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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 30 September 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)  
later: Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone)  
(Vice-President)  
later: Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique)  
(Vice-President)

- Address by Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo

General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Malile (Albania)  
Mr. Savetsila (Thailand)  
Mr. Harding (Jamaica)  
Mr. Al-Thani (Qatar)  
Mr. Mandungu Bula Nyati (Zaire)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

ADDRESS BY COLONEL DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the People's Republic of the Congo.

Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo,  
was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, His Excellency Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President SASSOU-NGUESSO (interpretation from French): At the 22nd session of the summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Africa, held in Addis Ababa last July, my colleagues and brothers entrusted to me the weighty responsibility of presiding over the Organization of African Unity. It is in that capacity as well as on behalf of the People's Republic of the Congo that I now address this Assembly.

The special opportunity provided by this forum of the United Nations prompts me first to pay a particular tribute to our world Organization, whose efforts in the service of mankind and particularly of Africa reflect in a significant manner the hopes vested in it by our peoples.

I should like also, Sir, to extend to you my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at the forty-first session. I am persuaded that thanks to your personal qualities and your wealth of professional experience this session's work will proceed fruitfully and successfully. I assure you of the constant support of Africa in discharging your heavy responsibilities.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

My gratitude goes similarly to your predecessor as President, Ambassador de Piniés, who so tactfully guided the work of the General Assembly during the fortieth session.

I should like also to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, who throughout his term of office has been able to effect reconciliation and rapprochement and to lead the Organization in a climate characterized by what has come to be called a crisis of multilateralism, while at the same time never failing to give African problems all the importance they deserve and to recognize their urgency.

I would recall that the Organization of African Unity has always adhered loyally to the ideals of the United Nations, whose efforts to promote peace and development it has always supported. Indeed, the ideals of the two organizations to a certain extent overlap. This is borne out by the African States' great appreciation of the role played and the actions taken by the United Nations system.

In our opinion, this work, often carried out in difficult circumstances, deserves the sustained attention of all States, which should make more funds available to the world Organization so that it can carry out properly the tasks defined in the Charter. It wishes to do so, as shown by the excellent report of the Secretary-General; the only thing lacking is the ability to translate into concrete action the consensus that so frequently emerges among us.

In an international political system of increasing complexity, one feature of which is the growth of contradictory influences, it is more than every necessary to affirm that the United Nations is an irreplaceable instrument in the service of man, peoples and States.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

As a counter to the spirit of destruction, injustice, the instinct to dominate and the impoverishment and enslavement of peoples, the United Nations is an important political enterprise which brings its full influence to bear on the conscience of present and future generations.

The United Nations has provided Member States with a forum for consultation where positive responses have been given to the many problems confronting our people, regardless of the differences between our countries and peoples, in terms of structure, levels of development and political and economic choices.

Whether dealing with the problems of collective security, dialogue between the rich and poor countries, the economic and social crisis or the problem of peace and disarmament, the world Organization has always been able to encourage thinking that is directed to finding a better approach to those problems, and to define clearly the appropriate lines of action, which have now resulted in a series of measures that we must implement both individually and collectively.

Over a period of 41 years the United Nations system has become an indispensable institution, and we hope for its success and further strengthening. In a world divided by bitter antagonisms, where solidarity is breaking down and where interdependence, the need for which is so clear to everyone, is yet being thwarted by national selfishness, how can we not earnestly hope for the strengthening of the sole framework, the only institution, where men of different ways of thinking, from all countries, can still sit side by side, using their own particular genius and special characteristics to establish and then strengthen the necessary dialogue between nations and cultures?

The Organization must certainly be kept in being. Consequently we are deeply concerned by the crisis of multilateralism. We believe that that crisis in which the Organization now finds itself, and which is the subject of an in-depth

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analysis by the Secretary-General in his annual report, as well as by the Group of 18 intergovernmental experts, can not be regarded merely as a financial crisis. It touches upon the very philosophy of international relations in our time, and the degree of credibility given to the multilateral system, which has been patiently built up over 40 years. We therefore say yes to reform, if its purpose is to strengthen this valuable instrument, because a choice between a world with the United Nations and a world without it would simply be a choice between the future, promising solidarity, mutual understanding and peace on the one hand and, the past, meaning mistrust and the use of force as a means of settling disputes, on the other.

