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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 26 September 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)  
later: Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic)  
(Vice-President)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia)  
Mr. Totu (Romania)  
Prince Al-Faisal (Saudi Arabia)  
Mr. O'Flynn (New Zealand)  
Mr. Upadhyaya (Nepal)  
Mr. Akinyemi (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): It is with genuine pleasure, Sir, that I extend my delegation's heartfelt congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. To see such an eminent representative of a brotherly Asian country preside over our session is a source of particular satisfaction to us. Your election to this high office is well-deserved recognition of your personal qualities and accomplishments, as well as a fitting tribute to the role and stature of Bangladesh in world affairs.

May I also extend a word of praise to your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, for the impeccable manner in which he chaired the fortieth session, as well as the thirteenth special session, on the critical economic situation in Africa. His firm and enlightened leadership gained him the admiration of the entire Assembly.

The highlight of the past year was, without question, the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization, which provided the international community with reason for some optimism and hope. The anniversary session appropriately focused the heightened attention of the world on our Organization, as representatives of Member States at the highest level converged to rededicate themselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the strengthening of the United Nations for a better world.

Since that historic event, the special session of the General Assembly, convened to address the critical economic situation in Africa, has dramatically demonstrated what can be achieved through the multilateral approach. It sharpened world-wide awareness of the awesome dimensions of the prolonged crisis. It also

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succeeded in injecting new urgency in addressing its underlying root causes and placed the firm support of the international community behind the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery.

Efforts to eliminate the last remnants of colonialism on our globe were further intensified by the successes achieved at the various international conferences sponsored by the United Nations and the holding of the fourteenth special session, on the question of Namibia, thus paving the way for the final triumph of the historical forces of justice and liberation.

Efforts towards universal peace, peaceful coexistence and international co-operation were reinforced as representatives at the highest level from 101 non-aligned countries assembled early this month in Harare, Zimbabwe. They came away from the meeting with enhanced unity of purpose and strengthened resolve to continue to make their contributions to the central issues of disarmament, development and decolonization.

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Similarly, the summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev last November and the resumed negotiations on various aspects of nuclear disarmament between the two most heavily armed nations in the world were a source of renewed hope that rationality and global responsibility may yet prevail and succeed in stemming the ever upward spiralling arms race.

Despite those major events and developments, however, the world community at all levels continues to experience a disquieting sense of uncertainty and generalized insecurity. The resolution of fundamental global issues remains bogged down by approaches that are tainted by mutual mistrust and narrow self-interest, which give rise to unilateralism and the politics of power and short-sighted expediency. The intractability of many problems has been compounded by a resurgence of great-Power contention and competition in the efforts to maintain or expand spheres of influence and domination. There has been no substantial progress in extinguishing the many regional hotbeds of conflict, which instead are being increasingly assigned East-West dimensions, thus widening the risk of enlarged conflagrations. Persistent resort to the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes, aggression and racist oppression, intervention and economic coercion, have kept international tensions at undiminished levels, while posing a constant threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States. And, overhanging all these disturbing trends is the dark cloud of the escalating arms race, especially in nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, spurred on by strategic doctrines that purport to justify their existence and even their use.

Crippling slow-downs in the development process and the steady erosion of multilateralism and the multilateral framework of co-operation continue to be distinguishing features of the world economy and of international economic relations. In an increasingly integrated global economy, international development co-operation based on equity and genuine interdependence is eschewed in favour of a

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selective kind of bilateralism and sheer opportunism. As a direct consequence, the developing countries are plagued by economic stagnation and even regression. Their dire plight poses a real threat to the political stability and social cohesion of their societies, which in turn threatens the stability of the world at large.

Of acute concern to the Assembly is the propensity of some Members to question the Organization's functions and programmes and to reduce or withhold their assessed financial commitments, thereby seriously undercutting its role. At a time when so many pressing issues demand reaffirmation and reinvigoration of the multilateral process, we are, paradoxically, being confronted by attempts to weaken and curtail the role of the United Nations as the most appropriate universal forum for negotiations on and the solution of those issues. Indeed, the Organization is at present being subjected to an unprecedented challenge, not only to its solvency, but to its very viability.

In brief, the world today is confronted by the incalculable risk of nuclear war and by continuing political turbulence and economic dislocation, especially in the developing regions of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Our collective determination should therefore be directed towards the progressive establishment of a new world order based not on the competitive use of power but on the sovereign equality and genuine independence of all States. To act otherwise is to abdicate our collective responsibility and resolve to avert the irrational drift towards self-destruction through either self-inflicted nuclear annihilation or regression into international chaos and anarchy.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the field of disarmament and security, which remains the central preoccupation of our times. The excessive accumulation and refinement of weapons of mass destruction, both nuclear and conventional, on land and sea have continued unabated and may now be extended to outer space as well. The threat of nuclear war is not simply one problem among the many the world

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is facing. The averting of nuclear catastrophe is the essential pre-condition of our endeavours to solve all other problems.

As the largest coalition for peace in history, the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, at their eighth summit meeting, held in Harare early this month, issued an urgent appeal to the major Powers reflecting the concern and anxiety of mankind about the possible outbreak of nuclear war and its attendant consequences. While the nuclear-weapon States must assume primary responsibility, every State has the right and duty to make its contribution to the adoption of effective measures to remove for all time the danger of nuclear war. Pending nuclear disarmament, the major Powers should heed the global demand that they forswear the use of nuclear weapons by international convention, ban all testing in all environments, halt and reverse the arms race and affirm the objective of common security through disarmament.

Of growing concern to Indonesia is the fact that progress in the multilateral disarmament forums continues to be painfully slow and that too often stalemate in bilateral efforts has become a major impediment to such progress. Although some incremental gains have been made in the Conference on Disarmament, it has yet to fulfil its role as the sole negotiating machinery on all disarmament issues. The Conference on Disarmament should be allowed to initiate substantive negotiations in order to address the priority issues in a meaningful way.

We have followed with close attention and measured hope the ongoing negotiations between the two major Powers. Despite faint indications of some movement, we have unfortunately seen little in the way of tangible progress so far. It is therefore necessary for the Assembly to call upon the United States and the Soviet Union to break the log-jam and translate their oft-repeated commitments into binding and durable agreements.

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The denial of justice, independence and human dignity continues to be a principal source of conflict and strife in many regions of the world. It is a matter of great urgency to ensure the speedy decolonization of Namibia and the eradication of apartheid. It is truly scandalous that, two decades after the United Nations assumed of direct responsibility over Namibia, racist South Africa continues its illegal occupation of the Territory. Despite concerted international efforts, prospects for the faithful implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence seem no better today than they did during last year's session. This is particularly deplorable in the light of the Secretary-General's conclusion that all issues relevant to the United Nations plan have been resolved and that, but for South Africa's insistence on injecting extraneous issues, it would have been possible to commence implementation.

After waiting eight long years for the realization of the United Nations plan, the time for deliberation and persuasion is over. The Security Council must now demonstrate the political courage to act and to move forward with the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978), without entertaining any modification or any further delaying tactics by South Africa. Namibia's decolonization cannot and should not any longer be held hostage to issues outside the terms of the United Nations plan, such as linkage with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. We also reject all attempts to distort the question of Namibia by portraying it as an issue of East-West contention.

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As a member of the Council for Namibia since its inception, my Government has always attached the utmost importance to the Council's unique responsibilities of protecting and promoting the inalienable rights of the Namibian people and of ensuring the emergence of an independent Namibia with its territorial integrity and national unity intact. Indonesia also remains unswervingly committed to support the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in the intensification of its just struggle, including armed struggle, for the liberation of Namibia.

Indonesia views the deepening crisis in South Africa itself with utmost concern and anguish. All indications show that after two years of unprecedented brutality and repression against the oppressed black majority, the racist régime has neither the inclination nor the ability to reduce the ever more violent polarization and, instead, continues to rely on the indiscriminate application of brute force. Indeed, blinded by its frantic efforts to perpetuate the abhorrent system of apartheid, Pretoria is seemingly oblivious to the disastrous consequences of its self-destructive course which, has brought the situation in South Africa to the brink of an all-out civil war.

My Government is convinced that the opportunity to avert a racial conflagration and to arrive at a peaceful end to apartheid may soon be lost unless the Security Council decides to act and to act decisively. It has long been abundantly clear to my delegation that the enforcement of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter may yet be our last option towards non-violent change in South Africa.

While welcoming the recent decision of certain States to impose additional limited sanctions against South Africa, Indonesia views those piecemeal measures as still falling far short of coming to grips with the critical situation. We



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therefore call on those States urgently to reassess their stand and acknowledge the dismal failure of the policy of "constructive engagement". Only through the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa can the principal objective of dismantling that inhuman system be assured and a non-racial, egalitarian and democratic society be built in its place.

Peace and stability cannot coexist with apartheid and colonialism, not only in South Africa and Namibia, but indeed in the entire region of southern Africa. For the repeated acts of aggression, destabilization, subversion and terrorism perpetrated by Pretoria against the front-line and other neighbouring African States reveal the ultimate hegemonistic designs of the racist régime on the region as a whole. Those States deserve increased assistance to overcome their vulnerability and economic dependence on South Africa.

For the past three decades, Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies, its brutal record of repression of the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories and its desperate but vain attempts to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), both politically and physically, have been and continue to be the fundamental source of unabated violence and tensions in the Middle East. It is also most disturbing to observe that the major Powers continue to view the conflict primarily from the perspective of their own strategic designs on the region.

The Indonesian Government and people remain steadfast in their firm support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab nation to regain its usurped rights and territories occupied since 1967. The question of Palestine lies at the core of the Middle East problem. A comprehensive, just and lasting solution, therefore, can be achieved only through the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the rights to self-determination and to establish their own independent and sovereign State in Palestine. Moreover, no

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solution can be regarded as either comprehensive or just unless the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, fully participates in its elaboration and implementation. Last but not least, stable peace and security can be based only on Israel's total withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem.

We strongly believe that the most viable avenue towards resolving the various aspects of the conflict is through the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. It is clear, however, that such a conference can be convened and succeed only with the support of the major Powers which must be prevailed upon to see its urgency and compelling logic. The alternative can only be further violence, bloodshed and suffering.

Israel also continues to occupy sovereign Lebanese territory. The illegal presence of Israeli occupation troops in southern Lebanon is the principal cause of the worsening circumstances surrounding the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and has prevented UNIFIL from discharging the task assigned to it by the Security Council. Indonesia fully supports Lebanon's demand for the total withdrawal of all Israeli forces from its territory and for respect of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the same region, we yearn for an end to the fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq and to the grievous human and material losses incurred by both sides. My delegation again appeals to our two brother nations to seek to resolve their differences in accordance with Charter principles so as to achieve a just and honourable settlement.

Let me now turn to our own region's political and security concerns. Eight years after the outbreak of the conflict in Kampuchea, the tragic situation in that country continues to be the singular source of tension and instability in our part

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of the world. It also constitutes a major obstacle to our larger objective of transforming South-East Asia into an area of peace, regional harmony and prosperity. Our Organization has been rightly concerned over a conflict involving the violation of the cardinal principles of non-use of force and non-intervention in the internal affairs and the political and economic system of an independent State. Consequently, it has repeatedly reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion and has sought to promote negotiations and mutual understanding whereby a climate conducive to the exercise of that right would be created.

For its part, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has engaged in painstaking efforts to contribute to a settlement that would restore to the people of Kampuchea their rights, in accordance with internationally recognized principles.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has also shown its readiness to consider any viable approach to a just and peaceful settlement. In this context, we welcome the eight-point proposal recently advanced by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as it contains positive elements that can serve as a constructive framework for meaningful negotiations. The proposal is also consistent with ASEAN's long-held view that essentially the Kampuchean problem has to be resolved by the Kampuchean people themselves.

In our view, a genuinely independent and non-aligned Kampuchea, friendly to its neighbours and posing no threat to them remains an essential prerequisite of peace, stability and co-operation in the region. Despite the continuing impasse, ASEAN will not cease to explore all possible avenues and modalities for the restoration of the fundamental rights and interests of the Kampuchean people, while at the same time ensuring the legitimate interests of all countries to live in peace with one another, free from extra-regional threats and pressures.

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Yet another issue which calls for a political solution based on the withdrawal of foreign forces is the situation in Afghanistan. In the interest of restoring regional harmony and stability, Afghanistan should be allowed to resume its historic non-aligned role.

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In the South Pacific region, the Kanak people, under the leadership of the FLNKS, are engaged in a just struggle to attain independence for their country. Indonesia reiterates its support for self-determination and the early transition to an independent New Caledonia, in accordance with the rights and aspirations of the indigenous people and in a manner which guarantees the rights and the interests of all its inhabitants.

It is encouraging that the process initiated and sustained by the Contadora Group, with the backing of its Support Group, has made steady progress in efforts to resolve, comprehensively and peacefully, the tensions and strife that beset Central America. We welcome the substantive agreements already reached on the Final Version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation. It is our sincere hope that the resolution of the remaining procedural and operational aspects will achieve early results. However, we cannot but express our concern over the increasing militarization of the region, the continuing external pressures and the interjection of ideological overtones and East-West rivalries into the conflict. Indonesia has always opposed external interference, whether through political destabilization, economic coercion or outright military intervention, in the struggle of developing countries to consolidate their national independence and to establish their own political, economic and social systems. Hence we have consistently supported Nicaragua in the defence of its right to self-determination, sovereign independence and territorial integrity.

On the question of the Malvinas, my delegation appreciates the flexible and statesmanlike approach of Argentina in reaffirming its intention to comply with relevant General Assembly resolutions. We hope that negotiations will soon resume leading to a peaceful and definitive settlement of the sovereignty dispute.

It is undeniable that peace and stability cannot be ensured in isolation from the state of the world economy and global economic relations. Neither can

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sustained development or an equitable economic system be secured in the absence of a stable and peaceful environment. Both are inextricably linked. As succinctly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization:

"The common well-being of the world's population will depend heavily in the remaining years of this century on the success achieved in global development and in the reduction of the disparity in the conditions of life within the international community". (A/41/1, p. 6)

Yet, in reviewing the current conditions in the world economy and in international economic relations, we see little grounds for optimism. On the contrary, the gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to widen, the global development crisis persists and the erosion in multilateral co-operation for development has not abated. Thus, for millions in the developing countries, grinding poverty is still a daily reality and the dream of a better future has turned into a nightmare of mere survival. Nor can we discern better prospects for the near future. To seek to understand and collectively resolve those reversals is the challenge and the responsibility of this General Assembly.

