required by circumstances to ensure respect for and application of the principles of law and justice embodied in our Organization's Charter.

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(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

If we fail to be vigilant today, tomorrow may be too late. Indeed, how can it be otherwise when might is more powerful than right and violence is substituted for dialogue and shared efforts?

Millions and millions of people have placed their hopes in this Organization. It embodies the conscience of the world at the same time as it constitutes, despite the obstacles in its way, the last moral threshold which certain Powers at times hesitate to cross.

The United Nations is the universal symbol of justice, equality and peace. It is thanks to its action that many peoples and dozens of nations previously labouring under the colonial yoke have today regained freedom and dignity. However, if the community of nations is to continue to discharge its heavy responsibilities effectively, a new state of mind forged of mutual understanding and reciprocal respect must prevail in international relations.

Just like the gloomy political situation now prevailing in international relations, the world economic situation is still a matter for concern. Indeed, most of the Members of this Organization, particularly those commonly known as the least developed countries, are suffering acutely from this unfavourable economic situation watching each day the circle of poverty, famine, disease and malnutrition tighten around them.

The developing countries in general and the least developed countries in particular are defenceless in facing the underlying causes of an economic crisis that is beyond their control. The disastrous effects of this crisis are inflation, reduction in external earnings resulting from a fall in the prices of raw materials, disarray in the international monetary system with a continued rise in interest rates, an increasingly heavy debt burden, the use by developed countries of protectionist measures, and many other elements.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

The much-vaunted recovery has begun a kind of Loch Ness monster and proves how inadequate are the partial and unilateral solutions taken by the developed countries to deal with structural problems. In our view, only a global and concerted approach encompassing all the realities of this complex situation, in particular taking into account the serious financial difficulties of the developing countries, will be sufficient to extirpate these ills. Indeed, the developing countries are seeing the prices of their commodities falling constantly, and thus their export earnings are reduced at a time when the debt load is becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

My country, the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, one of the least developed countries, is feeling the damaging effects of this crisis particularly painfully. For, as an island country of very limited resources and remote from the major centres of international communications, we are suffering from a continued fall in export earnings, leading to a substantial reduction in purchasing power.

This situation has been further compounded for the past two years by poor sales of our major export products. It is, I think, very easy to envisage the consequences of such a situation for an already fragile economy. They have engendered a financial deadlock which impedes our development activities. That means that the efforts undertaken by the Government of the Comoros to improve the economic situation, however praiseworthy they may be, will not in themselves be sufficient to speed up our country's development.

The Government of the Comoros for its part, firmly committed to the spirit of free enterprise, appeals to all persons of goodwill to make their contribution to our national reconstruction. Without increased and sustained assistance from the international community, our country will be unable to attain the objectives which it has set itself.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

To date, the Middle East has been an arena of death and destruction. Far from improving, the situation in that part of the world has worsened as a result of the intransigence of the State of Israel and its contempt for resolutions adopted in this Assembly. The Zionist entity not only refuses to withdraw from the Arab territories which it illegally occupies but persists in increasing the number of Jewish settlements, which quite often bring with them harsh repression of the Arab Palestinian population. In this regard, the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories brings out very clearly the inhuman conditions imposed on the indigenous inhabitants.

As we have said time and again, there can be no lasting and just peace in the Middle East until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, safeguarded and effectively enjoyed. Thus any negotiations aimed at settling this problem must necessarily involve the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and authentic legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

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(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

The situation in Lebanon, marked by daily violence and suffering, has been further exacerbated by the invasion of the Israeli army which, despite the significant losses inflicted on it by the brave people of Lebanon, continues its illegal occupation of a southern part of that country.

We take the view that the international community must bring mounting pressure to bear on Israel to compel it to withdraw its troops, in accordance with the terms of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), so that the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon can be assured.

After five years of hostility resulting in a situation from which nobody can emerge the victor, the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues its ravages on both sides. Despite the efforts of the United Nations and other international organizations, this murderous war has still not ended. In this regard, we welcome the cease-fire proposals of the Iraqi Government with a view to finding a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the crisis and we reiterate our appeal to the two belligerent parties to cease hostilities immediately in keeping with the sacred principles of Islamic solidarity and fraternity.

The forces of a foreign Power have not succeeded, after five years of massacres and destruction, in neutralizing the valiant people of Afghanistan. In resisting an enemy whose means and strength are of a different order of magnitude, the people of Afghanistan have proved their determination to fight to the end to recover their independence and dignity. My country, which unreservedly supports the heroic struggle of this fraternal people, demands the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

Kampuchea continues to suffer foreign military occupation despite the resolutions adopted by our General Assembly. We demand the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces so as to enable the people of Kampuchea to return to a life of peace and freedom and to choose their own system of Government.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

Despite recent overtures made by both parties, the situation on the Korean peninsula continues to be deadlocked. My country will spare no effort to support any initiative aimed at bringing about the peaceful reunification of that country. We urge both parties to persevere in their search for a just and lasting solution to the problem, for a united Korea will be a guarantee of peace and stability in that region. We also believe that the admission of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Korea to this Organization would give added impetus to attempts at finding the solution we seek - the reunification of the country.

Southern Africa is still experiencing grave events. The situation is explosive and causes great concern among the international community. In fact, within South Africa bloody repression has been inflicted on the black population while punitive expeditions are launched against neighbouring States, in contravention of the elementary rules of international law. The white minority régime persists in denying political and civil rights to the black majority, who, despite the imposition of a state of emergency, continues to wage its heroic struggle to recover its legitimate rights and its dignity.

A few days ago Angola suffered another criminal attack perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria. While condemning this barbarous act, we wish to reaffirm to the Government and the people of fraternal Angola our unswerving support and militant solidarity.