Obviously improvements are necessary and desirable to ensure more rationalization, with a view to greater efficiency and work that is more closely geared to the noble aims of the San Francisco Charter. But the necessary changes should not lead to justification of the Organization's very existence being called into question.

How can we guarantee international peace and security, which are essential for the survival of nations and the development of the poorest countries, if the role of the United Nations and its prerogatives are diminished?

In this very Hall we proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. That initiative was a clear reflection of the deep concern that the deterioration of the international climate has caused us.

The deployment in certain parts of the world of arsenals of weapons of great range and precision has contributed to the creation of doubts in men's minds and a state of anxiety among peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, and it has thus slowed the momentum of the United Nations in introducing a system of collective security.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

However, hopes can be based on the setting up of channels for consultation to bring about a constructive dialogue in the world. In that connection, the bold initiatives taken by the United Nations, including an appeal for general and complete disarmament, are praiseworthy and deserve to be encouraged. Similarly, we should encourage the two main nuclear Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to continue a dialogue that is vital for the whole of mankind.

Hence we wish to make a solemn appeal here to the super-Powers and the medium-sized Powers to make a genuine and sincere effort to bring the disarmament negotiations to a successful conclusion. In that regard, we particularly welcome the most recent agreements reached at Stockholm as a first step towards mutual trust between those on whom mankind's very survival depends.

Nevertheless, the peace to which the peoples of the whole world so earnestly aspire should not represent merely an absence of war or a dialogue between the major Powers alone. Peace also means our societies and economies being able to ensure for each human being the increasing satisfaction of his fundamental needs.

It follows that mankind can enjoy a comprehensive and lasting peace only when the whole planet can enjoy the benefits of economic and social development, when all peoples can freely decide their own future, and when in each of our nations we have broken down the artificial barriers relating to race, religion and all other grounds for discrimination.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

Unfortunately, this session is being held against a backdrop of economic and political crisis which hardly gives grounds for optimism - at least about the immediate future. This general crisis, which is so deep-rooted and far-reaching in its effects, has tragically affected the countries of the third world, and particularly those of Africa.

The recent United Nations surveys of the social situation in the world in 1985 and the world economy in 1986 have indicated that as far as international economic relations are concerned there has been an increase in protectionism and a lack of any genuine transfer of technologies and resources, to developing countries; there has been a breakdown in North-South negotiations, and there has been very severe pressure on commodity prices.

The consequences of these policies on the countries of the third world have been growing balance-of-payment deficits and increased indebtedness, bringing most of our countries to the brink of bankruptcy.

We have also noted that since the decade which terminated in 1980 a growing number of countries in the third world have been obliged to negotiate with international institutions and conclude agreements which in many cases have led to draconian measures involving substantial or even multiple currency devaluations, almost insupportable budgetary cuts, the elimination of currency subsidies for mass consumption goods, and the removal of protective measures relating to terms of foreign trade and external payments. In brief, there has been a whole range of very painful measures which in many cases have had no lasting effect.

These steps, designed to restore basic macro-economic equilibrium, have in many cases had very severe social consequences and have sometimes produced effects which have been very damaging to general development aims.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

Four months ago, there was a special session of the General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, convened at United Nations Headquarters. This was the first time in the history of the Organization that such a session was held to consider the economic problems pertaining to a specific region. It was also the first time that the African continent officially brought its problems before the international community.

The special session gave us an opportunity to have a detailed discussion of the breadth and scope of the economic crisis which at present besets the African continent. It also made it possible to discuss appropriate ways of remedying the situation. The session adopted the United Nations Programme of Action for Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. That decision symbolizes the firm political support which the international community is giving to Africa as part of the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990, and its commitment to improving the international economic climate in order to help Africa in its adjustment and development efforts.

I should like to reiterate that we, the peoples of Africa, are resolved to take every step required, both nationally and internationally, to bring about economic recovery, and growth and development in Africa, and to achieve the long-term development targets laid down in the Lagos Plan of Action.

Africa agreed to make all these efforts at a time when the international climate was unfavourable and when multilateral co-operation was at its lowest level.