The grim state of the world economy gives us no respite. The economic output of most developing countries has stagnated, trapping them in low levels of growth with little room for manoeuvre. The collapse of commodity prices and the disarray in commodity markets have delivered a damaging blow to their already depressed terms of trade. International trade, which has been a major instrument for development in the past and an effective channel for ensuring the mutual benefit of all nations has been blocked substantially by the rising tide of protectionism. These adverse factors, coupled with the severe contraction in both official and private financial flows, the alarming increase in debt-service burden and monetary instability, have resulted in the ironic phenomenon of a reverse transfer of resources, from developing to developed countries.

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The international economic system is still characterized by structural maladjustments. In consequence, it is the economically weak that sustain the brunt of the world economic reversals and thus suffer the most. Downward adjustments are forced on their vulnerable economies critically disrupting their development process.

The ASEAN subregion, to which Indonesia belongs, represents a pertinent example. Despite strong economic resilience until recently, the pace of their development has now markedly declined. Nor has the Indonesian economy escaped the onslaughts of the adverse external environment. Its overall gross national product (GNP) growth has slowed severely in the last two years, while at the same time its debt-service ratio rose substantially. Indonesia was thus compelled to take a series of painful corrective measures, including the lowering of its development targets, drastic restraints in public investment, budgetary and import cut-backs, fiscal reforms and currency devaluation. Despite those measures the impact of the external environment has been such that economic growth remains tenuous. Caught in the vice of fiscal austerity and declining economic growth rates, Indonesia's ability to channel the internal pressures of almost 2 million annual entrants into its work-force and to absorb further external shocks has been greatly eroded.

In this era of increasing interdependence, economic reversals cannot remain the preoccupation of the developing countries alone. While the adverse effects of inadequate development clearly translate into a reduced capacity of the developing countries to tackle their domestic difficulties and to participate beneficially in international economic activities, these effects will not for long be limited to the poorer countries. Inevitably, they will have an impact on the developed economies as well. Consequently, it is in the interest of all that the

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international community should work collectively and resolutely to transform the present and future challenges into successful opportunities.

It is in this spirit that Indonesia views the launching of the new round of multilateral trade negotiations at Punta del Este. As the beginning of a new concerted effort to halt and reverse the erosion of the international trading system, the new round should also provide us with an opportunity further to liberalize international trade. A mainstay of such liberalization should be the interests of the developing countries, including the paramount principle of preferential treatment for them on a non-reciprocal basis. Likewise, we consider it most important that the present Assembly address the issue of external debt crisis and development. It is our hope that our discussions on this issue will be guided by the recognized principle of shared responsibility and the accepted policy of adjustment with growth and will effectively contribute to solving this problem. A timely opportunity is provided by the forthcoming seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII) to address key international issues in the fields of money, finance, trade and development and their interrelatedness. More important, we trust that UNCTAD VII will purposefully address the alarming commodity situation. What is critically needed are measures for properly managing commodity markets, stabilizing commodity prices and ensuring remunerative commodity earnings.

As we move through the remaining years of this century there is no doubt that multiple economic challenges will continue to present a profound test of our collective will. There will be no ready answers nor easy solutions. Hence, there is no alternative for the international community but to marshal its collective determination and to work resolutely to reverse economic disparity and to ensure the success of global development.



(Mr. Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia)

The international community is today faced with an alarming rise in drug addiction and illicit narcotics trafficking, which poses a threat to the moral and ethical foundations of society and indeed the very security of many countries. Through the relentless efforts of this Organization, a consensus on the need for greater co-operation and co-ordination at the international and regional levels has been forged. The recent meeting of heads of national drug enforcement agencies in Vienna agreed on several important recommendations in this regard, thus providing valuable input for the International Conference in 1987. In preparation for that Conference, and within the context of regional co-operation, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is formulating a strategy to address substantive issues and achieve concrete results. Indonesia, as a transit country for illicit narcotics trafficking, is acutely aware of the social and political implications of this problem. Through our national efforts and our work within ASEAN, as well as our strict adherence to the international conventions on narcotics, we have clearly demonstrated our resolve in combating this scourge.

The proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace, with its theme "to safeguard peace and the future of humanity", is clearly reflective of the most fundamental aspirations of men and women throughout the world, and the United Nations remains the principal multilateral framework devoted to its achievement. In this context Indonesia reaffirms its dedication and commitment to the primary objectives of the International Year of Peace, which are, inter alia, the promotion of universal peace, peaceful coexistence and co-operation and the prevention of war and conflict among nations. As we strive towards realization of those noble goals, let us also continue working towards improvement of the quality of life through the achievement of equality for women, increased respect for human rights and the right of peoples to development, and an end to racial discrimination and oppression.

(Mr. Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia)

As these principles and objectives are embodied in the Indonesian Constitution and fully conform with the Indonesian national philosophy, our adherence is not only a moral obligation but a constitutional mandate.

The United Nations is at present being confronted by a financial crisis of unprecedented proportions. Having temporarily averted the emergency aspects of the financial crisis at its resumed fortieth session, the General Assembly has now to address the longer-term problems by reviewing the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations. Indonesia recognizes that there is indeed room for improvements and greater economy in the workings of our Organization. We therefore welcome the report of the High-Level Group of 18 and stand ready to consider its valuable recommendations in a most positive spirit. At the same time, however, Indonesia believes that the crisis, which is essentially of a political nature, has reached a point where efficiency and rationalization measures alone will not suffice to provide a comprehensive and durable solution. This effort must be accompanied by a renewed commitment of explicit support to the United Nations by all Member States in accordance with their treaty obligations.

No one can any longer envisage a world without the United Nations. We must sustain its many achievements and build upon them rather than engage in action that will only undermine its credibility and efficacy. In this the Secretary-General has demonstrated his astute understanding of the difficulties now besetting the Organization and has brought to bear his keen insight, consummate skills and personal dedication in seeking to overcome them. We hope that he will be enabled to continue his laudable efforts to strengthen the United Nations for a better world.

On its part, Indonesia pledges its unstinting support and full co-operation in the realization of this paramount objective.

Mr. TOTU (Romania): May I begin by warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. It is indeed a great pleasure to greet in that high office the representative of Bangladesh, a country with which we are linked by bonds of traditional friendship and co operation. I am sure that your well known qualities and long-standing experience of political and diplomatic activity will make a decisive contribution to the success of this session.

Being empowered by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, I have the honour to put forward his and Romania's position, assessments and considerations on the main problems of international life, which are to be discussed at this Assembly session.

The proceedings of the General Assembly are taking place at a time when the international situation continues to be particularly complex and serious owing to the escalation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, the aggravation of some military conflicts and the emergence of new hotbeds of tension, the use and threat of force and interference in the internal affairs of other States.

These are all increasing even further the danger of a new world war, which under present conditions would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe, without victor or vanquished, leading to the destruction of the very conditions of life on our planet.

That is why, according to the outlook of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the fundamental problem of our time is that of changing the dangerous course of events, which is now heading towards a nuclear catastrophe, in the direction of a new policy of détente, disarmament, collaboration and peace in the world.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

Although one would have expected that, in the year proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace, concrete measure would be taken in order to revert from a policy of confrontation to a policy of solving the major problems facing mankind through negotiations, unfortunately we are witnessing the intensification of tension in world relations.

Under the present international circumstances, Romania and its President consider it imperative to pass from mere pronouncements to deeds and to do everything to step up the efforts of the United Nations, in conjunction with those of all peoples and peace-loving forces, in order to ensure the adoption of tangible, real actions and agreements for the halting of the arms race and for disarmament on earth and in space.

Only such a policy is liable to ensure real security for all States, to guarantee that peoples enjoy the proper conditions for creating new material and spiritual values, so that they can continue making their contribution to the progress and civilization of all mankind. That is why we consider it the sacred right and duty of every State large, medium or small, to act in a constructive spirit of co-operation and to contribute effectively to the radical improvement of the international climate.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

In this spirit, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu are promoting an ample policy of dialogue in international relations and taking part in world activity as a whole, toward finding solutions to the complex problems of our epoch, in the interest of co-operation and peace.

Romania has worked and continues to work consistently to base its relations with all States on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, complete renunciation of force and the threat of force, and to affirm widely these principles in the international arena.

Life itself, and the prevailing realities, have demonstrated the urgent need for these principles to be unanimously recognized and implemented as they represent the sole solid foundation for relations of collaboration and peace among all States.

It is an axiomatic truth that the strategy of peace cannot be separated from the strategy of the future. Mankind yearns for a future of progress and prosperity, safe from the danger of nuclear weapons, indeed of any weapons.

That is why Romania places the problems of peace and disarmament at the centre of its external policy, starting from the conviction that its economic and social development plans - indeed, like the progress of all peoples - can be achieved successfully only under conditions of peace and collaboration with all States of the world.

Working firmly in concert with all peace-loving forces in order to help reach appropriate agreements at an early stage, on the halting of the arms race and the adoption of tangible disarmament measures, Romania declares itself in support of the implementation of a complex disarmament programme, centred on nuclear disarmament, leading to the phased liquidation of all nuclear weapons by the end of

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this century and, in parallel, for a 25 per cent reduction of conventional weapons in the next five years, as well as of troops and military expenditures, to be followed by further efforts in order to reach a reduction of at least 50 per cent by the year 2000.

The adoption by this session of the United Nations General Assembly of the decision to proceed effectively toward the preparation of the third special session on disarmament, designed to adopt a global disarmament programme, would represent without any doubt an important step forward, in conformity with the interests of peace of the entire international community.

Romania considers that it would be of the utmost significance if a number of States were to unilaterally reduce their troops, weapons and military expenditures. In this respect, President Nicolae Ceausescu recently called on all States in Europe to reduce, by at least 5 per cent, their weapons, troops and military expenditures, even before an appropriate agreement is reached.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is ready to proceed to a 5 per cent reduction of its arms, troops and military expenditures by the end of this year. If an agreement with other States to proceed together to such a reduction is not reached, this proposal will be submitted, in a referendum, to the will of the people, to decide on this unilateral reduction. We express our hope that other countries will show their willingness to go along with us in implementing this measure.

It is Romania's steadfast conviction that the adoption by European States of measures toward the unilateral reduction of troops, weapons and military expenditures would pose no danger whatsoever to the security of any State. On the contrary, such measures will open the way to serious negotiations, as they will express the will of European States to act for disarmament and peace. This would be fully consonant with the demands of European and world public opinion.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

According to our conception, the huge human, material, financial and scientific resources being wasted each year to produce deadly weapons must be used to accelerate economic and social progress. With this aim in view, Romania has initiated, within the United Nations framework, a process aimed at determining the principles called upon to govern the activities of States in negotiating measures to freeze and reduce military expenditures. Finalizing and adopting the principles in question in their entirety, as of this session, would give new impetus to international activities aimed at bringing about a freeze and reduction of military budgets.

In the light of these considerations, Romania believes that the bodies and conferences dealing with disarmament questions must, more than ever before, step up their activities; indeed, all negotiating forums must be used with maximum efficiency so that they may proceed without delay to the preparation and adoption of appropriate agreements and understandings, with the participation and in the interest of all States.

In this respect, Romania has made its contribution to the conclusion, following appropriate agreements of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

We appreciate the fact that at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, the two sides will be able to reach an agreement at an early date. At the same time, we declare ourselves in favour of the achievement of adequate agreements at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. To this end, the successful conclusion of negotiations designed to bring about an international agreement on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, would be of special importance. The urgency of this matter should once again be stressed by the General Assembly.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the continent would greatly contribute to military disengagement, to building up confidence and security in Europe. In that spirit, Romania has taken a position and acted consistently to promote the development of confidence and co-operation among all Balkan countries and to help turn that region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and foreign military bases. Similarly, we support the establishment of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the northern and central parts of Europe, as well as on other continents.

The whole evolution of international life indicates once again that there can be no justification for continuing the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, for increasing military expenditures, which have by now soared to the huge amount of \$1,000 billion.

That is why our country welcomes and fully supports the programme of nuclear disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union in three stages, to be carried out by the year 2000, and declares itself in favour of the immediate cessation of nuclear tests and for the prevention of the militarization of outer space.

Welcoming the USSR decision on the extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu on this occasion too, renew, their appeal to the United States of America and to all other nuclear-weapon States to put an end to such tests as soon as possible.

At the same time, Romania considers that a series of proposals put forward by the United States of America and other States represent a real basis for reaching disarmament agreements.



(Mr. Totu, Romania)

In our view, the time has come for the other nuclear-weapon States to participate in nuclear arms talks, even if they proceed to their own arms cuts only after the United States of America and the USSR carry out a substantive reduction of their nuclear weaponry. Similarly, we believe that the European States, as well as the other States of the world, are directly interested and should take an active part in achieving agreements on the cessation of nuclear tests, nuclear arms reductions and halting the militarization of outer space.

An especially dangerous situation has arisen in Europe, where new nuclear weapons have been and continue to be deployed, thus endangering the existence of every nation and international peace. In view of this, Romania declares its support for the early achievement of agreements on cessation of the deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the European continent and the destruction of existing ones, and on the elimination of all chemical weapons.

My country firmly declares its opposition to measures designed to bring about the militarization of outer space and supports the use of outer space by all nations for peaceful purposes only. In this connection, we support the idea of convening a world conference on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space to work out a global programme for the use of outer space and space technology to further the economic and social development of all countries, particularly the developing countries, to adopt a treaty in this field and to set up a special United Nations body dealing with outer space.

In order to improve the international political climate, strengthen confidence and security and revive the process of détente, everything possible must be done to stop all military conflicts and solve all outstanding issues solely by peaceful means, through direct negotiations between the countries concerned and by making use of international organizations. Experience and reality demonstrate that,

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

however tedious it may be, the path of negotiation is the only one capable of leading to viable solutions in the interests of the peoples and of peace. It must be well understood that any other means - such as force or interference in the internal affairs of States - is incompatible with the interests of peoples and with their aspirations to freedom and independence. That is why we must firmly oppose any form of terrorism, which has always been contrary to the interests of the peoples.