In Namibia, the South African army is persisting in its illegal occupation, despite the relevant resolutions adopted by this Organization. I should like to reiterate our wholehearted support for the struggle of the Namibian people to recover its independence, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The Government of Comoros remains convinced that only the full implementation of

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will lead to a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the problem.

The situation in Chad calls for particular attention. The latent civil war in this country has for two decades been causing enormous loss of life and material resources in this fraternal country. We wholeheartedly welcome the mediation efforts of President Sassou Nguessou of the Congo to bring about the reconciliation of our Chadian brothers so as to put an end to their suffering and to enable them to undertake their task of national reconstruction. We encourage him to continue on this course and we urge our Chadian brothers to persevere in this dialogue until they can restore harmony and peace.

With regard to the Western Sahara, my country reiterates its entire and continuing support for the resolutions adopted at the eighteenth and nineteenth summit meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and remains convinced that a satisfactory and lasting solution to this grave problem necessarily involves the holding of a referendum on self-determination in the country. In this respect, we urge all parties concerned to use all peaceful means at their disposal and to show good will and wisdom in order to reach this goal.

Like all the other States of the region, my country is concerned at the growing strength of the military presence in the Indian Ocean. Such a situation, exacerbated by great-Power rivalry, creates a climate of explosive tension causing apprehension to the coastal States.

Desirous of preserving peace and security in that region, my country has spared no effort to promote the creation of a zone of peace, demilitarized and denuclearized, in the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the Declaration in resolution 2832 (XXVI) of our Organization. We continue to hope that we shall at last see the international conference planned for that purpose in Sri Lanka.

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(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

Before I conclude this rapid review of the international situation, allow me Once again to speak on a question that is very familiar to our Assembly, but a subject of major concern to my country. I refer to the question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte. This problem, the result of an injustice and a flagrant violation of international public law, is permanently on the agenda of all international and regional organizations. Once again this year it will be the subject of a specific debate, which will enable us to address it in more detail. For the time being, I would merely recall that on every occasion this question has been debated in the international community there has always been unanimity in condemning the injustice and use of force and affirming that Mayotte is an integral part of the Federal Islamic Republic of Comoros. As such, it must be restored to the Comorian entity.

Hence I reaffirm in this forum that the Comorian Government and people, drawing upon the strength of the rightness of their cause and the unanimous support of the international community, are resolved to struggle until their just cause triumphs. However, we remain open to dialeque and consultation in order to bring about a speedy and just solution to this problem, in keeping with the recommendations of the relevant resolutions of this Assembly.

(Mr. Kafe, Comoros)

Once again therefore we make a pressing appeal to the French Government, that within the framework of the friendly relations existing between our two countries, to take definite steps towards the settlement of this problem.

In concluding my remarks, I express the ardent hope that this Organization will be able to fulfil its primary mission: of promoting peace and fostering co-outration among the nations and peoples of this world.

On this historic occasion, as we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of our Organization, I chould like to reaffirm solemnly my country's deep-rooted adherence to the ideals of peace, freedom and justice enshrined in our Charter.

Mr. AL-THANI (Catar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to convey to Mr. Jaime de Piniés the greetings of His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Remed Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, and his hopes for his success and for the continued success of the United Nations in its fortieth anniversary year. It gives me great pleasure to convey to him, in the name of the State of Qatar, my warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of this unique and historic session of the General Assembly that will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of this international Organization. His election is an expression of the high esteem and recognition that he enjoys as a result of his ability and long experience. It gives me great pleasure to note the close relations, strengthened by historical ties, between his nation and the Arab States, which bind the two nations and the two cultures in a manner that sets an example to the whole world.

I take this opportunity also to express my thanks and appreciation to his predecessor, who conducted the previous session with great ability and competence.

I cannot fail here to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the efforts he has undertaken in the past year, as in the past, in seeking sincerely to promote the role of the United Nations and its credibility

among the peoples of the world as it endeavours to maintain international peace and security and put an end to the regional conflicts that continue to cast a shadow over international affairs. We commend and fully support the Secretary-General's report to the session of the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

My country, moved by what the friendly people of Mexico have had to endure, takes this opportunity to express its deepest sympathy at this catastrophe and to reaffirm that the State of Qatar will stand by that friendly country as it weathers this crisis.

For us, the celebration this year of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations implies respect for the noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, together with our readiness to participate responsibly in the affairs of the international community within and outside the international Organization. It is in that context that we fashion our co-operation with other countries at the regional, Arab and international levels.

However, this celebration will not blind us to what, unfortunately, we see as the failure of the Organization to make its required contribution to the cause of international peace, as evidenced by its failure to find solutions to difficult questions which have been before it for a long time.

However, while saying this, we do not in any way belittle the sincere efforts that the Organization and its Secretary-General have made and continue to make at different levels. On the contrary, this failure is a result of the denial of the principles of the Charter by certain countries, particularly the racist entities, and the disregard of the Charter and the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations by certain major Powers. This state of affairs prevents the Organization from taking the necessary measures that would lead to the resolution of international conflicts.

The policy of alliances and division of spheres of influence followed by the major Powers, in addition to their occasional challenge to and denial of the decisions and resolutions of the Organization, even those adopted unanimously, have encouraged those countries to pursue policies that do not coincide with the interests of the international community. These hegemonistic policies have chipped away at the credibility of our Organization and diminished the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. We must add to that the Organization's lack of competence in the area of ensuring implementation of the resolutions and decisions it adopts.

The Palestinian question remains the perfect example of the disregard and obstruction of United Nations decisions by the racist Israeli entity, which enjoys unprecedented financial, military, diplomatic and moral support from the United States of America.