Indeed, there have been substantial losses in its commodity markets because of the deterioration in the terms of trade, and it has been obliged to spend up to 50 per cent of its export earnings to pay the interest on its debts, at a time when public aid for development continues to decrease, Africa thus has become the

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continent of negative transfers, because it is the victim of a growing imbalance which is caused by the continuing unfavourable trade situation.

The greatest challenge which must now be faced is the implementation of the above-mentioned United Nations Programme of Action. The special session gave rise to an encouraging consensus when it adopted that Programme of Action, but the unanimous support for the Programme was not immediately accompanied by any specific offer of finance. It therefore is quite clear that the international community must make special efforts if it intends to mobilize and implement the African Programme of Action.

The whole international community, the donor countries, international and non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies, will all have to act in concert with the African countries, both individually and collectively, in order to mobilize the necessary resources.

In order to facilitate follow up in the implementation of these decisions, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has already set up a standing steering committee. This committee is to draw up the practical ways and means for the execution of the Programme of Action, in consultation with the United Nations system and other multinational and multilateral organizations, or agencies that provide financing.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

In addition to the standing steering committee, we decided to provide follow-up machinery at the regional and sub-regional levels. The decisions taken in the context of the priority programme can thus be carried out and incorporated in the development plans and the programmes of action adopted at the national level. At this point we should like to appeal to all countries to create similar machinery in order to make it easier to channel the necessary aid to bring Africa out of its economic recession.

It is equally important that the international community be aware of the detrimental effects of Africa's external debt which, because of the critical economic and financial situation which prevails in that continent is deserving of special treatment. That is why the 22nd Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has instructed me to continue my efforts to have an international conference held to deal with that particularly distressing problem. Once again, we shall be relying on the solidarity of the whole international community.

As I have just emphasized, the States members of the OAU have committed Africa to a very bold effort for economic recovery in the light of the current crisis. They are fully aware that in order to develop their nations, in order to exploit and to make full use of the tremendous wealth which exists in the continent, it is important to have high calibre human resources. That is why they have stressed the need to implement integrated programmes dealing with pure science and human and social sciences, education and literacy, the cultural industries, handicrafts, the development of tourism, and cultural co-operation.

In this connection, it should be recalled that it is since the statement of Monrovia, in July 1979, that the Heads of State and Government of Africa have publicly expressed their desire to place science and technology at the service of

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development. The priority programme for the economic recovery of Africa clearly stresses the fact that no country has achieved an economic breakthrough without the creation of a minimum basis for science and technology.

Africa is aware of the vital nature of what is at stake, namely mastery of both sciences and adopted techniques as well as state of the art technology which are the real key to tomorrow's world. Africa does not wish to and cannot fail in that undertaking. Even now, to indicate its interest in that endeavour, Africa, at the 22nd Summit of the OAU took the decision to organize the first Congress of African scientists in Brazzaville, in the People's Republic of the Congo, next June.

I should like to take this opportunity to invite all institutions which might be interested to become closely associated with this venture.

Africa is also aware that a people which creates nothing is doomed to perish and that it is quite correct to assert with the philosopher that "Time is invention, otherwise it is nothing." It is precisely to encourage our young people to study science and technology with all the security that provides for the future that the OAU has decided to institute a prize for scientific renaissance, the Sheikh Anta DIOP prize, which is named after a great African research worker whose role in affirming the cultural identity of Africa was a determining one.

In the field of the environment, practically everything has already been said on the deterioration of the natural environment in Africa, its causes, and the remedies required. Here, I should simply like to welcome the efforts of the international community and the valuable assistance it has provided to those African countries which have fallen victims to drought, desertification and other natural catastrophes.

Africa, for its part, is determined to achieve food self-sufficiency between now and the year 2000, in accordance with the relevant resolution of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Therefore, we request massive and decisive support

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on the part of the international community to enable Africa to ensure its security and autonomy in the matter of food.

At a recent meeting in Yamoussoukro In the Côte d'Ivoire, the African Ministers of Agriculture adopted a strategy to bring about food self-sufficiency and defined a consistent agricultural development programme for the next 25 years.

What we must do today is to move on from the stage of emergency aid to structural assistance, which will make it possible for in-depth action to be pursued, a sort of action which frees people from the nightmare of famine and poverty.