We attach special importance to the implementation of provisions contained in the very timely solemn appeal for the cessation of all existing military conflicts, proposed by Romania and adopted by consensus at the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Romania is deeply concerned about the situation in the Middle East. In the spirit of the initiatives undertaken by the President of Romania as early as 1978, we resolutely declare our support for the convening of an international conference sponsored by the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the other permanent members of the Security Council and any other States that could contribute constructively to the settlement of the situation in that region. We appreciate that a just and lasting peace in the region must be based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in the 1967 war, recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish a Palestinian State and guarantees of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the region.

We consider it necessary to do everything possible to put an early end to the war between Iran and Iraq, which is causing both peoples immense human and material

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

losses. All military hostilities should be renounced and negotiations initiated with the aim of settling all outstanding issues between the two countries, in a spirit of full equality and mutual respect for independence and sovereignty.

We strongly condemn the South African authorities' racist policy of apartheid and the repressive measures taken by them against the majority population in that country, as well as the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring independent, sovereign States. We demand the cessation of all such actions prompted by the policy of apartheid. Romania resolutely supports the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), for the independence of Namibia. In general, Romania actively supports the struggle for the complete elimination of any form of colonialism and consolidation of the freedom and independence of all the peoples and nations of the world.

We believe that issues of conflict in Central America must be solved through negotiation on the basis of the proposals put forward by the Contadora Group and with full respect for the right of every people in that region to free and independent development without outside interference of any kind.

I should also like to reaffirm Romania's solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our active support for its position, initiatives, efforts and political and diplomatic actions aimed at the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of the country.

The elimination of underdevelopment, the bridging of the gaps between rich and poor countries and the establishment of a new international economic order are essential prerequisites for the peace and security of all peoples and the very future of mankind. It is well known that in past years the world economy has

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

continued to be marked by instability and a series of negative phenomena engendered by the world economic crisis, which have an impact, to a greater or lesser extent, on all countries.

The economic situation of the developing countries has been particularly affected. The overwhelming majority of those countries are being prevented from developing their economies and from advancing along the road of economic and social progress because of their external indebtedness and the high interest rates they are faced with, as well as the growing protectionism practised in various forms by developed countries. There is an increasingly obvious tendency to block negotiations in all forums concerned with economic problems and to sidestep the framework provided by the United Nations for examining and solving those problems.

Romania, as the Assembly knows, has already presented a series of proposals in this respect. My country is in favour of an international conference, to be convened under United Nations auspices and to be attended by all developing and developed countries participating on an equal footing, with a view to bringing about a global solution to the problems of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order and the achievement of co-operative relations based on understanding and equality.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

Such a conference should be conducive to an agreement and to understandings designed to facilitate faster progress for all countries, in particular those that are lagging behind. The objective here is to achieve the harmonious development of all States and of the world economy.

Romania considers also that the problem of foreign debt requires a comprehensive solution involving the following elements: cancellation of the entire debt of the poorest countries, those with a per capita national income of \$500 to \$600; reduction by a sizeable percentage of the debt of developing countries with a per capita national income of up to \$1,000 or \$1,200; general reduction by between 50 and 70 per cent of the debt of other developing countries, grouped by level of national income and by potential; rescheduling for a 15 to 20 year period of the remainder of the debt at 3 to 4 per cent interest, or with no interest at all, and with a grace period of three to five years; establishment of a ceiling for annual payments of foreign debt, not to exceed 10 per cent of the annual export earnings of the developing country in question; establishment of a maximum interest rate on old credits, not to exceed 3 to 4 per cent, with amounts paid in excess of that limit to be deducted from the volume of foreign debt; and provision of new credits to developing countries on favourable terms and conditions and with reasonable interest rates of a maximum of 5 per cent. To achieve such a global solution to the problem of the foreign debt, the United Nations must play an active part. In this respect, Romania holds the view that concrete action and measures must be taken within the United Nations framework to bring about the proper solutions.

My country is in favour also of restructuring the international monetary and financial system, and of convening an international conference to that end.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

We consider that at this hour, when a major scientific and technological revolution is in full swing, more efforts should be made to ensure broad and unhampered access by developing countries to the achievements of modern science and technology and a substantial transfer of technology to those countries in keeping with their specific development needs. In this respect, Romania joins other countries in supporting the convening of a second United Nations conference on science and technology for development.

On the occasion of the commemorative session of the General Assembly to mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, an assessment was made of the world Organization's activities and its role. This once again brought to the fore the need for the Organization faithfully to reflect international realities, to serve as a genuine forum for the entire international community, to fulfil the mission entrusted to it by the Charter and to serve more efficiently the cause of peace and progress, thus responding to the legitimate aspirations of peoples.

Taking into account the complexity of the international situation, the persistence of old conflicts and the emergence of new ones, and the contribution the United Nations must make to the resolution of those conflicts, Romania has put forward during past sessions the proposal that a commission for good offices, mediation and conciliation be set up within the United Nations system. Such a commission is conceived as a mechanism permanently available to Member States for the peaceful settlement of their disputes. We consider that the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization should step up its examination and finalization of this proposal.

To strengthen peace and co-operation with a view to improving the international political climate, it would be highly important and timely to build

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

an all-round international security system, an item that has been included on the agenda for this session. That system would be based on firm respect for the fundamental principles of relations among States, on the absolute exclusion of the use or threat of use or force, on the peaceful settlement of disputes, on the growth of the role of the United Nations in dealing with problems of peace and security and the democratization of international life. As part of the process of strengthening peace, security and co-operation among nations, it is particularly important to develop and consolidate good-neighbourliness among States, a subject figuring on the agenda of the present session as a result of a Romanian initiative. We consider it necessary to proceed within the present institutional framework to the identification and clarification of the components of good-neighbourliness with a view to drafting an international United Nations document in that field.

Romania was a promoter of the United Nations International Youth Year: Participation, Development Peace, which was an event of deep significance for the present and future of the younger generation and which had a wide and profound response throughout the world. We consider that the problems of youth must be kept under the constant scrutiny of the United Nations, of all Member States and of other international organizations. We realize that the guidelines for future programmes devoted to youth, which were adopted at the 1985 United Nations World Conference for the International Youth Year, must be implemented in order to unite young people the world over in an effort to protect and exercise their fundamental right to forge a free and worthy life for themselves in a world of peace and co-operation.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

Romania holds the view that the United Nations can and must play a vital role in the settlement of the major problems facing mankind, through the effective use of its capabilities. The financial difficulties confronting the Organization at present can and must be resolved through the improvement and simplification of the Organization's activities, without negatively affecting its democratic priorities and structures, based on the participation of all Member States in conditions of equality, and on the powers of the General Assembly as the most representative United Nations body.

In the spirit of the foreign policy of Romania, my delegation will act firmly, by working together with the delegations of other States, to contribute to the constructive work of the present session of the General Assembly, so that the Assembly may adopt decisions which will open the prospect of real progress towards disarmament and the strengthening of confidence and security in the world.

Having entrusted me with the task of putting before this Assembly Romania's position and proposals on the main items on the agenda of the Assembly for its forty-first session, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, ardently appeals that we join our efforts and act in a high spirit of responsibility for the destiny of our peoples and for the destiny of our planet, so that we may ensure the triumph of reason and the building of a world of peace, free of weapons and of wars.



Prince AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I take pleasure at the outset of my statement in congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. The Assembly's decision to entrust that high responsibility to you reflects international appreciation of you personally and is an expression of the eminent international position that the People's Republic of Bangladesh commands. I must not fail to mention the strong brotherly relations that exist between our two countries. We are certain that your wide experience, wisdom and ability will be of great assistance to the General Assembly in fulfilling its responsibilities in the best possible way.

I also wish to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés, President of the fortieth session, for the effective way he carried out his functions during his presidency. The wisdom and capability which characterized his direction of the proceedings of the previous session earned the gratitude and appreciation of the world community for both him and his friendly country, Spain.

I must mention also the consistent efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in the field of international relations, and his role in connection with the many responsibilities of the United Nations, one result of which during the previous session, was the success of the arrangements for and the attainment of the objectives of the programme for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, which reminded the international community of the importance of the Organization and its effective role.

The establishment of the United Nations was from the beginning an expression of the urgent desire and strong determination of the peoples of the world to avoid a repetition of the tragedies caused by the Second World War. That desire and determination reflected a deep and fundamental awareness of the importance of peace

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

and security and the need for them to prevail all over the world and for putting an end to all acts of violence and aggression, all military threats and all forms of interventionism, hegemonism and colonialism. Such considerations have linked the name of the United Nations with lofty concepts and noble values, making of it the meeting point of all expectations of and aspirations to peace and the rule of law, as well as the starting point for all efforts to replace disruption and war by understanding and solidarity.

From the time that it was founded, when the late King Abdul-Aziz established the basis of his rule, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has adhered to the principle of international peace and made the establishment of a sound basis of justice in dealings between nations in the political, economic and social fields one of the objectives of its foreign policy. Consequently, Saudi Arabia was one of the original signatories of the San Francisco Charter, on the basis of which this international Organization was established. Ever since then its belief in the fundamental importance of the Organization and its basic principles and objectives has never wavered. That belief is further confirmed and strengthened by the fact that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which adheres to the religion of Islam, plays an outstanding international role which stems from a foreign policy based on the conviction that the basic principles of the Organization and the lofty purposes and principles of its Charter embody a reaffirmation of the tenets of Islamic law which regulate inter-State relations. Thus the Kingdom has repeatedly reaffirmed its commitment and adherence to the principles of the Charter and its noble objectives, which constitute a firm guarantee of the achievement of international peace and security and a sound basis for the establishment of normal, just and balanced relations between nations.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

In that context, His Majesty King Fahd bin Abdul-Aziz pointed out on one occasion that we in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

"work in the global field within the framework of the United Nations and its affiliates and agencies. We adhere to its Charter and support its efforts, and oppose any aberrant action aimed at weakening it and diminishing the rule of international law in order to replace it by the force of arms and coercion. Our actions have always reflected and continue to reflect our sense of belonging to an international community that is one family, irrespective of the diversity of its interests, and demonstrate our faith in a peace based on justice and righteousness."

Although the United Nations has been able to achieve many results in various fields, it is capable of achieving more and of redoubling its efforts in the interest of international peace and security to secure justice, and enable peoples to regain their usurped rights. It is also capable of providing safeguards and guarantees that would ensure respect for the resolutions it adopts and a commitment to implement them, as well as of overcoming the obstacles that face those resolutions. Such obstacles have become a real challenge, which Member States must face, if they want the Organization to be a real instrument for establishing the foundations of peace and the consolidation of the basis of justice that they seek.

While current international relations are still strained by conflicts, disturbances and quarrels, while complex political problems are still not being solved and severe economic crises are still threatening peace and stability, it would be unfair to put the blame for all this upon the shoulders of the United Nations alone, because the success or failure of this international Organization is tied to the positions taken by Member States and the extent of their commitment to the implementation of its resolutions and the fulfilment of its principles and objectives, and to their efforts in discharging their obligations.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

One of the biggest challenges that the United Nations faces is undoubtedly that of the existence of a wide gulf between the commitments to the Charter and its objectives and the actual conduct of nations in their international relations, especially those nations that persist in aggression, usurpation, terrorism and discrimination, such as Israel and South Africa.

A cursory glance at the current international situation shows that world political, economic and social problems, have not diminished but increased in depth and gravity. It also confirms that the role of the United Nations grows in importance as the possibilities and opportunities for interaction and co-operation between nations increase. If peace based on right and justice, not on a balance of terror, is the objective of this international Organization - and it is the only sure means of ensuring security and stability - the feeling of injustice among the peoples deprived of self-determination in Palestine, Afghanistan and Namibia is the most dangerous time bomb threatening the strength and cohesion of this Organization; indeed, it threatens the peace and security of the entire world.

The problems that the Middle East is now experiencing and the complexities that emerge from these, are in reality and in the final analysis consequences of Zionist aggression against Palestine and a result of the cumulative effects of the problem of Palestine. The wars and political and military conflicts that the region has known over the past 39 years are but one of the consequences of the failure to solve the basic problem and of the Israeli aggression in the region. The continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands is living proof of Israel's expansionist intentions, its blatant defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and its consistent contempt for world public opinion and every law and convention. The tragic situation in Lebanon is one of the grave consequences of this problem.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

It is clear from all I have said that the establishment of peace in our region cannot be achieved without the solution of the main problem, the problem of Palestine, and that can be achieved only through recognition of the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Israel's defiance and its persistent attempts to frustrate peace efforts in order to gain time to achieve its purposes and designs will only lead to more turmoil and to complications that will increase the difficulties involved in solving the problem, with all the dangers and perils that would entail.

It is unnecessary to reaffirm the fact that no solution is likely to succeed if it does not include the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as one of the elements of the quest and a party to the dialogue. If peace is intended to be permanent then it must come from the area of the conflict and be based on justice, so that rights will be restored to their legitimate owners. The Arab countries have shouldered their historic responsibility and offered to do all they can for the sake of peace and stability in the region. They articulated their understanding of the peace process in the "Fez resolutions", which emphasized the Arab consensus on a peace based on justice, in accordance with international law and in concurrence with the international will represented by the resolutions of the United Nations.

The war between Iraq and Iran, which we follow with grave concern and sadness, adds another dimension to the tense situation in the Middle East, over and above the bloodshed, destruction and devastation to which two brotherly peoples, who have the closest of links and the strongest of ties with each other as well as with us, are being exposed. This destructive war, which serves no purposes and brings no benefit to either of the parties to the dispute, has threatened and continues to threaten the peace and security of the region and indeed the peace and security of the whole world.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

His Majesty King Fahd bin Abdul-Aziz has on numerous occasions expressed his grave concern at the continuation of the war between those two brotherly and neighbouring countries. His Majesty's Government has also participated in all efforts to put an end to that war and to help Iraq and Iran reach a peaceful solution to their conflict, in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations and in harmony with the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and good-neighbourly relations. In this context, His Majesty's Government has supported the mediation efforts made by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, the Good Offices Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations, as represented by its Secretary-General. It has endeavoured to mobilize international support for those mediation efforts, in the hope of ending that war.