A brief review of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, both recently and in the past, reveals that the Israeli entity was established after the killing and dispersal of the Palestinian people. The evil of this entity, bolstered by its military machine and its policies of discrimination, persecution and expansionist hegemony, has spread to affect other Arab countries, including Lebanon and Syria. Suffice it to mention here the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the recent mad adventure undertaken by the Israeli entity, the bombing of a suburb of the Tunisian capital in an act of naked aggression and in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter prohibiting the use of force and the violation of the territorial integrity of other countries.

At a time when the Arab side has shown a sincere wish for a just and comprehensive peace, we find the Zionist entity persisting in its attitude of rejection and negation and placing obstacles in the path of all peace initiatives,

no matter from what quarter they originate. The Zionist entity has gambled on imposing its policies of fait accompli. How else can we explain its destruction of Palestinian refugee camps, its grabbing of territory through force or forgery, or its intensification of the construction of illegal settlements on Arab territories, whether in the West Bank, Gaza or the Golan Heights?

The Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East conflict. This part of the world will not know stability, but will continue to be drawn into conflict and instability and to face great dangers, until there is a just solution that returns the land to its legitimate owners, the Palestinian people, and restores all their rights. In our opinion, the responsibility of the international community, and the role that we hope it will play in ending Israeli arrogance regarding United Nations resolutions and the principles of international law increase as we examine the methods employed by Israel to deny the Palestinian people its historic rights and cultural heritage.

These methods are shown in the attempt to erase the identity of the Palestinian people and to destroy its cultural, educational and social institutions, the closing of its universities, the expulsion of its teachers and lecturers, the detention of its students, the continuation of the settlement policy, the acquisition of territories through force, the expulsion of Arab families from their homes as has recently happened in Hebron, and the destruction of property and homes of all those suspected of resisting the occupation.

The Israeli racist measures have included the imposition of curfews on Arab towns from time to time, campaigns of detention conducted at night against Arab youth, administrative detention for six months without trial and the recourse to expulsion from the country, as well as the throwing of citizens, including children, into detention camps.

Furthermore, Israel continues its acts of destruction and manipulation in Lebanon, thus exposing its territorial integrity, stability and the unity of Lebanon and its people to untold dangers. The Israeli practices in southern Lebanon, whether acts of bombing, destruction, detention or military campaigns against the border villages, have become daily events in response to the heroic and legitimate resistance to the occupation by the Lebanese people.

The State of Qatar calls for the implementation of the principles agreed to by Arab leaders at Fez during their 12th conference in 1982, as they constitute principles which complement and harmonize with the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations concerning the question of Palestine. The implementation of those principles and decisions, in the opinion of the State of Qatar, could take place through an international conference to be attended by the permanent members of the Security Council, along with the concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

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In addition to the Palestinian question, there is another question of extreme importance to us, which is the question of the security of the Arab Gulf and the related controversy concerning this issue. In our opinion, the security of the Gulf could be guaranteed when the major Powers abandon their efforts to intervene in the affairs of the Gulf.

My country, a member of the Gulf Co-operation Council as well as a part of the Arab nation, is of the view that the people of the Gulf are the ones who are most competent to defend and maintain its security. Concerning the Iran-Iraq war, a war which has been raging in the Gulf for more than five years, we reiterate our rejection of that war and we reiterate our call for an end to it. As a matter of fact, we have called for efforts to that end because we simply do not understand such a war between two neighbourly Moslem States, and because of our belief that political issues cannot be resolved through the use of force, as well as our belief that such a war poses a risk to the security and stability of the region and the world as a whole.

Based on this position of responsibility we have supported the Iraqi initiatives, we have supported Iraq's readiness to engage in negotiations, and we continue to sincerely hope that the warring parties will give the mediation efforts a new opportunity to reach positive results that will put an end to the war and to the economic and human losses sustained by the Iraqi and Iranian peoples. Those efforts would foil the foreign interventionist designs and enable security and prosperity to return to the Gulf area, an area which is today facing many threats and practices beyond the constraints of international law.

The State of Qatar views with increasing concern the events inside Afghanistan, because this is a neighbourly Islamic country with common religious, brotherly and historic ties, and because Afghanistan constitutes yet another focal point of tension in our region, a region beset by crises.

My country calls on the Soviet Union to respond to the international initiatives and efforts. We call upon the Soviet Union to put an end to the manifestations of its presence on Afghan territories, so that an end could be put to the current war and the Afghan refugees may be enabled to return to their homes and to normalize the tense relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours. We continue to hope that the Afghan people will enjoy complete freedom to choose its political system and to determine its own destiny.

The current situation in Africa constitutes one of our major concerns. We sincerely hope that in the near future a solution will be found to the tension in the area and to the suffering of its people and that an end will be put to the repeated acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against its neighbouring States. My country strongly condemns the violent acts of aggression committed by that racist Government against Angolan territory. Qatar reaffirms its support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as well as the courageous struggle waged by the national majority against the governing racist white minority in South Africa.

It is the responsibility of all of us to mobilize international public opinion in support of the people of South Africa in its struggle against <u>apartheid</u> and for working towards the release of all political prisoners from the prisons of Pretoria. Those efforts must be aimed at enabling the African people to govern themselves and to implement their own policies. We call on the Western countries to change their conciliatory policies towards the Government of Pretoria and to abstain from extending financial, military and commercial support to that régime, in order to force it to abandon its policies of <u>apartheid</u> and repression against the struggling people of South Africa.

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(Mr. Al-Thani, Qatar)

We look forward with hope to the forthcoming summit meeting between the two leaders, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva. We call upon them, based on their respect for international peace, to put an end to the cold war between them and to the arms race and the threat of the destruction of mankind, symbolized by the "star wars" programme. We sincerely call on them to work towards improving the chances for peace. We call on them to agree on just solutions to the chronic and immediate problems that exist in all areas of tension, whether in the Middle East, southern Africa or Latin America, in order to serve humanity and international peace.