Apart from the economic challenges which it has to face, the African continent is also beset by a situation of ongoing war, which has been imposed upon it by the minority racist régime of Pretoria. That problem is a matter of major concern to our Organization.

More than a quarter century after this Assembly adopted its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in resolution 1514 (XV) of December 1960, Africa is still seeking to free itself from the last bastion of colonialism.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

The question of Namibia has not yet been resolved despite United Nations resolutions and international pressure. The meetings, held recently in Vienna and New York on this serious problem nevertheless clearly indicate our firm resolve to put an end to the illegal occupation of that Territory, a Territory occupied by a régime which, relying on its strength and on support from outside, defies the international community. We must therefore state, loud and clear, that for us the only sound basis for a final settlement of this problem is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and that there can be no room for any sort of diversionary tactics.

The problem is essentially one of decolonization and nothing else. The linkage which has been artificially established with the domestic situation in Angola cannot alter this truth.

The tense situation that prevails today in South Africa itself is due to the arrogance of the apartheid régime, which continues to defy the international community by maintaining an odious and anachronistic system with complete impunity. It is up to the General Assembly, which has declared the system of apartheid to be a crime against humanity, to shoulder its responsibilities in full.

We must act in accordance with our conscience and with the measures we adopt here. I do not believe that in this Hall there are any representatives of any States who support racism. That being the case, if we are all fundamentally anti-racist, what are we waiting for, both individually and collectively, before we abolish this system which is rejected by each and every one of our societies?

Those who maintain that the use of force should be prohibited even in the case of those struggling against apartheid are people to whom we would say that there is one minimum requirement: the application, under Chapter VII of the Charter, of global and mandatory sanctions, which would help at least to eradicate apartheid

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peacefully if the entire international community were to abide by them. The oppressed people of South Africa and the front-line countries have themselves agreed to suffer the effects of such sanctions if this is the price to be paid for their dignity. Furthermore, have they not said that there is no suffering worse than that which is inflicted upon them by their masters and oppressors in Pretoria?

That is why it is urgent for the international community to find definitive solutions to the questions of Namibia and South Africa, while at the same time giving more resolute support to the heroic struggle of these peoples, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), by contributing substantially to the funds set up for southern Africa, particularly that recently created in the context of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, by effectively implementing the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its recent special session on the question of Namibia, and the special declaration on southern Africa adopted at the eighth summit conference of the non-aligned countries.

Africa is also deeply disquieted by the problem of Western Sahara. Here, we should express our gratification at the close co-operation that exists between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on this matter. I would like to tell Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar that we are quite ready to seek, with him, ways of bringing the two parties to the conflict to a settlement that will safeguard the rights of the Sahraoui people and bring peace and co-operation in the subregion.

As regards Chad, there is an urgent need for a sincere and definitive reconciliation among all the inhabitants of Chad so that, without any foreign interference whatsoever, this country may be able to regain its peace, national unity and territorial integrity.

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

I could not conclude my remarks without referring to the on-going tensions in other parts of the world. On the basis of the attachment of African peoples themselves to peace and understanding, may I voice the hope that reason and wisdom will prevail over any other considerations. My country, the People's Republic of the Congo, has made good-neighbourliness one of the corner-stones of its foreign policy. It was probably this fact that won for it the votes of all of Africa at the most recent summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. That is the reason why, wherever conflicts arise, whether they be absurd or justified, we say that there is nothing like negotiation and consultation, for military victories are the most perilous inasmuch as they sometimes incur rancor and are therefore ephemeral.

That is why, in the Middle East, we advocate a just and lasting peace, together with mutual respect for the sovereignty of all States in the region, the restoration of those territories that have been taken by force, and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland.

On this burning issue of the present day, I would like to expatiate a little and to recall that it was in December 1972 that the People's Republic of the Congo, learning a lesson from the persistent tension in that region, decided to break off its diplomatic relations with Israel. A year later, following the October war in 1973, the Organization of African Unity decided to break off relations with the Jewish State out of solidarity with the Arab peoples and the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

(President Sassou-Nguesso)

Since that date, the situation has hardly changed; hence the Organization of African Unity has not changed its position. Our support for that just cause is therefore still fully in force. The People's Republic of the Congo, in keeping with its foreign policy and pursuant to the decisions of the OAU, through me reiterates that it will maintain that correct attitude until such time as Israel changes its policies. There can be no possible ambiguity in regard to this matter.