While we express full appreciation to Iraq for its responsiveness to the peace efforts, we sincerely hope that Iran also will respond to those efforts. We also hope that the United Nations, being responsible for international peace and security, will take the necessary measures and steps to ensure the implementation of the decisions it has already adopted in this respect, in order to put an end to this destructive war.

The problem of Afghanistan and the continued Soviet military occupation of that country is one of the most serious problems facing the international community today and one which requires a quick and decisive solution. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan has entered its seventh year and the Afghan Mujahideen are still waging a fierce war in defence of their religion, their country and their rights. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has made extensive efforts to remove the manifestations of oppression and occupation that the Afghan people are being exposed to, in order to enable them to liberate their country and secure their rights to freedom and independence.

The United Nations also has made appreciable efforts to solve this problem. While the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports them, it reaffirms that any such efforts should take into consideration the right of the Afghan Mujahideen and their demands. While the Kingdom salutes the Mujahideen, it renders full support to the demands made by the Afghan people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their land and the establishment of a government that is acceptable to them and can preserve their neutrality and beliefs. It also salutes the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for its noble humanitarian stand in shouldering the burden of more than three and a half million Afghan refugees on its soil and the heavy economic and social burden which that stand entails.

What is taking place on the African continent falls within the purview of the main interests of the Arab world. Historic, cultural and geographic links unify the two sides and make their solidarity inevitable in the face of the common challenges embodied in colonialism, zionism and racial discrimination.

The valiant struggle of the black majority against the repugnant apartheid policies practised by the Government of South Africa fills our hearts with the hope that that policy has collapsed and demonstrated its failure. The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has consistently supported the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against that racist Government in order to force it to implement the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the support of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa and for the refusal to establish any form of ties with the South African régime.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also reaffirms its complete support for the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and independence, for the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its special session on Namibia held

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

here at United Nations Headquarters in September 1986 and for the resolutions of the eighth summit conference of the non-aligned countries held at Harare, Zimbabwe, earlier this month, as well as for the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity. The aim of all those resolutions is to put an end to racist practices and to the foreign occupation of Namibia.

Economic problems today represent one of the most important obstacles to international reconciliation, which might otherwise have served as one of the most important reasons for co-operation between nations, for despite the indications of economic recovery in a number of the major industrialized countries, the world is still faced with a deterioration in the performance of international commerce, particularly in the trade of developing countries. The indications of limited recovery in some industrialized countries are weak and unbalanced and are not really helping to reactivate the demand for the basic raw materials exported by developing countries. Thus it becomes clear that unless this recovery is accompanied by definite measures to regain confidence in the international economic system, actual recovery will remain a dream hard to achieve or realize.

Moreover, the global situation of the petroleum industry is still enveloped in obscurities and fluctuations, following a drop in prices which is having a negative effect on that industry and on the economies of petroleum-exporting countries and on their ability to resume their development, and to continue to transfer wealth to developing nations and provide the necessary liquidity to finance the process of development in those countries.



(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, being itself a developing country, recognizes from its own experience the extent of the difficulties that face the peoples of the developing countries in achieving the standard of living to which they aspire. The Kingdom believes it has responsibilities as a member of the international community, and through its concern to strengthen the ties of co-operation and solidarity between peoples, and its desire to participate effectively in solving the development problems which face most developing countries, took the initiative, when resources became available to it, of investing a substantial amount of those resources in supporting efforts designed to promote the developmental process in the least privileged countries. It has even made the fulfilment of its commitments in this respect a permanent policy.

The obvious disparity between the countries of the world, in terms of the quantities and types of natural and material resources they possess, makes co-operation between developing and developed countries an urgent requirement. Moreover, this disparity should lead to the promotion of understanding between peoples, the encouragement of dialogue, and the strengthening of solidarity between the nations of the world, rather than becoming a cause for preserving imbalances and widening the gap between rich and poor countries. In this context, the Kingdom is convinced of the need to realize the objective of comprehensive development, because that is the only way to achieve real growth for all the peoples of the world. To secure this aim, development assistance must continue and increase, which in turn requires concerted and sincere efforts to support the existing developmental institutions and establishments and to strengthen their resources and their ability to play a more effective and realistic role in addressing the requirements of this critical stage. Comprehensive development is of the essence, for without it we cannot expect a viable world of continuous growth, whose peoples exchange benefits and complement one another.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that it will only be possible to provide the financial resources required during this decade to bring about the requisite economic change and to achieve a reasonable rate of comprehensive development in the developing countries as a whole when the industrialized countries in both the Eastern and Western blocs begin to bear their full responsibility by providing the financial contributions to which they are committed in accordance with the strategy of international development and the objectives of official development assistance. It is no longer possible to accept the excuses that the industrialized nations advance, either in terms of the quantity and type of that assistance, or in terms of international responsibility regarding the economic difficulties that the developing countries are experiencing.

We should like to take this opportunity to appeal to the industrialized countries not to waste the opportunity for them to establish a basis for useful co-operation with the developing countries. We call upon them to resume, without further delay, the serious dialogue required to begin a new era of comprehensive international negotiations in a spirit of mutual confidence and sincere co-operation in the best interests of the international community. At the same time, we appeal for a continuation of the trend in the developing nations towards greater realism, objectivity, and flexibility. We reaffirm our full conviction that the difficulties obstructing our present efforts to revitalize international economic co-operation and to build a new international economic order based on justice, should not, under any circumstances, be a cause of despair. On the contrary, it should be an incentive for us to continue our efforts for the good of humanity.

(Prince Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia)

Finally, we must conclude by expressing the hope of our peoples - or rather the hope of all peace-loving peoples - for the success of the efforts aimed at defusing the threat posed by the weapons of war that fill the world, and our hopes for the limitation of such weapons. We all know that in a new world war victor and vanquished will suffer the same fate; both will be destroyed and modern civilization will be wiped out. So we hope that the countries most directly concerned with this matter will realize that their commitment in this respect is a historic responsibility, and that they will live up to it in accordance with the standards demanded by the United Nations Charter, which enshrines a principle of commitment and a means of action commensurate with the level of responsibility that we hope all will respect.

Mr. O'FLYNN (New Zealand): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election. We have a great deal of work to get through at this session. I know from my meeting with you yesterday that you will guide us skilfully through the rough water we will inevitably meet. Let me say, too, how good it is to see the Secretary-General restored to full health. We need his wisdom and courage at this time.

I appear here today as the representative of a small country from the southern reaches of the vast Pacific Ocean. Forty years ago my country was amongst those which pledged their commitment to the objectives of this world Organization. How much nearer are we, today, to achieving those ideals? Enormous problems confront us. Technology has expanded humanity's horizons into outer space. But here on earth we have not yet succeeded in providing basic human needs - food, shelter, and at least a minimum degree of security - for all. Under the Charter we have all abjured the use or threat of force. Yet the most powerful nations among us seem unwilling to take the decisive step of rejecting the weapons of mass destruction that threaten us all.

(Mr. O'Flynn, New Zealand)

Today, more than ever before, small States need the protection that the Charter and this Organization were intended to give. The United Nations was intended to represent our interests, ~~for~~ the powerful are better able to look after themselves. If we who are small are not to be ignored by those who are mighty, then we must work together here to ensure the survival of this planet.

New Zealanders know from recent experience that this Organization can respond quickly and fairly to the needs of small States which call for its help.

In 1985 my country was suddenly embroiled in a dispute with France. It concerned the detonation of bombs fixed to a ship at a wharf in one of our harbours. A crewman of Dutch extraction lost his life. The circumstances were widely blazoned across the world press and need not be further recapitulated.

Despite lengthy bilateral negotiations we were not able to solve the problem. With France, we then turned to the United Nations for help in finding an acceptable solution. Both countries undertook to abide unconditionally by the United Nations arbitration. The Secretary-General took on the task himself. He made a ruling which both Governments accepted without reservation. It has been carried out by both of us. I want to record my Government's profound gratitude to the Secretary-General for the commendable way he carried out that task. Through his mediatory efforts we have been able to bring to an end that unhappy episode.\*

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\*Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. O'Flynn, New Zealand)

Our experience in the field of decolonization has also shown us, once again, how this Organization can help us in fulfilling our obligations to bring dignity and self-respect to all people. My country is responsible for helping bring to nationhood a tiny territory in the South Pacific: Tokelau; remote, beautiful, but with few resources other than the fish in the sea around the three small atolls and the determination of its peoples. Our Government invited a United Nations visiting mission there in July to see the unique development issues confronting that atoll community. I am pleased to see members of the mission here today. We have found, as in the case of other island nations whose histories have been entwined with ours, that the United Nations could indeed make a useful and innovative contribution to the process leading to self-determination. That is an example that could well be followed again in another case in the South Pacific; and I shall return to that later.

It is clear that the United Nations can help if small nations show that they want it to do so. Nobody believes that problems that have bedevilled us for years will be solved overnight. But one thing is clear: whatever the issue - international security, the right to live in freedom and peace, or freeing the shackles on international trade - the small and the vulnerable have much more in common with one another than with the big Powers. Separately, we may achieve a little; together we may yet move mountains, perhaps even the Rockies and the Urals.

Today there is no greater incentive for us all to work together than the need to bring under control the fast-quickenning nuclear-arms race. Arms control and disarmament are not pious goals; they are immediate and desperate imperatives. Nuclear weapons have become the subject of a monstrous exercise in self-perpetuation. We know now that none of us, even those in as remote a place as

(Mr. O'Flynn, New Zealand)

New Zealand, or more remote still, could escape the consequences of their use. All too graphically the scientists have shown us that.

The central point, surely, must be that, when you have arsenals that can destroy humanity, you can have no security. By their very nature, nuclear weapons subvert and distort the intention of Governments to provide security for their people. So-called nuclear logic always seems to require the next terrible step: the production of a new weapon to prevent the last from being used. The ceaseless search for balance is really endless escalation; security, like a desert mirage, is never reached. We sink further into insecurity and fear. The balance of terror has been raised one more notch. It is well named. And despite the truly awesome consumption of resources, it seems we are edging towards yet another new and uncontrolled level of arms technology and spending. An arms race in outer space must not be permitted. Where one nuclear giant leads, the other will surely follow.

Of course, the arms race does not exist in a vacuum. It is a reflection of deep-seated distrust and scarcely concealed hostility. Only earnest diplomatic action aimed at sincere détente will remove the distrust. Only decisive political action can end the arms race itself. No one underestimates the difficulty of managing the transition to a world without nuclear weapons, which must be the ultimate goal - but the nuclear "logic" that equates more nuclear weapons with greater security cannot be allowed to go on sabotaging the process of arms control and disarmament negotiations. What security is there, I ask, in a system under which mischance, malevolence or madness may entomb not only the nuclear Powers, but all of us?

With the fate of the world in their hands, how can the two major nuclear Powers continue to refuse to respond promptly and positively to the overtures each has made to the other? The leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet

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Union, separately and together, have given indications that progress can be made. The tentative steps they have taken seem to show that there is common ground. They agree on the need for deep cuts in nuclear weapons. Their proposals now lie on the negotiating table. They must not just lie there. The political will of the major Powers to end the arms race will be judged by what they do now to narrow the negotiating gap between them. An old adage says: "Procrastination is the thief of time." Time is fast running out. The nations of the world, all but a handful of them non-nuclear, cannot wait much longer; they have waited too long already.

Nor can we, the small countries, simply conclude that it is a problem only for the nuclear Powers to solve. We must take a hand, together. New Zealand welcomes the successful conclusion earlier this week of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. As earlier speakers from both East and West have noted, the agreement should make a significant contribution towards reducing tensions in Europe. That benefits not only Europe, but the wider international community. The agreement is most welcome after a long period of stalemate on arms control and disarmament negotiations. But it is only a beginning. We urge the larger Powers to get on with resolving their wider differences. Meanwhile there are things which the small can do, steps which we can take in co-operation with one another to encourage disarmament.

Among practicable arms control measures, the most urgent is a comprehensive test-ban treaty; one that would ban all testing by all nations, in all environments and for all time. No other single step would do so much to slow the remorseless advance of nuclear-weapon production and experimentation, or to establish confidence in the will of the nuclear Powers to eliminate nuclear weapons from the world's arsenals. It would be a truly universal arms control measure.

There may be more than one route to a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The ending of testing by any State, even temporarily, is a step forward and should be

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welcomed. A mutual moratorium by two or more would be better still, even if a temporary one. All such steps give time for talk and delay disastrous escalation.

There may be other provisional measures involving all the nuclear-weapon States which would help establish confidence and encourage a commitment to negotiate a permanent ban on testing. But none of these can be a substitute for a comprehensive test ban. The New Zealand Government will again join with others in calling on the Conference on Disarmament to start immediately with the work of drawing up a comprehensive test-ban treaty. New Zealand, too, is ready to take part in an international system for monitoring a test ban. We have some facilities in place for monitoring testing in our own region and are preparing to improve them.

There is room for smaller powers to act in the regional sphere, too, in practical ways that the United Nations has recognized as valuable. For its part, New Zealand will not permit nuclear weapons in our country, even temporarily, as on visiting ships or aircraft. We intend to keep our land, our waters and our ports, and our air space nuclear-free.

With the members of the South Pacific Forum, an annual gathering of 13 independent States, we have moved to establish a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The Rarotonga Treaty was adopted over a year ago now. It prohibits the acquisition, stationing or testing of nuclear weapons by any of its parties. This year's forum at Suva adopted three Protocols to the Treaty. These call on the major nuclear Powers to respect the zone. I am glad to be able to tell you that some have already indicated their willingness to sign these Protocols. The New Zealand Government, along with others in the region, hopes they will soon be endorsed by all those countries eligible to sign.



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But, the South Pacific will not be free of the scourge of nuclear testing until France accepts that the security concerns of a distant European Government should not thwart the legitimate desire of the nations of the South Pacific to live in peace and safety in a nuclear-free environment. For too long, far too long, the Pacific has been used as a testing-ground by the nuclear Powers. Two of them stopped testing there long ago. It is time for France to follow their example. I would note also, in passing, that contrary to what has been said earlier in this debate, the report of the Scientific Mission that visited the French testing site at Mururoa Atoll in 1983 does not provide a basis for asserting that those tests "are being carried out in unquestionably safe conditions," (A/41/PV.8, p. 71). That report specifically refused to rule out the possibility of serious damage to the Atoll and its surrounding environment in the longer-term future.