The international economic crisis remains present in our contemporary world, and undermines the foundations of the developing countries in particular. Drought and famine have affected wide areas of Africa, while the debt and interest burden has increased to a point where the indebtedness of the third world has reached astronomical proportions. Meanwhile, the terms of international trade have deteriorated and the effects of the protectionist policies of the industrialized countries have manifested themselves very clearly. At the same time, the prices of primary commodities in the developing countries have increased at a time when the inflation rate has also been on the rise.

The crisis in the economic situation as a whole, as manifested by the decline in the prices of natural resources, inflation and recession, requires further consideration of the need to resume the North-South dialogue in order to reach an agreement between the industrialized and developing countries on the establishment of a new economic order or, at least, on improving the existing order. If that is done, a solution will surely be found to many of the economic problems that I have mentioned.

Economic growth is the only means by which the developing countries can solve the problem of external debt. This problem has become the number one issue for developing countries, a problem which may lead to their financial collapse, as mentioned in the report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development recently held in Geneva.

In this context and in order to revive the development process, we are of the view that the developed countries must increase their imports from the developing countries, and that there must be a real reduction in the interest rates charged to the developing countries. We also note that there is an urgent need to increase the size of loans extended by multilateral financial institutions to developing countries and to open up the markets of the developed countries to the products of developing countries in the framework of a more open and stable trading system.

On the other hand, the developing countries must adopt economic policies aimed at preventing any increase in consumption, while making sure that a major increase in investment can be achieved along with the creation of new job opportunities.

<u>Mr. CHOUDHURY</u> (Bangladesh) (spoke in Bengali; English text furnished by the delegation): The members of my delegation and I deem it an honour and privilege to take part in the fortieth regular session of the General Assembly, particularly in view of the fact that during this session we shall commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations

Mr. President, may I extend to you the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the high office of the Presidency of this session. Your great country has received wide appreciation for its peaceful, dynamic and constructive role in furthering the purposes and objectives of the United Nations Charter and for promoting peace, co-operation and development. We assure you of

(Mr. Choudhury, Bangladesh)

our fullest support and co-operation in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities. I also take this opportunity of extending our congratulations to other officers of the General Assembly on their well-deserved election.

To our esteemed friend, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, we would like to express our deep appreciation for his valuable contribution as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His able and dynamic leadership, as well as his astute management of the business of the last session, have added yet another laurel to his long and distinguished career.

We would also like to pay our compliments to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his total dedication in upholding the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and his untiring and relentless efforts for strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of world peace, security and development. His illuminating report (A/40/1) has evoked wide interest and acclaim and constitutes, in our view, a significant input to the deliberations of the current session of the General Assembly.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express once again, on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh and on my own behalf, our profound grief at the toll in human and material terms claimed by the earthquakes which struck Mexico in the recent past. We express our solidarity with and support for the Government and the people of Mexico in their hour of national calamity and extend to them our profound admiration of the manner in which they have been able to tackle the after-effects of this calamitous misfortune, and especially their commendable efforts in minimizing suffering to the best of human abiltiy.

As we stand on the threshold of the commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, we are in dire need of

dispelling anxieties and doubts of the divided present about the significance and relevance of this world body to contemporary international politics. The crisis of confidence through which the United Nations is now passing entails the necessity of reaffirming our total commitment to the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The regeneration of our faith in the United Nations is the central task confronting the international community today, as we must and should realize that this world Organization constitutes an essential and integral element in the preservation of world peace, security and development.

With the founding of the United Nations, mankind for the first time made a permanent institutional arrangement for co-operation and the resolution of conflicts among sovereign States. It is, therefore, inherent in the structure of world politics today that there is a symbiotic relationship between Member States and the United Nations, each reinforcing the other, and collectively promoting world peace and international co-operation and development.

The United Nations Charter ushered in two fundamental changes in international relations. Firstly, it established a new concept of international morality based on peace and justice among nations. It is no longer force alone which dictates issues between nations; the disputed issues are appraised in the glare of world public opinion and scrutinized on their merits. Only half a century ago, the victors gloated over the vanquished in a vainglory of heroics: the modern-day warriors hurry to proclaim their commitment to peace.*

^{*} The President returned to the Chair.

Secondly, the United Nations Charter does not stop at aiming at the creation of a simple instrument of peace, because the founding fathers of the United Nations were farsighted enough to see that an edifice of peace would crumble under the weight of economic and social injustice. They also realized that the war against hunger, disease, deprivation and illiteracy would have to be waged on a global basis through the concerted efforts of all nations. It is one of the boons of modern civilization that the world has been transformed into a global village; it is also a boon of contemporary history that man cannot live in the splendour of self-imposed isolation. Mother Earth has to be shared by both the rich and the poor. The word "interdependence" is no longer a just fashionable term; it is a practical key to the solution of many world problems.

These are the perspectives in which Bangladesh views its own relations with the United Nations. Born in a bitter war of liberation, Bangladesh received an early apprenticeship in international co-operation in mitigating the sufferings of humanity from the ravages of the war. Our policy towards the United Nations stems from the will of the people of Bangladesh, who have seen the world body at work at close quarters since the days of the reconstruction of our war-torn economy. The United Nations is involved in the entire gamut of our nation-building activities, such as those concerned with agriculture and food, trade, shipping, industry, health, education, labour, environment, telecommunications, disaster relief and atomic energy, to name only a few.

For our part, we try our very best to play our proper role in the United Nations. Bangladesh believes that it is an essential duty and responsibility of the international community to strengthen the United Nations. However imperfect the structure of this world body may be said to be, it has withstood the test of time and given the world 40 years of freedom from global conflict. It is true that

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Nations Charter merits consideration and reflection as regards ways of further increasing the effectiveness of the world Organization; nevertheless, its achievements so far are impressive indeed and have touched almost every aspect of progress in human civilization.