In regard to the Gulf conflict, we should like to make an urgent appeal to our Iraqi and Iranian brothers to put an end to an endless war, damaging to their own interests.

The same concern leads us to hope that the peace-loving Afghan and Khmer peoples will very soon recover peace and unity.

Nor can we forget that the Korean peninsula is also aspiring to peace, which necessarily involves an open and frank dialogue between the two fraternal divided States. The peaceful reunification of Korea remains an essential objective to be achieved.

In Central America, we support the initiatives of the countries in the region to bring about an atmosphere of peace and mutual trust guaranteeing peaceful coexistence.

Here I should like to reiterate the right of every State freely to choose the régime it prefers without any foreign interference.

We have just seen that the world is faced with significant challenges which, in the case of Africa, have become real tragedies. Africa remains convinced that those challenges cannot be met in a world in upheaval, a world which is divided and beset by fear and where inequity prevails.

That is why the Organization of African Unity is working for peace, harmony and the establishment of a new international economic order that is more just and more equitable.

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Africa expects the international community not to remain silent and powerless in the face of such basic and legitimate concerns. It reiterates its solidarity with the rest of the world in the task of restoring to the United Nations the dynamism it requires to carry out and to preserve its noble objectives.

Hence our message is one of peace, solidarity and hope.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the People's Republic of the Congo for the important statement he has just made.

Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the People's Republic of the Congo, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MALILE (Albania) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I should first of all like to convey to you the warm congratulations of the Albanian delegation upon your assumption of the important post of the presidency of this lofty Assembly.

Judging by recent events, we cannot but note that the current international situation is far from what the peoples desire and aspire to. While the United Nations proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace, at this very time international peace and security are under serious threat. The legitimate aspirations and efforts of the progressive peoples and forces throughout the world, that cherish freedom and independence are being opposed by the super-Powers, with their designs of expansion and world domination.\*

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\*Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The current policy of the super-Powers is dominated by total military, economic and ideological mobilization; it relies more than ever before on the force of arms and nuclear blackmail so that they may achieve their unchanging hegemonist aims. The struggle for military superiority by the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has given an unprecedented impetus to their arms race. They have created enormous stockpiles of the most varied weapons, nuclear and conventional, chemical and bacteriological. With world supremacy as their constant objective, the super-Powers are making feverish efforts to develop, manufacture and deploy qualitatively new and ever more deadly weapons.

The militarization of outer space is becoming the hub of a new spiral in the arms race. The Star Wars space programmes could turn outer space into a staging ground from which those aggressive Powers can prepare to strike at our planet and at mankind. This is a further escalation of their military rivalry and a new manifestation of their policy of force and of ever more intensive propagation of a war psychosis. They are trying to present war as inevitable in order to subjugate other peoples and countries and impose their will upon them.

Each of the super-Powers claims that that rivalry restrains its adversary and thwarts its plans to breach the peace. It is clear that every attempt on the part of either to gain strategic points or develop new weapons gives rise to problems and tension between them but never to any desire to safeguard true peace.

In last year's general debate in the Assembly there was much talk and some optimism about last November's Soviet-United States summit meeting. It may well be that at the Geneva meeting each of the parties made concessions and gained advantages, but we can say with certainty that nothing of benefit to peace resulted. On the contrary, immediately after that manifestation of what was called "the spirit of Geneva", the world was witness to the stepping up of American

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

aggressiveness and provocation in the Gulf of Sirte, to the point where, on the pretext of fighting terrorism, the United States committed serious acts of aggression against Libya, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, and peace in the Mediterranean and beyond was threatened.

Much is now being made of the coming American-Soviet summit and the propaganda machines of the two super-Powers have been doing their best to persuade people that the fate of the world lies in the hands of those Powers.

The Albanian delegation believes that the urgent regional and international problems of concern to peoples today cannot be left solely in the hands of the super-Powers, which are concerned with their own interests only and disregard those of other peoples and States. We cannot allow the role of the international community and the United Nations to be reduced to providing a backdrop for the scenarios the super-Powers are preparing or acting as an audience which will take note of the results of their secret diplomacy.