The South Pacific countries are increasingly confident of their place in the international community, certain of what binds them together, determined to preserve their cultures, committed to the principles of democracy and consensus and willing to work closely with those nations that genuinely pursue co-operation.

The micro-States in the vast ocean region that I come from present unique development challenges. New Zealand makes a major contribution, and we welcome the assistance of other countries in the region's development. Such assistance, however, is only one contribution towards economic growth. Equally important are fair and equitable returns for the region's limited resources, the produce of its land, its slowly expanding manufacturing exports and, most important, its fish. All that calls for international co-operation.

The United Nations was involved earlier this year in another major step forward in the development of the Pacific. On 28 May the Trusteeship Council recommended that the Trusteeship Agreement over the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Palau and the Northern Marianas should be terminated. At its

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meeting at Suva, the South Pacific Forum welcomed that development. New Zealand was a party to the Forum's consensus. The peoples of those Territories have said what they want. That is decisive. The United Nations has discharged its responsibilities, and the process of decolonization is coming nearer to completion in the South Pacific.

There is a lesson here for New Caledonia. Our experience of decolonization has shown us that the United Nations can help bring about peaceful evolution. The South Pacific Forum has always regarded New Caledonia as a neighbour that should take its place as an independent member of the South Pacific community. It is, by history as well as by unchangeable geography, an integral part of the region. Unless its stability is preserved, the stability of the whole region and all its member States will be seriously affected. Forum members are concerned that the Territory's move to independence should take place peacefully. That means by negotiation. France clearly has the power to bring about change peacefully. It is deeply disappointing to us and to our South Pacific neighbours, therefore, that in the approach recently outlined by the present French Government it seems that independence is no longer its goal for New Caledonia. I noted this morning the statement of the French Minister for Overseas Departments and Territories, reported in today's Herald Tribune. He said:

"When Australia and New Zealand are advocating independence for New Caledonia, they are advocating independence for a territory that would be under Libyan control."

Such a claim is farcical. We are not supporting any faction of the independence movement in New Caledonia. We support true self-determination for all real New Caledonians. The South Pacific Forum leaders have made it clear that they want to maintain a dialogue with all the parties to see if a more promising situation can be brought about. The Heads of Government of the countries members of the South

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Pacific Forum decided last month to seek the reinscription of New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. That move was strongly endorsed by the Heads of State or Government of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement at their meeting at Harare. My delegation, with other South Pacific countries, welcomes that support. We look forward to a positive decision by the Assembly and to a constructive solution to New Caledonia's travail.\*

We all know that economic stability and prosperity are a necessary condition for real security. The need for international action by the vulnerable is as pressing here as it is in any other field. New Zealand, like many developing countries that are reliant on commodity exports, depends for long-term economic growth on its ability to trade fairly in those areas in which it has a comparative advantage. Yet we are being prevented from doing so by the absurdities of a distorted world trading system. Agricultural trade has generally been excluded from the international trade rules and disciplines. It is the first area to be hit by new protectionist measures, especially non-tariff barriers; it is the main victim of domestic production subsidies which, in the large developed countries have reached a level that even they now recognize as unsustainable. But it is the rest of us, the efficient producers, who have to deal with the massive over-production dumped on world markets and that brings down returns for everyone.

The problems of agriculture are a time-bomb ticking away under the world trading system. An explosion would threaten not just the prosperity of individual countries but global economic and political stability. That is why New Zealand attaches great importance to progress in a particular United Nations forum, that of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The new round of negotiations recently launched at Punta del Este offers a vital opportunity for the

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\* The President returned to the Chair.

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international community to establish just and equitable rules for the conduct of agricultural trade. That will be the measure of the new round's success. It has to succeed. It will not succeed without pain, as New Zealand well knows. But if it fails, the credibility of the whole multilateral system will be thrown into question.

There is a need for international action on Africa, too. New Zealanders have been deeply moved by the plight of the sub-Saharan people, who continue to be afflicted by drought and famine. New Zealanders continue to work alongside the Government in supporting churches and other organizations undertaking rehabilitation projects. In the week before the special session on the critical economic situation in Africa they contributed substantially yet again to an international appeal, in this case Sport Aid.

The outcome of the special session was welcomed as a starting point for planning strategies for the future. The endeavours to work out practical measures to bring about an end to Africa's economic and developmental problems are encouraging. The co-operation and commitment with which the special session's deliberations were conducted must be sustained if its sound recommendations are to be put into effect.

New Zealanders have also been shocked by events in southern Africa - the violence in South Africa's black townships, the South African Government's further repression of rights and freedoms, the attacks on defenceless targets in neighbouring countries, carried out simply to give a political message, and South Africa's obstruction of Namibian independence. For a while, it looked as though the entirely reasonable approach adopted by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group might be successful in bringing all parties in South Africa together to negotiate a new political dispensation. The South African Government's rejection of those efforts, signalled as it was by the contemporaneous and wanton bombing of

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neighbouring capitals, is to be deplored. Negotiation is always the preferable way to bring about necessary and lasting changes acceptable to the majority. The chances of a negotiated end to South Africa's troubles now look slim indeed. Such as they are, they must be grasped, or a holocaust will surely follow.

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The common theme in each issue I have raised is the need for united action. And in each case it is clear that the United Nations can play a crucial part, provided it has the support of those - the overwhelming majority of its Members - who are small, whose individual power is slight. It is disturbing, therefore, to see a weakening - even a conscious undermining - of the commitment to multilateral action. It is long-standing political indifference or, in some cases, hostility, which is the cause of the United Nations financial crisis. The selective withholding of contributions - a practice in which one major contributor has recently joined another - cannot be condoned. Nor can the action of those who allow dues to fall into arrears. But we have all contributed to the current crisis. We have pretended to believe that political problems could be solved simply by calling for more financial resources, more studies, more staff. Well, we were wrong. Entirely new measures are necessary, at once more drastic and more constructive.

The Secretary-General took prompt and decisive action earlier this year to avert the immediate cash crisis. His package of measures was designed to contain the crisis this year. This Assembly must look at the longer term. It must be resolute.

For we are in no better shape financially now than we were in April. We must recognize this in looking at the proposals before us both for economies and for reform. By a positive approach we emphasize to those owing funds that, while we cannot accept their disregard of binding Charter obligations, we are prepared to help ourselves. We small States have the most to lose - so we must find a way forward.

We in New Zealand welcome the report of the High Level Group. We strongly endorse its consensus findings. We commend them to the membership. We must go on to develop quickly an agreed approach to the reform of the programme and budget

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process. We must begin to run this important Organization like any self-respecting business - in the interests, that is, of its shareholders, the Member States. In the process, all of us are going to have to accept some curtailment of our favourite programmes. We accept that. Compromise from all will be required.

Reform of our finances, management and administration is the first requirement, for it is the prerequisite to efficiency.

More important in the end, though, is the way this Organization goes about fulfilling the objectives of its Charter. I found myself in complete agreement with some observations two days ago of the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands and I cannot do better, in conclusion, than to refer to them. He said:

"Differences in ideologies and cultures are a fact of life. But polarization and mutual recrimination are not their inevitable corollary."

(A/41/PV.9, p. 46)

I would add that although they are a possible and, as things stand, all too likely corollary, they are the very things this Organization was founded to dispel and to avoid for the future. They can only lead to ever deepening mistrust and hostility. It is no use pretending we are not going to disagree and from time to time disagree bitterly. What we must do is face that reality and instead of papering over differences by what the Netherlands Minister rightly called "the practice of false consensus", we must seek in a real spirit of reconciliation, and friendship, to find constructive and hopefully permanent solutions to the great and serious questions that today threaten to divide much of the world into two hostile camps. We must not risk being seen by future generations as having spent our brief and precious time here preparing for war, rather than working for peace.

Mr. UPADHYAYA (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to you, and through you to the members of this Assembly, greetings from my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

On behalf of my delegation, and on my own, I have great pleasure in extending warm and cordial felicitations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. It is as much a tribute to your country, Bangladesh, which is deeply committed to the principles of the United Nations and with which Nepal enjoys excellent neighbourly relations, as it is recognition of your own personal qualities and contributions for which we in Nepal have high regard. My delegation is convinced that under your able and wise stewardship the Assembly will achieve all desired results.

We take particular pride in the fact that such an eminent representative of South Asia should be called upon to preside over a session of the General Assembly so soon after the formal establishment of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC).

At this time, I should also like to place on record the deep appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, who presided over the memorable fortieth session of the General Assembly with such impartiality and distinction. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his continuing contribution to the cause of international peace and co-operation. We gratefully acknowledge his tireless efforts to strengthen and rejuvenate the United Nations in the past, confident that they will continue into the future as well.

Only last year we observed with due solemnity the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. We then collectively reviewed the achievements and



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shortcomings of the United Nations in the four decades of its existence. We were elated at the many successes of the United Nations but dismayed that more could not be achieved. And the sense of disappointment was nowhere perhaps more palpable than in the all-important sphere relating to international peace and security.

A significant and positive outcome of the fortieth session of the General Assembly was the proclamation to designate 1986 as the International Year of Peace. This has provided not only an opportunity for all of us to recommit ourselves to the cause of the promotion of peace - the principal purpose of the United Nations - but also to focus on its problems and prospects. Thus, though none of us present here can confidently declare the world is more secure in 1986 than in any preceding year because of the activities spurred, world-wide, by observance of the International Year of Peace, it must be acknowledged that there is now perhaps a better appreciation of the fact that global peace must be defined and nurtured in its totality. It is with considerable pleasure, therefore, that I can convey to this Assembly the fact that, in keeping with the United Nations resolution, the International Year of Peace is being observed in Nepal in a variety of ways designed not only to stimulate practical and concerted actions for peace but also to provide opportunities for serious reflection on its nature and condition. Among them are plans for lighting an eternal peace flame in Lumbini - the birthplace of that great apostle of peace and goodwill, Lord Gautam Buddah - from the peace torch that, at this time, is going around the globe as part of the First Earth Run which was inaugurated by the Secretary-General earlier this month.

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Mention has already been made of the fact that real prospects for global peace and security were not enhanced in 1986 as they ought to have or could have been. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Primarily, of course, they can be traced to the fact that where the all-important question of nuclear war and the arms race is concerned no headway has been made in 1986. Indeed, though the process of dialogue initiated between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Geneva last November was encouraging and was welcomed as such, it has still to lead to another summit where concrete measures designed to promote the cause of peace can be agreed upon between the two super-Powers.

As it is, there has been no forward motion on scaling down the nuclear arms race, though this is not due to want of worth-while proposals. Indeed, bold and attractive offers for reducing long-range nuclear weapons, freezing nuclear arsenals at pre-determined levels and banning their deployment outside national borders and eliminating them altogether before the end of the century have been made. However, not only have they all been rejected on one or another ground, but the four-times unilaterally extended moratorium on nuclear testing by the Soviet Union has not been reciprocated by the United States either. Thus, even as the glow from the United States-Soviet summit meeting in Geneva last November rapidly faded, uncompromising endeavours to hurtle the nuclear arms competition into the arena of outer space - a common heritage of mankind - continued unabated. It is no comfort, in the meantime, to have to be reminded how vulnerable peoples everywhere are to the dangers of nuclear radiation, even in peacetime.

The tragedy is that, even in the year designated by the United Nations the International Year of Peace, there is no universal acceptance that in a nuclear age national security cannot be secured by unilateral means; that the mutual vulnerability of the super-Powers is an essential characteristic of our times; or

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even that the most effective first step in arresting the nuclear arms race is a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

The Nepalese delegation is convinced that a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty would represent a turning point in the history of arms control by making such negotiations free from the pressure of constant technological developments. Also, apart from the fact that a specific commitment by the major nuclear Powers has been enshrined in various international agreements, including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it is now technically possible to verify nuclear-weapon testing.

Yet, while it is clear that the very first priority on the global agenda must be to halt, then reverse and ultimately end nuclear armament, my delegation is also deeply concerned about the extension of super-Power confrontation in various parts of the world, including the Indian Ocean region.

No less disturbing is it to my delegation to note that a great many developing countries are themselves indulging in expensive and unbridled arms competition in conventional weaponry, with some even assuming the status of major arms suppliers or exporters.

To its great distress, my delegation notes that, despite the pledges and spirit of the International Year of Peace, 1986, what was expected to be a historic International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development had to be postponed despite the great interest the Conference had naturally sparked and the convening in the United Nations of a number of preparatory meetings for the Conference. My delegation had been looking forward to the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development with much anticipation. Quite apart from the fact that Nepal has always championed the cause of general and complete disarmament, what bears particular recollection in this context is that it was precisely because of the close and intimate connection between peace and

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development that His Majesty King Birendra proposed in 1975 that Nepal be declared a zone of peace, a proposal that I feel much gratified to state has received the support of 79 countries thus far, for which I take the opportunity to express our gratitude.

I wish also to reiterate that Nepal's peace initiative, rooted as it is in the idea of institutionalizing peace in what is a geostrategic part of the Indian Ocean hinterland, is in conformity with the ideals of the United Nations and the principles embodied in its Charter, as well as those of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which Nepal is a proud founding member. We also believe that it will act as a complement to, and not detract from, other worthy peace initiatives, whether they relate to the South Pacific, the South Atlantic, South or South-East Asia, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean or even the African continent as a whole.

As we survey the world political situation we are naturally dismayed that no progress has been recorded as far as resolving the familiar and haemorrhaging, conflicts of yesteryear is concerned. Indeed, pernicious tendencies for the strong to dominate the weak continue.

It is the altogether depressing reflex of some to settle scores, real or imagined, by actual resort to arms or to crude threats to do so. The sacrosanct doctrine of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States is trampled underfoot. Decades-old injustices and tyrannies, created by myths and prejudices of racial superiority, continue with impunity. Terrorism shows its ugly visage every now and then, too often accompanied by outbursts of horrific deeds and the spilling of innocent blood. And East-West rivalry exacerbates regional tensions and conflicts.

A sense of hopelessness and futility pervades West Asia, where the cycle of death, destruction and despair continues its grim progression. In other words, the

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prospects for peace in West Asia are not one iota brighter in the International Year of Peace than at any time in the past few turbulent decades.