Bangladesh is convinced that disarmament is a moral imperative in this nuclear age if the most important goal of the United Nations Charter, that is, the maintenance of international peace and security, is to be achieved.. It should be self-evident by now that the continued accumulation of sophisticated, lethal weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, does not provide additional security. On the contrary, the arms race has further jeopardized international peace and security and even brought mankind close to the precipice of self-destruction. The situation clearly demands dialogue and meaningful negotiations, and it in this context that we have expressed our satisfaction at the resumption of bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers in Geneva. It is our earnest hope that the summit meeting between them in November 1985 will have a favourable impact on global disarmament efforts and the lessening of world tension.

It is now universally recognized that the question of disarmament, which has global dimensions and implications, can be addressed only in a multilateral context. The United Nations, therefore, has a central role and primary responsibility in halting and reversing the arms race with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. The role and functions of the principal United Nations disarmament bodies, such as the Conference on Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission and the First Committee, should be reassessed with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in this vital field. Bangladesh looks forward to playing an active role once it is admitted to the Conference on Disarmament.

Bangladesh, in pursuance of its conviction that there can be no lasting world peace without the elimination and destruction of nuclear weapons and the stockpiles of them, acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1979. We are, however, disappointed to note that nuclear proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, continues at a fast pace. The Third Review Conference of Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held very recently, discussed a number of key issues, and the recommendations adopted by that Conference should be examined carefully.

Bangladesh has consistently emphasized that the colossal financial and other resources consumed by the arms race should be redirected to eliminate global poverty. The close relationship between disarmament and development is now universally recognized. In pursuance of the consensus resolution adopted last year, a preparatory committee met at the United Nations recently for the convening of an international conference on the subject. Bangladesh, one of the least developed countries, attaches particular importance to this question, and we have made sincere efforts to contribute to the discussions in the Preparatory Committee. It is our earnest hope that the General Assembly will fully support the early convening of an international conference on disarmament and development.

The present explosive situation in the Middle East is a direct consequence of a historic injustice, when the Palestinian people were forcibly uprooted from their hearths and homes and an alien people was imposed on the Arab world through the creation of Israel. It is now universally recognized that the question of Palestine is at the core of the problem in the Middle East and that consequently it is not possible to bring peace to the region unless the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fully restored.

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Bangladesh's position on this question has been firm and consistent and we have always extended our unequivocal support to our Palestinian brothers in their legitimate struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights to self-determination, freedom and independence, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole, legitimate representative. We condemn the continued Israeli occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, as well as the establishment of the settlements on the occupied lands. The recent wanton Israeli attack on the PLO headquarters in Tunis is the latest manifestation of Israeli aggression. The Government and people of Bangladesh were outraged at this dastardly attack.

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As President Ershad has said,

"This despicable act perpetrated against the peace-loving people of Tunisia and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) militates against all international norms of civilized conduct and amounts to a gross violation of the United Nations Charter".

It is our firm conviction that the problems of the Middle East can be solved only by means of a comprehensive plan which must be based on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Palestinian and Arab territories, including the Holy City of Al Quds Al Sharif, the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with all other parties. The Arab peace plan, which my delegation has supported as a sound and viable basis for the restoration of peace to the region, as well as other plans submitted by various quarters, is already before the international community. During the current session a decisive course of action should be embarked upon to initiate the peace process in the Middle East. The Secretary-General deserves our appreciation for his sincere and untiring efforts to restore peace in the region.

The contribution of the United Nations in the field of decolonization is universally recognized and is demonstrated by the three-fold increase in its membership over the past four decades. It is therefore incumbent upon us all to do everything possible to remove the last vestige of colonialism, racism and <u>apartheid</u> in southern Africa. I should like to emphasize once again that the abhorrent practice of <u>apartheid</u> is not only contrary to the values of contemporary civilization but also to the tenets of all scriptures and religions, and that those who sustain and tolerate, directly or indirectly, the continuance of this abhorrent policy are placing an indelible blemish on the history of their own civilization and transgressing the laws of their own scriptures.

Bangladesh, which so long suffered colonial subjugation and paid a heavy price for its independence, is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their just and legitimate struggle for freedom, liberty and human dignity. We will continue to take an active part in the United Nations Council for Namibia. Bangladesh would like to reiterate its firm conviction that the United Nations plan for Namibia as contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) is the only acceptable basis for a final and lasting settlement of the Namibian question and that it seeks nothing more than its full, unconditional and immediate implementation. We commend the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, for extending their full co-operation in the implementation of the United Nations plan. The racist Pretoria régime, on the other hand, has been obstructing implementation of the United Nations plan through its persistent attempts to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous and irrelevant issues. Worse still, the régime of late has intensified its efforts to impose an internal settlement in Namibia by promoting puppet political institutions. Bangladesh has condemned and rejected all these attempts in clear and categorical terms. Namibia has been the unique responsibility of the United Nations for the last two decades and the international community has a historic responsibility to protect the rights of the Namibian people. The current session should take concrete and effective measures to bring about the dawn of Namibian independence without any further delay.

It is a matter of deep regret that, despite our collective efforts, the conflict between Iran and Iraq has been continuing for the last five years. This fratricidal war has not only brought in its train untold suffering, death and destruction to the people of both countries, but has also threatened regional and international peace and security. We take this historic opportunity to make yet

another appeal to both Iran and Iraq favourably to consider the various peace initiatives and proposals which have been placed before them for a peaceful and honourable settlement of the conflict. Bangladesh, as a member of the Islamic Peace Committee, will continue to make every possible effort to put an end to this tragic conflict. At the same time, we believe that all ongoing efforts, both inside and outside the United Nations, must be intensified and, if necessary, co-ordinated action taken during the current session for a peaceful and honourable settlement of the conflict. We commend the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict and should like to assure him of our continued co-operation.