Disarmament plans have been presented one after the other. They contain so many proposals and counter-proposals that even specialists on the subject are liable to get them confused. Each super-Power is well aware of the fate reserved for its proposals before it even presents them, but they both believe that they must do something to placate public opinion. While they continue to build up their arsenals, each of them tries to prove, through its propaganda machine, that it sincerely wants disarmament but the other side does not, and is upsetting the "balance". Thus a vicious circle is created.

Moreover, the new theories and concepts advocated by Washington and Moscow - such as "neo-globalism" and a "global system of security" - really differ only in form from the old ones and are basically just a means of justifying local conflicts, blackmail, the nuclear threat and even direct armed intervention against sovereign peoples and countries.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

Like all other peace-loving States, Albania is against the arms race and increases in the war budgets of the imperialist Powers. It is in favour of genuine disarmament. Albania has always been and remains a staunch opponent of the expansionist, aggressive policies of imperialism and social-imperialism. We can never equate world peace with the so-called strategic balance. We can never consider the mere absence of nuclear conflict a situation of peace at a time when the world has faced and is still facing constant threats and continuing wars and local conflicts.

The continent of Europe continues to be one of the principal theatres of confrontation between the imperialists. No other region of the world contains so great a concentration of conventional and nuclear military arsenals. What makes the situation in Europe even worse is that those arsenals are facing each other in an area containing the border between the two blocs - those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty. This cannot fail to have an effect on all the peoples of the continent, especially the peoples of the member countries of the two political and military blocs led by the super-Powers. It is anomalous and very unjust that more than 40 years after the end of the Second World War foreign troops are still stationed in many countries of the old continent.

Europeans are seriously concerned about the grave situation created by the policy that makes them victims of the super-Powers' nuclear blackmail. The peoples and States of Europe cannot consent to being a prey to the ambitions and rivalries of those Powers, or to their countries serving as the targets of nuclear weapons. Therefore, energetic measures must be taken to oppose all attempts to leave the solution of questions vital to Europe in the hands of the super-Powers, for any proposal they might make in that regard would first and foremost serve their own interests.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania, has said:

"Albania is a European country and as such is vitally interested in all that takes place in the continent ... The divisions and splits and the frequent tension and confrontation between countries of the continent have their roots in participation in the military blocs of the super-Powers. It is our view that only determined opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the elimination of military blocs and the removal from Europe of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure peace in the continent."

The situation in the Middle East remains grave and explosive. The brother Arab peoples are experiencing great difficulties and must daily face the conspiracies hatched by the enemies of their freedom and national independence.

That inveterate aggressor, Israel, which enjoys the support and protection of the United States of America, is continuing its expansionist, terrorist activities, its annexation by force of Arab territories and its acts of genocide against the suffering Palestinian people. The events of this year have given new proof of the intrigues against that people and demonstrated the desire of the imperialist Powers and other enemies of the Palestinian people to close the chapter on the Palestinian cause. The situation is grave in Lebanon also. Israel has turned that country into a permanent hotbed of conflict so as to keep the entire Middle East in a state of tension and fan the flames there.

Albania has always firmly supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its legitimate rights, as well as the struggles of other Arab peoples, whose unity is essential in opposing imperialist-Zionist aggression and the plots of the super-Powers and in order to liberate the occupied Arab territories and make the Middle East a zone of peace and prosperity.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The United States and the Soviet Union have transformed the Mediterranean into a militarized sea. The continued presence of their war fleets there is fraught with grave consequences for the freedom and independence of the Mediterranean peoples and countries. A short time after the last session of the United Nations General Assembly there were some very dangerous developments in the region. A number of acts of aggression were committed and escalated into the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi by the Americans. Those acts of aggression show that the United States is behaving in the Mediterranean in total disregard of the rights of sovereign States and the elementary norms of international law. They also prove that the presence of the war fleets of the super-Powers in the Mediterranean constitutes a constant threat to the peace, freedom, security and independence of the peoples of the region. Peace and security in the Mediterranean can only be safeguarded by stepping up the struggle of the Mediterranean peoples and countries for the withdrawal of super-Power fleets. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean peoples, whose sincere desire and will it is that the Mediterranean become a sea of peace. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always been opposed to the presence of super-Power fleets in the Mediterranean. Albania does not accept, and never will accept, foreign military and naval bases and will never provide any facilities at its ports for the units of those fleets. This is a concrete contribution by Albania to the cause of peace in the Mediterranean.