As far as my delegation is concerned, we remain firm in our belief that a lasting solution to the problems besetting West Asia will continue to elude the international community unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland of their own in that region is universally accepted. Nepal is also convinced that a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in West Asia cannot be achieved unless it is recognized that all States of the region, including Israel, have the inalienable right to exist within secure and well-defined boundaries - that is to say, the right to independent sovereign existence free from threats and acts of force. Finally, the third vital element in any comprehensive peace settlement for West Asia, in Nepal's view, is the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from territories occupied since 1967.

The situation in Lebanon exemplifies to a very great degree the tragedy and dilemmas of West Asia, providing as it does an ongoing stage for invasion, civil strife and the clash of competing foreign interests. Nepal has long viewed with concern the challenges to the sovereignty of that small and independent country, especially the suggestion that a part of that sovereign and proud country should be considered as falling within the defence perimeter of an adjacent neighbour. As a small, independent and peace-loving country that desires to be a zone of peace, Nepal is proud to be contributing, in however modest a way, to the cause of peace in southern Lebanon through participation in United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) operations. Nepal will continue to support any peace initiative that restores full and legitimate Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon and secures the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the acceptance by all concerned of the need for non-interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon.

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I take this opportunity to reiterate Nepal's appeal to Iran and Iraq, fellow members of the Non-Aligned Movement, to forsake armed conflict and seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute.

Similarly, Nepal renews its call for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem and reiterates its support for the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned character of Cyprus. It is the view of my delegation that intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General offer the best hope of achieving a satisfactory and lasting solution.

The situation in Afghanistan, despite the best efforts of the Secretary-General's special envoy, Mr. Diego Cordovez, continues to be a source of tension in the region and a cause of deep anxiety for people everywhere, involving as it does the potential for a super-Power confrontation. It is distressing that all norms of inter-State behaviour are being violated in Afghanistan through a, continued and prolonged foreign military presence.

This Assembly has more than once in the past unequivocally pointed out what the essentials of a satisfactory political solution of the problem in Afghanistan are. These entail the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan, the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland in dignity and honour and their participation along with others in determining their own political destiny free from outside interference or intervention.

Similarly, Nepal is deeply concerned about the situation in Kampuchea. Nepal notes with regret that, despite the continuing concern of the international community regarding the Kampuchean issue, as reflected in the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference, the prospects for peace and tranquillity in the land of Angkor Wat have not improved appreciably.

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While taking positive note of the recent diplomatic initiatives and contacts in this context, Nepal calls for a just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem. We reiterate our demand for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and respect for the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny without outside interference. Such an approach, we are convinced, would not only contribute to the establishment of peace in Kampuchea but also greatly assist in making South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, a concept which Nepal heartily endorses.

North East Asia too has for many years remained a source of considerable anxiety, in particular the politically divided Korean peninsula. Once the arena of an awesome global conflict, the Korean peninsula still retains its highly explosive potential. It is imperative in the interests of regional and international peace and security, therefore, that the tense situation in the Korean peninsula be defused. This, we are convinced, can best be achieved by the peaceful national reunification of Korea without any outside interference.

My delegation has just expressed its concern regarding the situation obtaining in several parts of the Asian continent, which is conditioned by Nepal's well known commitment to peace and its conviction that the doctrine of non-interference and non-intervention must remain inviolable if the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter are to continue to have any meaning or relevance.

It is therefore only logical that my delegation should view with alarm and distress recent developments in Central America. We consider it essential that outside Powers should refrain from actions aimed at setting in motion forces of instability and tension in that region. I therefore take this opportunity to reiterate Nepal's endorsement of Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which

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reaffirms the right of all the States of the region to live in peace and freedom, as well as its support for the admirable efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a peaceful resolution of the problem of sovereignty, independence and honour for all the States of Central America.

Turning now to the African continent, my delegation is outraged by the manner in which the racist régime in South Africa continues to suppress, exploit and dehumanize its black majority under the socially unjust, morally indefensible and brazenly racist policy of apartheid. Nepal is fully convinced that the unmitigated evil of apartheid, the source of acute suffering, deprivation and violence in South Africa and much of southern Africa, must be wiped once and for all from the face of the earth.

We are fully convinced that the application of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa represents the best and last chance that remains for peaceful change towards democratic majority rule in South Africa. We therefore join others, including fellow members of the Non-Aligned Movement, in urging the invoking of such sanctions against South Africa under chapter VII of the Charter, and are encouraged that public opinion in some Western countries that oppose sanctions is increasingly supporting the need for them and their effectiveness in expediting the long overdue political transformation in South Africa.

Is it any surprise that a stubborn racist régime such as South Africa's should continue, with virtual impunity, to defy the will of the international community by continuing to delay the granting of immediate independence to Namibia, for which the United Nations has the sole responsibility? Nepal reaffirms its unwavering support for the struggle of the Namibian people for independence and salutes the South West Africa People's Organization for its heroic endeavours to achieve that laudable end. My delegation renews its call on the international community to



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speed endeavours to bring about the early implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions as well as the Programme of Action outlined by the Vienna International Conference on Immediate Independence for Namibia, which was endorsed by the General Assembly at its special session only last week.

Nepal is seriously concerned about the problems of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, which require for their resolution the urgent collective attention of the international community. We therefore look forward eagerly to participating in the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Drug Trafficking, to be held in June next year in Vienna under the presidency of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mr. Mahatir bin Mohamad.

Another serious problem of our times is the menace of terrorism, which appears of late to have taken a particularly virulent form and has involved the taking of innocent human lives. Since terrorism, in all or any of its manifestations, depends on spreading terror by the seeming randomness or senselessness of its incidence, it is a particularly vile and dangerous form of organized violence, especially in an age of easy access to weapons of mass destruction.

My country would therefore join in any concerted international effort to help eradicate this scourge, including the effort sponsored by the United Nations. We were particularly gratified during the fortieth session of the General Assembly that the Security Council unanimously and unequivocally condemned all acts of hostage taking and abduction as well as terrorism in all its forms. We believe efforts in that direction must continue at both the international and the regional levels.

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It is for this reason that Nepal is encouraged that terrorism - which has yet to be defined by the United Nations - is also receiving due attention in regional forums, such as the recently launched South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), which, at its meeting last month in Dhaka, deliberated in depth on the problem.

However, efforts to curb the menace of terrorism in South Asia are, as the Assembly is well aware, only one of the many areas that have been identified for co-operation among members of SAARC. Though the scope and significance of regional co-operation among the nations of South Asia is immense and a beginning only has been made in regional co-operation for the socio-economic development of the teeming millions of people in South Asia, I am pleased to say that the idea has, despite some early adverse predictions, very definitely, and happily, struck root. We believe that, apart from providing an effective instrument for co-operation in our region, the creation of SAARC comes at a time when the weakening of global economic independence and difficulties in the restructuring of the international economic order mean that there are greater responsibilities than ever before on South-South co-operation.

Mr. President, my delegation shares your view, expressed in your eloquent opening address to the forty-first session of the General Assembly, that for some time now the world economy has presented a sombre picture. This is due, as was underscored at the recent summit meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare earlier this month, to a crisis in the international economic situation itself. As all developing countries are only too painfully aware, this is manifested in imbalances and inequities that work against their economic well-being.

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As was also noted in Harare, this gloomy situation has been further aggravated by the myopic, self-centred policies of some developed countries which favour neither the growth of the world economy nor structural reforms in the international economic system.

My delegation is concerned about the effects of the continuing instability of the world economy and is conscious of the clear nexus that exists between trade, money, finance and development. It is only natural, therefore, that Nepal should view with dismay and frustration the spectacle of steeply falling commodity prices triggering a further deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, a proliferation of protectionist trends and a general increase in discriminatory practices. All this has led not merely to disregard of the principles and practices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) but also to other trade restrictions that have been specially severe as far as the exports of the developing countries are concerned. At the same time, it has spurred high interest rates, monetary and financial instability, unmanageable and mounting external debt repayment burdens, a misalignment of exchange rates and, to top it all, a reverse transfer of scarce resources from the developing to the developed countries.

The impact of these sombre developments on the international political and social climate is obvious and, indeed, awesome. Indeed, in this interdependent world of ours it requires no great prescience to realize that instability thus caused could not merely easily lead to domestic upheavals but ultimately constitute a threat to regional and international peace. As it is, it is most disconcerting to note that the harsh economic uncertainties facing the developing world, particularly the least developed countries, come at a time when there has been a decline in concessional flows. This being so, we cannot but regret that the official development aid target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product

(Mr. Upadhyaya, Nepal)

called for under the Third United Nations Development Decade, continues to remain unfulfilled.

Similarly, we cannot remain indifferent to the fact that despite strong international commitment official development assistance flows to the least developed countries have remained less than half the target of 0.15 per cent agreed to in the Substantial New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1980s. As last year's mid-term review meeting on the implementation of that Substantial New Programme of Action demonstrated, there is a regrettable gap between the promises and the performance of the donors. While earnestly hoping for the attainment of the target of 0.15 per cent of their gross national product, or the doubling of their current official development assistance for the least developed countries, I take this opportunity to renew our appeal for effective implementation of the special measures adopted by the United Nations for land-locked developing countries.

My delegation looks forward with considerable hope to both the forty-first session of the General Assembly and the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) resulting in constructive dialogue between the developed and the developing nations towards identifying a common approach to the all-important interrelated problems regarding money, external debt, trade and development.

I have already referred to the Harare summit of non-aligned countries in the context of its concern with regard to the world economic situation. As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nepal takes great pride in the advances which the Movement has recorded in its 25 years of existence in the worthy pursuit of peace and social and economic justice, based on the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Upadhyaya, Nepal)

Nepal was not only honoured to celebrate this peace movement's silver jubilee in Harare but particularly happy that the prestige and weight of the 101-member Movement could be brought to bear on a multitude of crucial political issues of our times, including especially those pertaining to the arms race and disarmament and to the situation in South Africa and Namibia. Nepal, I know, is not alone in believing that the Non-Aligned Movement continues to be as relevant today as when it was first founded at the height of the cold war.

As usual, the agenda of the General Assembly is a full and wide-ranging one. Given the responsibilities of the United Nations, it could hardly be otherwise. In a sense, however, this year it will have an additional task: that of examining how the financial and administrative effectiveness of the Organization can be improved, as it must be, especially against the background of the financial crisis of the United Nations. We shall as usual lend our unstinting support to any endeavour that aims at preserving and strengthening the United Nations, for in Nepal's oft-stated view the alternative to the present United Nations can only be a stronger and more effective United Nations.

Mr. AKINYEMI (Nigeria): On behalf of the Nigerian delegation, I take this opportunity, Sir, to extend to you my congratulations on your unanimous and well-deserved election as President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. My delegation shares fully the warm sentiments expressed by previous speakers on your personal outstanding merits. I am confident that under your wise guidance this session will achieve significant success.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

It is therefore with great pleasure that I pledge the full support and co-operation of my delegation to you in the discharge of your difficult task, particularly at this time, when, more than ever, Member States need to act in concert to attain an era of peace that will give a new direction to the course of human destiny. May I also extend my congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Jaime Pinies, your predecessor, for the able manner in which he handled the affairs of the fortieth session and thirteenth special session.

I should also like to salute our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who, I am happy to see, has been restored to health. There can be no gainsaying that the best assurance of support we can give the Secretary-General is a revitalized United Nations.

The relevance of the United Nations to the solution of urgent global problems is certainly not in contention. The devotion of the Organization to the maintenance of international peace and security has been balanced by an appreciation of the need to promote the economic and social well-being of mankind.

In its 41-year history, the United Nations has gone beyond pious statements delivered with great solemnity in this Hall to the endorsement and implementation of action-oriented measures. Its achievements are legion. From successful peace-keeping operations in conflict areas around the world to the decolonization of Africa and Asia and the various activities and projects of its specialized agencies, the United Nations has become an effective instrument of international co-operation and development.

Yet this cherished Organization is currently undergoing the gravest crisis in its history. Some call it a crisis of multilateralism. Others define it as a financial crisis. Fundamentally, it is a political crisis inflicted on the United Nations by its membership. Disagreements about the management and control of the

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Organization's budget and the determination of its programmes are mere symptoms of a deeper difference in perceptions of the role and capability of the United Nations.

Paradoxically, the present crisis is a welcome development to the extent that it provides us an opportunity to re-evaluate the activities and procedures of the United Nations. It is true that the gradual but significant expansion in the scope, range and volume of the work of the United Nations has been a function of changing international circumstances and new challenges that have confronted the Organization. Nevertheless, there can be no denying the fact that the United Nations could be more cost effective and efficient.

The necessary processes of reform and change have already begun. The Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts set up to review the efficiency of the financial and administrative functioning of the United Nations has already submitted its report. Since that report will be presented to the Assembly later on, under the appropriate agenda item, I shall refrain from commenting on it now. Suffice it to say that the Nigerian delegation attaches the greatest importance to the recommendations contained in that report. We believe that they provide a basis for revitalizing the United Nations and creating an organization better able to respond creditably and effectively to the collective needs of Member States, at reasonable and affordable cost.

In any process of reform, difficult choices have to be made. New priorities will have to be set. Cost-saving measures must be instituted. Indeed, readjustments in assessed contributions may even become necessary. However, such measures should not be dictated or imposed by any Member State or group of States. Instead, they should derive from negotiated agreement among all Member States. To do this successfully, we will all have to be tolerant and to appreciate each

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other's legitimate interests and concerns. Let us move away from apportioning blame and accept that the United Nations can only function on the basis of a consensus that adequately respects the concerns of each and all.

Thus, as a sign of good faith, those countries that have resorted to financial withholding as a means of registering their disapproval of the United Nations budget and programmes should proceed to honour their obligations. The point has been made that the Organization is in need of reform, and the first steps towards that process of reform have already been taken. Those reforms should not be taken under duress.

Surely, a United Nations that grinds to a halt as the result of financial constraints cannot even engage in reform. One thing we all agree upon is that the United Nations is worth preserving. If it were not, we would not all be present here. A testament to the continued validity of the United Nations lies in the fact that the very countries that have been most vocal in calling attention to its shortcomings continue to exploit the forum it offers to address the world community on major issues of concern to them. Clearly, it is better to talk at the United Nations than to fight on the battlefield.