Bangladesh is firmly and irrevocably committed to the Charter of the United Nations and to certain cardinal principles which must govern inter-State relations. We cannot condone the right of States to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of other States, and we call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries, except where such troops have been stationed in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter - the Uniting for Peace resolution. It is in this context that we view the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea with grave concern. It is our firm conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea is an essential prerequisite for the just and lasting settlement of the problems in those two countries. We are equally convinced that the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea should have restored to them their inalienable right to choose freely their own form of political, social and economic systems without any outside interference and intervention. It is regrettable that, although the General Assembly at its last session adopted comprehensive resolutions on those two issues, the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea are still denied their right to determine

their own destiny because of the continued presence of foreign forces in their countries.

It is a matter of deep regret that the question of Cyprus, which has been on the agenda of the United Nations for the last few decades, still remains unresolved. We are all conscious of the unfortunate events which have led to the present situation. Recent developments, however, should not be viewed in isolation from the overall question. Our position on the question of Cyprus has been firm and unequivocal. We have consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. At the same time we have reiterated our firm conviction that any lasting solution of the problem must take into account the legitimate aspirations of the two communities. It is in this context that we have urged both communities to engage in meaningful inter-communal talks. The resumption of direct high-level talks between the Cypriot leaders, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General at the beginning of the year, was indeed a Positive development.

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My delegation will continue to extend its fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General in his good offices mission directed to reaching a mutually acceptable solution to the problem that would allow both communities to live in honour and dignity within the framework of a federal Cyprus.

Bangladesh is convinced that regional and international peace and security would be promoted through the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. In pursuance of that conviction, and as a littoral State, we have attached great importance to the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region and have called for the early convening of a United Nations conference on the subject in Colombo. We have made sincere attempts to contribute to the deliberations of the <u>Ad Hoc</u> Committee on the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately, that Committee has not yet been able to achieve any meaningful progress at either the substantive or the organizational level. The deteriorating Political and security climate in the region has made it more urgent to agree on the early convening of the conference. We also believe that the active participation of and full co-operation among littoral and hinterland States, the major maritime users, and the permanent members of the Security Council are essential for the successful convening of the Colombo Conference.

Bangladesh's position on the Korea question has been consistent, and we firmly believe that peaceful and viable reunification can be successfully achieved only through dialogue and negotiations between the two Koreas. We shall continue to support all such efforts towards that cherished end. We maintain friendly and cordial relations with both Koreas, and during the past year President Hussain Muhammad Ershad visited the Republic of Korea and had a fruitful exchange of views with the leaders of that country.

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The international community, and the United Nations in particular, has been concerning itself with the problem of international terrorism for some time now. While there is still no single international convention defining the rights and duties of States with regard to terrorism in an integral and comprehensive manner, there are quite a few which deal with specific aspects of terrorism. For instance, the General Assembly has adopted by consensus an international Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. In addition, the United Nations system has adopted a number of resolutions, declarations and recommendations, and taken other actions which together provide a legal framework for combating terrorism. The non-aligned countries which have been actively involved in drawing up legal instruments for combating terrorism have pointed out the need for the international community to come to grips with this abhorrent phenomenon. In this spirit we appeal to all countries in the world to co-operate with each other with a view to combating and preventing such acts of terrorism.

As we meet here at the mid-point of the decade, it is logical and necesary for us to take stock of the achievements and deficiencies of the first part of the decade with respect to the fulfilment of our agreed commitments, and to initiate appropriate measures for the remainder of the decade directed to the realization of the Charter aim of promoting higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development. The review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade has, in spite of the delay, provided useful means for undertaking effective and concerted measures.

The Mid-term Review Conference on the Implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries is now being held in Geneva. That blueprint for action was adopted with the aim of transforming the economies of the least developed countries into self-sustained development and enabling them to provide at least internationally accepted minimum standards of nutrition, health, transport and communications, housing and education, as well as job opportunities for all, particularly the rural and urban poor. Half-way through the decade, the realities of the situation in the least developed countries continues to be desperate; more than one third of the least developed countries' population is still seriously undernourished; less than one in three has access to a safe water supply; infant mortality is 10 times greater in least developed countries than in developed countries; two out of three adults on average are illiterate; the per capita gross domestic product of the least developed countries is less than a quarter of the level for all developing countries as a group; the per capita gross domestic product in half of the least developed countries was lower in 1982 than at the start of the decade; and the decline in per capita food production in the least developed countries during the 1970s is continuing during the present decade.

Depressing as it may sound, all these facts point towards one unfortunate conclusion - that there is little evidence of progress since the Paris Conference. Indeed, in some respects movement has been retrograde.

While we remain conscious that in the least developed countries we have to intensify our own efforts - and we are gearing our efforts to that end - it remains our fervent expectation that these efforts will receive the sympathetic understanding of the international community and will be complemented by adequate

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and effective support from the international community, in particular the donor countries. My delegation eagerly looks forward to the success of the Mid-term Review in Geneva.

It is a well-accepted reality that no country or group of countries can function in isolation or outside the framework of the international economic setting. To my mind, the fundamental message of this year's World Development Report published by the World Bank, the World Economic Survey published by the United Nations, and the Report of the United Nations Committee for Development Planning, is the reiteration of the growing interdependence of the global economy, on the one hand, and the interrelated nature of issues relating to money, finance and trade, on the other. That is what we have been saying all along, and it reaffirms our conviction that all of us must take the global view of developments and consider actions to be taken from a global perspective.