In addition, it is the view of the Nigerian delegation that the necessary reforms should be carried out in full accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The principle of sovereign equality of all Member States should not be derogated directly or indirectly, and essential programmes and activities of high priority should continue to attract the lion's share of available resources. In other words, we must ensure that we do not end up cutting the bone while we trim the fat.

The present international situation is characterized by growing tension in both the political and the economic spheres. Confrontation, conflict and



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instability plague many regions of the world, and the economies of many Member States continue to deteriorate, while the politics of domination and great-Power rivalries are on the increase. In that situation, the role of the Organization has more than ever before, become vital for the promotion of international peace, development and prosperity for all.

All too often, we tend to forget that the Charter of the United Nations devotes two Chapters to the question of international economic and social co-operation. Indeed, in Article 55, the United Nations pledges itself to the promotion of "higher standards of living, full employment" and "solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems", "with a view to the creation of the conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations". Therefore, if the inequities in the world economic system have persisted for so long, the fault is not with the Charter. Rather, it derives from the lack of political will by Member States to discharge their obligations.

Within the framework of the current global economic crisis, the widening gap between developed and developing countries and the persistence of an unjust and inequitable international economic system constitute major impediments to the development process of most Member States, thus posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

For their part, the industrialized countries have refused to address the problems of structural imbalance and inequality that characterize the international economic and trading system. Those imbalances have continued to prolong the severe set-backs afflicting our economic goals and objectives.

It is clear that we must once again consider seriously the problem of structural imbalance and inequality with a view to formulating concrete and

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effective solutions to the question of the huge external debt of developing countries, the problems of debt-servicing, high interest rates, inflation, declining commodity prices, stiff conditions set by the International Monetary Fund, and protectionist measures and unfair trade terms continually imposed by the developed countries.

Commodity trade is currently the primary source of foreign-exchange earnings for a majority of developing countries. It is regrettable that specific measures to control commodity trade to the advantage of the developed market-economy countries should be embarked upon without sympathy or consideration for the repercussions on the current balance-of-payments position of developing countries.

Commodity prices are currently fluctuating and are therefore unstable. There is a continuous decline in capital resource flows as the result of lower export earnings, and this is a great hindrance to reinvestment in commodities. Financing through the facilities of the Common Fund for commodities has not materialized owing to the refusal by some major countries to ratify the instrument. This state of affairs has created complex cash-flow problems, which have further aggravated the debt problem.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

The high hopes of the developing countries for a new international economic order have foundered owing to a deeply rooted reluctance on the part of the developed countries to engage in an honest and meaningful North-South dialogue. My delegation wishes to stress the need for a fundamental structural readjustment in the international economic system that would promote rapid and sustained world economic growth and development. In this context, we reaffirm our commitment to the continued validity and relevance of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

While developed countries have emerged from recession, the economic outlook for the developing nations in general, and Africa in particular, remains bleak. Attempts were made to draw the world's attention to Africa's special situation during last May's special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa. That special session succeeded at least in deepening global awareness of the dimensions of the current economic crisis in Africa. Given good intentions and strong will, that endeavour could well provide a basis for concerted efforts by the international community to enhance and support the tremendous efforts of African States to surmount their devastating crisis.

My delegation therefore appeals to the international community and to financial institutions to make available without delay sufficient resources for the full and effective implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990. We do not, of course, ignore or lose sight of the need for developing countries themselves to co-operate effectively in improving their economic conditions. To that end a greater degree of collaboration on economic projects has to be developed. We are happy to note the activities of the Group of 77, in particular at the last meeting of the Group's Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee (IFCC), which took place at

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

Cairo and which focused attention on vital areas of high priority in co-operation among developing countries that needed greater emphasis. Similarly, we are gratified that the eighth summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, which took place earlier this month at Harare, devoted considerable attention to economic co-operation.

An important and appropriate backdrop to our debate at this session is the declaration of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. As demanded in the solemn declaration, Member States of the United Nations have been focusing attention throughout the year on the requirements for the promotion of international peace and security. We in Nigeria have organized, at both the governmental and the non-governmental levels, various programmes aimed at sensitizing the Nigerian people to the elements of genuine peace and to the role of the individual, of the State, of non-governmental organizations and of the United Nations in the promotion of peace. On 16 September, International Peace Day, Nigeria joined several other countries, when President Ibrahim Babangida personally launched the first Earth Run, the global torch relay which originated on the steps of the Headquarters of our Organization.

Unfortunately, peace remains elusive in many parts of the world. The situation in southern Africa, for instance, continues to be a source of concern to this Organization. In the past two years the world has witnessed the most aggressive phase of Pretoria's policies of mindless oppression and intimidation of the blacks, who have been subjected to the persistent and systematic violation of their fundamental human rights. Apartheid has meant violence and terror for the struggling people of South Africa. The apartheid régime is still undeterred in its implementation of policies which are repressive and are offensive to the laws of natural justice. Indeed, apartheid is a crime against humanity and against the

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

dignity and conscience of mankind, and it continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. There can be no peace and stability in southern Africa without the elimination of apartheid, which is the root cause of the grave crisis in the entire region.

Since, in the wake of the Sharpeville massacres, the world was rudely awakened to the brutality and horrors of apartheid, there has been unanimous and repeated condemnation of that evil system. The crushing weight of apartheid has grown to the point where it has forced all segments of the oppressed to rebel in a spontaneous manner. The Soweto uprising demonstrated the fact that despite all the brutal machinery sustaining apartheid the black people of South Africa have had enough and cannot suffer in silence any more. Thousands of blacks, including mourners, have been gunned down by trigger-happy racist police; many more have been wounded or have suffered untold hardship. The response of the racist clique in Pretoria has been to resort to panic measures and to the declaration of a state of emergency, with a total clamp-down on news reports.

This notwithstanding, workers have initiated strike actions, and an ever-growing number of school children, working independently, have periodically boycotted classes to show their revulsion at the political powerlessness, economic deprivation, inferior education and dehumanizing segregation laws imposed on them by the racist régime. The countdown to the collapse of apartheid has at last started. As the cycle of violence and brutal repression grows in scale and intensity, the blacks have now resolved to make the supreme sacrifice.

The racist régime, instead of moving towards open negotiations with black leaders and reconciling anxious whites to inescapable change, persists in pretending that South Africa's problems at home and its already painful economic losses abroad can be chased away with a night-stick. Clearly, the apartheid régime

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has shown that it is no mood to seek in peace the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa built on the equality of all races.

The fight against apartheid and racism is one facet of the liberation struggle in Africa. Another facet is the struggle for the liberation of Namibia, where the situation is equally explosive. The racist Pretoria régime persists in its illegal occupation of the Territory by ruthlessly suppressing the legitimate aspiration of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. In spite of United Nations resolutions, culminating in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which established modalities by which the people of Namibia would determine their future through free and fair elections, the racist régime has continued its policies of dehumanizing and brutalizing the overwhelming majority of Namibians.

Contacts between the Secretary-General and the apartheid régime aimed at finding an honourable way for the withdrawal of the South African administration have been frustrated through devious machinations by the racist régime. In fact, the posture of the régime constitutes a total rebuff of any meaningful discussion. The sad position now is that the illegal régime has gone ahead with the implementation of its so-called homelands policy aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

My delegation recognizes that peace cannot be achieved in southern Africa in an environment characterized by criminal acts of aggression, racial discrimination and the systematic violation of human rights. The apartheid régime in South Africa is still undeterred in its implementation of policies that are repressive and offensive to human dignity. The international community, if it is not to be accused of complicity or impotence, must assume a more decisive role in the liquidation of the abhorrent and totally despicable system of apartheid. We must without fail put an end to it. Indeed, if a bloodbath of unspeakable proportions is to be avoided the international community will have to exert such pressure as

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

will make the apartheid régime abandon its criminal policy. Surely, comprehensive mandatory sanctions applied faithfully by all Member States offer the last hope for a peaceful solution.

Happily, there is now much international enthusiasm for the campaign against apartheid. A vast majority of States, such as the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, the socialist States, the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the Nordic States and a few Western countries, have taken steps to combat apartheid. The United States Congress too has joined in this great movement to guarantee to the South African black people, 23 million of them, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Apartheid is not an internal affair of South Africa, but a universal affair. Witness the amount of time, energy and resources the international community devotes to it. Legitimately, therefore, this Assembly can and should miss no opportunity to advance the universal effort to achieve the peaceful dismantling of apartheid.

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

In that context, I propose that you, Mr. President, address on our behalf an urgent appeal, today, to the President of the United States to endorse the congressional action on sanctions against South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: We have just heard an appeal to the President of the General Assembly by the Foreign Minister of Nigeria. The acclamation from members of the Assembly indicates widespread support from the floor. I take note of that appeal and shall find a suitable means to convey that sentiment to the appropriate quarters.

Mr. AKINYEMI (Nigeria): As for Nigeria, our commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle is total. We shall continue to give support to the liberation movements and assistance to the front-line States.

The question has often been raised in recent times whether we, either as Africans or as members of the international community, shall be prepared to offer the white community in South Africa an opportunity to be part of the process of change in South Africa. The answer is that we have always been prepared to accept the white community and its representatives as constituents in the process of change, provided change is the objective.

The Lusaka Declaration, first adopted by the Organization of African Unity and then by the United Nations, still represents our position. If the South African Government is prepared to talk about an effective programme for the dismantlement of apartheid, we shall be prepared to facilitate the implementation of such a programme.

The challenge, then, to South Africa and the opponents of mandatory economic sanctions is to get the South African régime to present a concise, detailed and specific programme for the total eradication of apartheid.



(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

The efforts of the international community for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict have been frustrated by repeated acts of aggression and terrorism in that region. The solution to the Middle East question does not lie in the force of arms, which, rather than ameliorating the explosive situation, has further complicated the task of achieving peace. A comprehensive and just solution to the problems of the Middle East cannot be achieved unless there is a cessation of hostilities by all the parties concerned. Similarly, the present volatile situation cannot subside in the wake of territorial ambitions.

An issue that is central to the Middle East débâcle is the problem of a homeland for the Palestinians. A realistic analysis of the reasons for the failures of past peace efforts reveal the non-acceptance of the Palestinian question as the principal problem for which there should be a genuine solution. No solution to the Middle East problem which does not take into account the plight of the Palestinians can be expected to guarantee durable peace in that region. The countries in the Middle East and the international community as a whole have to be sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, particularly the Palestinians' quest for a homeland. However, that is not to deny the right of Israel to existence as a State.

My delegation supports the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East where all those involved would participate. There can be no justification for holding a conference with the primary responsibility of solving the problems of people who are not allowed to participate in it. The Palestinians should be involved in the peace process in the Middle East.

The resumption of bilateral arms negotiations by the two super-Powers early in 1985 gave the world some hope of improved political relations between the East and the West. That hope was further increased when on 1 January 1986 the leaders of the two world Powers exchanged new year messages. It is sad that what seemed to be

(Mr. Akintoye, Nigeria)

an improved political understanding between the East and the West has not been translated into action in the ongoing disarmament negotiations. While the world community was expecting genuine disarmament efforts, there was a resumption of nuclear tests, and this had negative implications for the moratorium on nuclear-weapon testing.

Nuclear weapons constitute a threat not only to peace and international security, but also to the survival of mankind. The elimination of nuclear weapons should be a vital disarmament objective of the world community, irrespective of ideological beliefs. The two super-Powers should give the lead in nuclear disarmament. A most desirable starting-point would be an agreement on a nuclear test ban, a measure which the international community has advocated for the past 25 years. We believe that no technical reason, such as the issue of verification, offers a genuine excuse for the delay in concluding a nuclear-test-ban treaty. What is lacking is the will on the part of nuclear-weapon States. In addition to the basic step of a nuclear test ban, we call for the commencement of real and decisive measures through bilateral and multilateral negotiations that will substantially reduce and ultimately eliminate the existing stockpile of nuclear weapons. Needless to say, the extension of the nuclear arms race to outer space is inconsistent with the fervent wish of the international community for nuclear disarmament. Disarmament is a global cause, in which all States have a vital stake. It cannot, and should not, be left to the vagaries of the relationship between the super-Powers.

Our Organization has an important role to play in keeping up the pressure to bring about a halt to the arms race, with the ultimate aim of achieving general and complete disarmament, under effective international control. In this regard my Government urges both the Soviet Union and the United States not to interrupt the

(Mr. Akinyemi, Nigeria)

process of consultation and negotiation with the ultimate objective of eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

There are other problems facing the international community that require our urgent attention. The Iran-Iraq war, the crisis in Central America and the issues of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cyprus and Korea all challenge our collective commitment to work for the promotion of the peaceful settlement of issues. I have highlighted only some of the major problems confronting us I believe we shall work together to solve these as well as the other problems.

The United Nations serves as a unique forum for the promotion of understanding and peace among all nations. It also provides a unique opportunity for Member States to engage in constructive dialogue and co-operation in our common quest for a better world. We must, therefore, strive to work together to uphold the principles of the Charter in the interests of mankind.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second, and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. MEZA (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to take this opportunity, Sir, to convey to you on behalf of my delegation our most sincere congratulations on your election to preside over the work of the forty-first session.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

My delegation wishes to express its strongest rejection of the statements made by the representative of Cuba about my country, since they constituted subjective assessments arising from manipulated information based on strictly ideological and political concepts.

The political reality of El Salvador has changed substantially; in recent years tremendous efforts have been made to protect and promote human rights as well as to take economic and social measures to enable the people of El Salvador to achieve a better standard of living.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

The process of change in El Salvador has been witnessed by different international observers both from Latin America and from other regions of the world. I should like to point out that those efforts, the measures adopted and the obstacles which stand in the way of achieving a better standard of living in my country are contained in the report of the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights for El Salvador, Professor Jose Antonio Pastor Ridruejo.

If ideological and political concepts and interests are left aside and an objective consideration is made of the different reports submitted by the Special Representative, it will be noted that there has been a favourable development in El Salvador since 1981, which was the year when the first report was drawn up.

Contrary to what has been stated by the representative of Cuba, anyone who has visited El Salvador - indeed anyone who visits in the future - can very easily see that those statements are false, because there is no such régime as he describes. On the contrary, what they can see is a people and a Government determined to achieve peace and take up again the task of economic recovery.

Similarly, we wish to state categorically that the statement by the representative of Cuba that the people are supporting armed opposition in El Salvador, is false, just one more lie.

How can anyone say that the people of El Salvador support armed groups which destroy the economic infrastructure, which set off bombs indiscriminately, which cause death and injury to men, women and children, and which strive to destroy economic production, all actions which closely affect the majority of the Salvadorian people, seriously violating their individual rights.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

It is obvious that all this is opposed by the people of El Salvador, and every day such acts are diminishing, because of desertions, and because of the strictly terrorist nature of such action.

In El Salvador our people are weary of a conflict that has been fed by external factors, which include the interventionist support given by Cuba to the armed groups in El Salvador, an intervention that is of the same kind, using the same means, and inspired by the same motives as their intervention in other countries in Latin America. On the other hand I must reiterate that the Government of El Salvador has as one of its highest interests the consolidation of democracy and the achievement of peace through political measures and negotiations, without conditions or external interference.

In this connection, in 1984, in this Hall, the President of El Salvador, Jose Napoleon Duarte, proposed to the armed groups of El Salvador that they should consider an offer of peace through dialogue and negotiation. Two meetings have been held which, in the final analysis, proved fruitless for the people of El Salvador because of the attitude and the demands made by the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Parabundo Marti Front for National Liberation, which is striving to destroy the constitutional, legal and political order prevailing in El Salvador. A third round of negotiations was to have been held on 19 September of this year but could not take place because the representatives of the armed groups failed to attend, although the President of the Republic was present to attend that meeting. Consequently the statements made by the representative of Cuba therefore can only be understood as stemming from a dogmatic, ideological and political blindness which makes no contribution to the efforts made by my Government to achieve peace and stability.

(Mr. Meza, El Salvador)

Without wishing to point an accusing finger at any country, we believe it is appropriate to say that we do not believe Cuba is the paradise it wishes to claim and for that reason I make the following comments.

Many people who gave their support for the revolutionary movement in Cuba were imprisoned, becoming political prisoners for life, and some of them are today in exile. There are many people who wish to leave the country but are prevented from doing so by the régime. The frontiers of Cuba are virtually prison walls for their own citizens. There is no freedom of expression, and any person raising his voice against the régime is immediately silenced and becomes a political prisoner or is sent to a centre for ideological re-education. For 26 years the Cuban people have not had the right to elect freely their own leaders and those who hold power have deprived their own citizens of their political rights. In general, Cuba is a country about which we would have many questions and from many points of view these facts and many others constitute violations of human rights. Consequently that country has no moral authority to accuse any other country, particularly if those accusations are based on facts and information manipulated by special interest individuals or groups.

We are aware of the historic reality, both past and present and, with reason and justice on our side we ask for greater understanding and support in order to consolidate democracy and stability in my country, in keeping with the exhortations of the Secretary-General, in order to remove sources of tension and build a better world for the benefit of all peoples. We have no wish to encourage internal struggles anywhere on the basis of false solidarity or ideological and political concepts. Every people has the right to decide its own fate, its own political, economic and social system, a right which in the case of El Salvador is obvious and cannot be challenged.

Mrs. TAYLOR (United States of America): Once again a representative of the Cuban régime has attacked my country, blaming it for all the ills of the world. Needless to say, the United States rejects those accusations and deplores the use of this forum for such baseless propaganda. Those highly intemperate remarks are typical of the language of the misguided advocates of totalitarian communism, who wish to place the blame for their own tragic and repressive failed Marxist system on others. We do not accept that disparagement of the people of the United States and our democratic system of government.

Furthermore, the statement of the representative of Cuba represents a keen injustice to all those Americans who have made great sacrifices in the defence of freedom. And I must also say that it ill becomes some 28 years of dictatorship to try to lecture 200 years of open, free, constitutional government. The United States Constitution, entering its 200th year this very month, continues to be a very model for peoples of the world aspiring to freedom and opportunity.



(Mrs. Taylor, United States)

Meanwhile, my country continues to receive, year after year, refugees fleeing from the terror and repression of Cuba, from which now over 10 per cent of its population has fled. These acts of courage and desperation by our Cuban neighbours provide poignant testimony to the true facts and stand as an eloquent rebuke to Mr. Castro's representative who spoke here yesterday and who clearly did not speak for them. Here in the United States they have found the freedom and opportunity denied them in their own native land. I wish one of those brave refugees to our shores were here to speak in my stead today. They bear witness to the degradation of human rights that has been the order of the day in Castro's prisons. They have confirmed what the world has come to know all too well: that the Cuban régime has failed, failed to provide its people with even the most basic of freedoms promised 28 years ago, much less economic prosperity or social justice.

Members of the Cuban Human Rights Committee continue to be harassed and thrown into prison by the Cuban Government in an attempt to hide its sorry record. Just yesterday two members of the foreign press corps in Havana who had reported objectively on this issue were expelled. As President Reagan said before this body just a few days ago:

"Respect for human rights is not social work; it is not merely an act of compassion. It is the first obligation of government and the source of its legitimacy." (A/41/PV.4, p. 28)

From a totalitarian State such as Cuba we can accept no lesson on international conduct. Cuban intervention and aggression are well known and documented both in Africa and in Latin America. Thousands of so-called Cuban advisers continue, as President Reagan noted, to attempt to breach every international norm. Cuban intervention in the Western hemisphere alone has transferred into the East-West arena what had previously been purely local

(Mrs. Taylor, United States)

disputes. When Cuban pilots fly Soviet helicopters against Nicaraguan peasants, it is not the United States intervening in the affairs of other States, but Cuba.

My Government is not astounded by the hypocrisy of Cuba in laying the ills of the world at our doorstep. The tightly controlled Cuban economy has become one of the weakest and least productive in all Latin America despite its long and continuing dependence on heavy subsidies from its overseas paymasters. Cuba's touted economic reforms did not produce the promised new wealth or an expanding economy. As so many countries have now learned, these promises cannot be fulfilled except in an atmosphere of individual opportunity and free enterprise. In the repressive Cuban system today rationing has become the rule rather than the exception and Cuban mercenaries are sent to far corners of the Earth to repatriate badly needed hard currency. It is this so-called socialist paradise that thousands of Cuban citizens will continue to seek to flee.

The rain of promises that the Cuban people vainly hoped would water this paradise has proved to be very dry rain indeed.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I should first like to reply to the statement made this afternoon by the Minister for Defence and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand. Mr. Jacques Chirac, the French Prime Minister, recalled the day before yesterday in this very Hall that, as has been known to everyone for many years now, the French nuclear tests are being carried out in accordance with unquestionable conditions of security that are recognized as such by independent experts, many of whom come from Pacific countries, including, I would recall, New Zealand.

I would point out that those experts gave their opinion after France had admitted them to its test site, and that other States regularly carry out many tests but never provide such guarantees.

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

It is thus clear - and I had occasion to mention this in the plenary Assembly last year - that the criticisms levelled at my country are essentially political.

What France is being blamed for is either ignoring the objections of certain Governments to nuclear weapons or of carrying out these tests in the immense area of the Pacific. France, obviously, cannot unilaterally take account of these objections. Those who oppose nuclear weapons should address themselves first and foremost to Powers other than France. The French deterrent force is exclusively defensive in nature and capacity. It is the foundation of the security of my country, which has been invaded three times in a century, and there is no question of France's agreeing to any kind of planned obsolescence of its forces as long as a superabundance of nuclear weapons is maintained by other Powers.

Finally, it is the right of my country, in the full exercise of its sovereignty, to conduct in French territories activities necessary for its defence, activities which do not affect peace in the area, the security of the States therein, the health of the peoples or the environment. I am therefore surprised again by the attempts of some to impose their views on populations and on lands several thousand kilometres from their own territory, when we have not heard of any similar protests when other States carry out nuclear tests at distances similar to those that separate New Zealand from the French tests.

I should now like to reply to the question raised in connection with New Caledonia by the representatives of Indonesia and New Zealand. I shall do so by simply recalling that in less than a year a free and democratic referendum in keeping with the traditions of our country will make it possible for the peoples of New Caledonia to express their wishes freely and fully on their future, that is, on the question of independence.

Mr. NUÑEZ MARTIN (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The statement just made by the representative of the United States does not surprise us; it was precisely what we expected. In his statement yesterday our Minister for Foreign Affairs referred to the disarmament proposals which the vast majority of the international community wish to be considered with the greatest urgency.

(Mr. Nufiez Martin, Cuba)

He also spoke of the need for establishing a new international economic order, and he then considered the situation as it prevailed in various parts of the world, and referred to the situation in which this Organization finds itself. In her reply today, the representative of the United States, however, did not refer to the real heart of the matter. She was not willing, or to be more accurate, not able, to give a serious answer to the statement made by our Minister.

Why did the United States not say, for example, that they would agree to go along with the Soviet Union on the moratorium on nuclear weapons as a first step towards a complete ban? Why did they not say that they would agree to a freeze on their nuclear weapons, and would renounce their Star Wars programme and their intention to extend the arms race to outer space? Why did they not say that the statement by their President with regard to the non-observance of the SALT II agreement was a new and sinister joke on the part of Mr. Reagan? Why did they not say what we all wish to hear here, and what the international community and public opinion, both in the world at large and in the United States, wishes to hear? The statements on disarmament made at the summit meeting in Harare, which were referred to by Minister Malmierca Peoli yesterday, are a direct challenge to the United States. We want to hear them refer to those statements; we want to see a serious and constructive attitude on their part. The perorations of the representative of the United States would have been better received had she stated here that her Government would work for the cancellation of the external debt that is overwhelming our countries, that it would help to eliminate trade inequities, and would co-operate with our efforts to establish a new international economic order.

We would have liked to hear the United States representative say here that her Government would undertake not to continue to veto Security Council resolutions calling for mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa; that it would

(Mr. Nuffez Martin, Cuba)

undertake to end its military and political collaboration with the Israeli Zionists who are illegally occupying Arab territories; that it would withdraw its troops from South Korea so as to help bring about the peaceful unification of that country; that it would undertake in future to refrain from violating international law or the decisions of the International Court of Justice; and that it would end its aggressive acts of all types against Cuba, and its dirty war against Nicaragua.

What the United States representative should have said is that her Government would not continue to deny independence to the people of Puerto Rico, and that it would withdraw its nuclear arms from that country and thus cease its violation of the Tlatelolco Treaty; that it would withdraw its fleet from the Mediterranean and from the Indian Ocean, and dismantle its military bases abroad; and that it would end the menacing and intimidatory military manoeuvres it carries out against our countries in various parts of the world. Why did the imperialist representative of the United States not say that her Government would put an end to its policy of State terrorism, to its attempts to assassinate leaders of other countries, and to its support of every kind for the mercenaries and counter-revolutionary bandits who bring war into the homes of the people in Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua? Why do the Yankee imperialists deliberately act against the current of world opinion and in violation of the resolutions of the United Nations? They speak of the Constitution of the United States; they speak of human rights; but they close their eyes to, they remain silent about, and attempt to conceal, the poverty endured by thousands of people in their own country.

How can they speak of human rights when every day the rights of minorities are being trampled underfoot - the rights of Puerto Ricans, chicanos, blacks and indians who are discriminated against and disinherited in the country of those who call themselves the champions of democracy. There are tens of millions of

(Mr. Nufiez Martin, Cuba)

illiterate people in that so-called paradise of equality, and thousands of hungry people in that so-called miracle of abundance.

We see a different picture when we turn to Cuba. There stands Cuba, steadfast, indestructible, and invincible. There stands the Cuban revolution, on the very doorstep of the United States. There stand our achievements and our example; there stands our Constitution, which does indeed guarantee - as the imperialists well know - the economic and social well-being of our people. Let us not be misled. The United States cannot twist the truth and mislead anyone.

What representatives see here, what the international community sees, are the United States votes against disarmament resolutions, their endless vetoes in the Security Council, their attempts to preserve, in their own interest, the unjust economic order we suffer from; and their actions against international organizations, whether it be the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) or the United Nations Organization itself.

When we meet imperialism we have to speak the truth to it face to face. We must denounce its actions, which are in conflict with the aims of peace, in conflict with the Charter and in conflict with the tide of history. The time has come for the Yankee imperialists to realize that the age of gunship diplomacy and brute force is over; nothing is left of that era but an occasional ridiculous posturing, when from time to time there is an attempt to play superman.

We are not really concerned with the inanities uttered by the representative of El Salvador, because the reality represented by Cuba and by its achievements, what we have accomplished in health, education, human rights, our economy, and the steady improvement in the standard of living of our people, cannot be concealed or denied, any more than the Cuban people's support of their revolution can be

(Mr. Nuñez Martin, Cuba)

concealed or denied. What the representative of El Salvador has said is simply a tardy reaction by the Central American genocidal criminals, by the murderers of defenceless nuns, by those who specialize in crimes and disappearances.

Fortunately for El Salvador it has the brave fighters of the Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation. They are the ones who have the support of the people of El Salvador. José Martí, our national hero, said that those who are not brave enough to sacrifice themselves should at least have the decency to remain silent in deference to those who make that sacrifice. That is what the representative of Jose Napoleon Duarte should do if he had any decency.

Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand): A representative of France has again tried to portray the report of the 1983 scientific mission to Mururoa as having given a clean bill of health to the French nuclear testing programme in our part of the world. As my Minister made clear an hour ago, the report did not do that. The important point is that France has no right to subject those of us who live in the South Pacific region to a testing programme to which we are utterly opposed. We say in the South Pacific that France should test its weapons, if they are so safe, on the territory of metropolitan France. The representative of France suggested that we direct criticism at other Powers than France on testing. If he examines the statement made just an hour ago, he will find that the statement devotes a considerable portion of its length to the responsibility of all nuclear Powers to stop their testing and to start serious disarmament. I suggest to him that he re-read the statement.



(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

He also referred to New Caledonia and claimed that next year there would be free expression of self-determination in that territory. I would just note that, as our Prime Minister said, we support true self-determination for all real New Caledonians. If, and when, France undertakes that in New Caledonia, we shall recognize it. Unfortunately, that does not appear to be the course on which France has now embarked; we commend that course to France.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.