But events during the last 10 years, particularly during the first half of this decade, have also shown that interdependence can have dual implications. On the one hand, it can help countries adjust to external shocks and on the other it can also serve as an additional channel for the transmission of those shocks. The latter had a particularly devastating impact on the developing countries during the 1981-83 recession, which was also by an unfortunate coincidence the worst in post-war history. The vast majority of the developing countries are still reeling under the impact of this recession. Although this is the third year of the much-heralded recovery, the problems of the majority of developing countries remain as acute as ever. In 1984, no less than 44 developing countries experienced a stagnating or declining real per capita output, many of them for the fourth consecutive year. Even though world trade revived in 1984 commodity prices during the same period were still some 15 to 20 per cent below the level of 1980. The impact of this persistent weakness in commodity prices can be gauged when we consider that export earnings from primary commodities constitute the dominant share for at least 72 developing countries. I need hardly add that a vast number of them belong to the least developed category.

The very welcome recovery of the United States economy has shown distinct signs of levelling off. In most of Europe, the recovery has yet to gain a firm foothold. While we welcome the determination of the United States authorities to deal with the problem of the budget deficit, uncertainties with regard to exchange rate fluctuations, high real rates of inflation and the volatility of the current account deficit, particularly of the most powerful economies, continue to haunt the world economy. Even worse, the cumulative effects of these uncertainties have increased pressure towards rising protectionism. This is a danger about which all

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of us, irrespective of our level of development or social system, must consciously guard against, and we must act together to institute recovery on a firm and lasting basis.

This brings me to the much discussed proposal for a new round of trade negotiations. But what good would such trade talks be to us in the developing world unless there is an adequate guarantee that they will reflect our aspirations? How can we develop confidence in the beneficial outcome of such trade talks if past commitments for the establishment of a more open trading system and for the liberalization of trade barriers are not fulfilled and solid groundwork laid for the initiation of a new round? As developing countries, we naturally feel apprehensive when we find that even existing concessions extended to us, such as those through the multi-fibre arrangements, are being eroded. My delegation sincerely hopes that through discussion we can find a mutually satisfactory solution which will address our genuine concerns and apprehensions.

I referred earlier to the interrelated nature of world economic issues, particularly those related to trade, money and finance. This interrelatedness has been fundamental in the concept of global negotiations. In our opinion, in adopting resolution 34/138 by consensus in this Assembly, the international community acknowledged this principle. My delegation is encouraged to note that greater consideration is being given to the interrelated nature of issues, particularly concerning trade, money and finance in various relevant forums, including multilateral financial institutions. Yet, unfortunately, so far there has been very little action.

The debt problem is often considered a problem of the higher income developing countries. This is not necessarily so. For instance, between 1978 and 1982, the total outstanding medium- and long-term external debt of the least developed countries grew by 68 per cent and their debt service payment increased by

73 per cent during the same period. In absolute terms, their total debt may not be as large as some of the higher income developing countries, but in terms of impact on their fragile economies, their situation is certainly comparable. Indeed, it could be worse because of their inability to absorb shock. Let me just point out that matters became worse after the adoption of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) resolution 165 (S-IX) aimed at reducing their external debt difficulties.

The crunch is evident from what I have described just now. Yet during the same period resource flows for development in the developing countries dwindled. Total resource flows to the developing countries, including concessional flows, fell in 1984 as compared to 1985. There was a decline in official development assistance, in commercial bank lending, in foreign direct investment and export credit. The level of overall commitments to the least developed countries fell to \$8.5 billion in 1982 from its peak of \$10.3 billion in 1980.

How can we then expect developing countries to join in the process of recovery and development? Drought related food emergencies exist in at least 20 sub-Saharan African countries. Nearly 30 million people on the African continent face hunger and starvation. Famine conditions and the aftermath of famine in many of these countries pose new challenges for the international community. Although as a region Asia has done relatively better, four-fifths of the total population of that region still live in countries categorized as low income countries and the largest concentration of humanity living below the level of absolute poverty continues to live in that region.

I should like to commend in this connection the useful and effective contribution of the United Nations system to the promotion of co-operation, in particular its contribution through operational activities for development. The

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contribution of agencies and bodies, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and many others, in improving the quality of life in the developing countries are particularly noteworthy.

The essential point is that there is no alternative to international co-operation and much more can be achieved if the international environment is congenial to such co-operation. One need only mention how significantly the development process in the developing countries was accelerated during the periods of global economic stability in the 1950s and 1960s. Given this perspective, which we believe is shared by all of us assembled here, it is the earnest hope of my delegation that in this important year commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations an agreement on a global agenda can be reached and effectively followed to put the international community, and more specifically the developing countries, solidly on the course of sustained development again.

In this context, my delegation's sincere expectation is that immediate and effective action can be undertaken on the following: first, accelerated implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action in favour of the least developed countries, as well as full implementation of resolution 165 (S-IX) of the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); secondly, support for drought-affected people in Africa; thirdly, comprehensive and effective measures for increasing financial flows to developing countries, in particular concessional assistance to the least developed countries; fourthly, the rollback of protectionism and strengthening of the world trading system through full implementation of all previous commitments, which will also create conditions for initiating a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, which no doubt will have to be in keeping with the aspirations of the developing countries; and fifthly, the convening of an international conference on monetary and financial issues to consider appropriate reforms aimed at providing greater stability and a momentum for development. MLG/jcl

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The present global economic situation has added an important dimension to economic co-operation among developing countries, not as a substitute for but as complementary to North-South co-operation. We believe that such co-operation can effectively promote rational and efficient use of human, material, financial and technological resources not only for developing countries but also for global development. The United Nations system should, however, intensify its support for programmes of economic co-operation among developing countries and integrate them into the mainstream of its activities. Bangladesh's commitment to that economic co-operation as well as regional co-operation has found practical expression in our efforts towards the establishment of South Asian regional co-operation arrangements among seven countries of the region: India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Bangladesh, whose Heads of State and Government are meeting at their first ever summit conference on 7 and 8 December this year in Dhaka. South Asian Regional Co-operation has already, in the meantime, adopted an integrated programme of action in which nine areas have so far been identified for the purposes of co-operation. These are: agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, health and population control, transport, postal services, scientific and technological co-operation, meteorology, and sport, arts and culture.

In this connection, I should like to inform the Assembly briefly about developments in my country. Soon after assuming its responsibilities, the present Government, under the leadership of President Hussain Muhammad Ershad, initiated some drastic reforms covering the entire gamut of national life. The reforming steps taken by the present Government include economic reform aimed at eliminating waste, boosting production and giving maximum encouragement to the development of

the private sector. The most spectacular of the reform measures, however, have been administrative reforms, based on the principles of decentralization and devolution of power to the common people, and judicial reforms, also based on the principle of decentralization. Under the new system, administration has been taken right to the doors of the country's vast rural population. Grass-root units have now become the focal point of all local activities. This means that through these units, known as <u>upazilas</u>, the vast rural population of Bangladesh will now have full power and control in deciding their own affairs themselves.

In this context, in the national referendum held in March this year the people of Bangladesh expressed their overwhelming support for the policies and programmes of President Hussain Muhammad Ershad.

In May and June 1985, when the people of my country had just begun to enjoy the fruits of decentralization of administration, a devastating cyclone, accompanied by a tidal wave and floods, struck Bangladesh, causing enormous losses in terms of human life and widespread destruction of agricultural land, crops, poultry, livestock and other assets. The Government, under the personal direction of President Hussain Muhammad Ershad, took all possible steps to alleviate the sufferings of the people by prompt and energetic measures of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction in the affected areas. The crisis management by which the Government mitigated the losses was widely acclaimed. I should like to say in this context that even though we did not appeal for any international assistance, friendly States and the United Nations agencies came forward with generous assistance to stand by us in this hour of need. At the instance of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, Ambassador M'hamed Essaafi, visited Bangladesh and submitted his report, suggesting various ways of co-operation between the Gover at of Bangladesh and international agencies.

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In this connection, I would draw the international community's attention to my country's vulnerability to frequent natural disasters, such as floods, cyclones and tidal waves, with their adverse consequences for the economic development of the country; they also cause enormous losses in terms of lives and property. The Government of Bangladesh seeks to find a permanent solution to the problem of natural disasters and would welcome effective international programmes for rendering the necessary assistance to Bangladesh in this matter. A draft resolution on this will soon come before the General Assembly for consideration. We express in advance our thanks to those who have shown valuable support and understanding for our proposal.

My delegation attaches the greatest importance to a global consensus an international co-operation for development and, as always, we are ready to contribute in whatever manner possible to the realization of this noble objective, for the alternative to international co-operation is arbitrariness, instability and disorder. We sincerely hope that we can muster the courage and determination to reinvigorate the global consensus for development.

While commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we pay homage to the sacrifices of the martyrs of the two World Wars, sacrifices which have not been in vain. Though it is not the world of the dreams of Jean Monnet or of Woodrow Wilson, with his dream of the League of Nations ending all wars, or of the dream of Paul Valéry, with his hope not only of the League of Nations but also of the league of minds, still the dream goes on. After 40 years it seems more reasonable now than it was at the end of the last world war.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to provide members with an outline of the tentative programme of plenary meetings for the next few weeks in order to help delegations plan their work.

As members will recall, between the conclusion of the General Debate and the commemorative ceremony to be held on 24 October, the Assembly will hear speakers participating in the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations under agenda item 39, "Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations". The speakers on this item will be heard during this period except on the occasions mentioned below.

In the morning of Wednesday, 16 October, the special commemorative meeting in observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples will be celebrated by the General Assembly.

On Thursday, 17 October, the Assembly will consider agenda item 15 (a), "Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council", and agenda item 15 (b), "Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council".

On Thursday, 24 October, the Assembly will hold a solemn ceremony in observance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations at which time it will also proclaim the International Year of Peace.

On Friday, 25 October, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 13, "Report of the International Court of Justice", item 24, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference" and item 26, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States".

Beginning on Monday, 28 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up agenda item 35, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

(The President)

On Thursday, 31 October, the Assembly will consider agenda item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

On Friday, 1 November, the Assembly will take up agenda item 29, "Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security".

Beginning on Monday, 4 November, the Assembly will take up agenda item 22, "The situation in Kampuchea".

On Wednesday, 6 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 30, "Critical economic situation in Africa".

In the afternoon of Friday, 8 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 146, "Solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States".

On Monday, 11 November, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 25, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity" and item 27, "International Year of Peace".

In the afternoon of that same day, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 28, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

On Wednesday, 13 November, in the afternoon, the Assembly will begin the plenary meetings which have been designated as the United Nations World Conference

(The President)

for International Youth Year and which concern item 89, "International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace".

Beginning on Monday, 18 November, the Assembly will take up agenda item 34, "Question of Namibia".

On the morning of Thursday, 21 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 21, "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives".

On Monday, 25 November, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up item 20, "Return or restitution of cultural property to the countries of origin", item 31, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee" and item 36, "Law of the Sea".

On Tuesday, 26 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 23, "Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

In the afternoon of Wednesday, 27 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 18, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

Furthermore, the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1986 programmes of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East will be held in the afternoon of Monday, 11 November, the Pledging Conference for Development Activities will be held on Thursday, 14 November and Friday, 15 November, and the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1986 programmes of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will be held on will be held on Friday, 15 November, in the morning.

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

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.