The waves of tension in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are being felt also in the Balkan peninsula, where, apart from the consequences of the tense international situation, from time to time negative regional elements inherited from the past and encouraged by imperialism and reaction come to the surface. The bitter history of the past is remembered to this very day and teaches the peoples of the Balkans not to be taken in by the dangerous games of the imperialist Powers

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

and to avoid and overcome the negative factors which create favourable ground for the increasing intervention by the super-Powers in the region. The interests of the peoples of the Balkans dictate the need for resolute opposition to such interference.

It is the sincere wish of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that good-neighbourly relations should prevail among all the countries of the region. For its part, it will continue to work for an extension of bilateral exchanges, particularly in the fields of trade, culture, science and technology, in the conviction that these exchanges are in the interest of genuine and fruitful co-operation, friendship between peoples and peace and security in the peninsula.

The Iran-Iraq war has been going on for several years now, with as yet no signs of an end to the bloodshed. Albania and the Albanian people, which feel sincere friendship for and maintain friendly relations with both Iran and Iraq, can only hope that those two neighbours will put an end to this destructive war, the continuance of which serves the interests of the imperialist Powers.

Afghanistan remains a serious hotbed of tension. The Soviet occupation troops must leave that country, and the freedom-loving Afghan people must be left to decide for themselves the destiny of their homeland.

Albania has frequently expressed its clear and firm support for the struggle and efforts of the Korean people for reunification of their homeland, in conformity with the aspirations and desires of the Korean people, free of outside interference.

In Central America the undeclared war waged by the United States against Nicaragua continues. American policy towards that country illustrates the attitude of the United States towards the States and peoples of Latin America that have chosen the course of free and independent development.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The situation in Africa has become a subject of universal concern. A number of international conferences have been organized under the auspices of the United Nations on the problems of concern to the peoples and countries of that suffering continent, such as the critical economic situation, sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and the Namibian problem.

For centuries Africa has been exploited pitilessly by the colonial Powers and has served to enrich the metropolitan countries. Today troops and military expeditions have been replaced by imperialist monopolies and multinational corporations which continue savagely to plunder the colossal wealth of Africa. Thus Africa continues to suffer impoverishment, and whole regions of the continent are threatened with famine. In order to resolve this painful situation the African States must resolutely oppose neo-colonialist policy and take effective measures to exercise their full sovereignty over the national resources.

South Africa, that bastion of colonialism and racism in the continent, is not only fiercely pursuing its policy of apartheid but committing flagrant acts of aggression against neighbouring countries such as Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

In the course of recent events in South Africa the democratic peoples and States of the world have once again seen the unreserved support of imperialism for its offspring, racism. Diplomatic soundings and proposals by the emissaries of States which are keeping the Pretoria régime on its feet, with a view, allegedly, to the so-called reform of the racist régime, are but attempts to prolong its existence at a time when it is reeling under the blows of the just struggle of the African peoples for the freedom and independence and is being condemned by all international public opinion.

The Albanian Government and people, sincere friends of the African peoples, will continue to the very end their unreserved support for the just liberation

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

struggles of the Namibian, Azanian and other African peoples to expunge the ugly blemish of racism and apartheid and to rid themselves of the neo-colonialist yoke and oppression.

We hear a great deal today about international terrorism. The Albanian delegation wishes to stress that, no matter who undertakes it or on what pretext, terrorism is an odious phenomenon. We resolutely condemn the terrorism that claims innocent victims. While condemning terrorism, we believe we should also condemn those who have elevated it to a State policy. Are not the American acts of aggression against Libya, Israel's massacre of women and children sleeping in Palestinian camps, the killing of defenceless people in attacks by Soviet aircraft in Afghanistan and the organizing and financing of the Somozist gangs terrorism, even organized terrorism elevated to a State policy? On the pretext of fighting against terrorism, violations of the sovereign rights of peoples and disregard of the norms of international law are justified. Using the same pretext, efforts are made to identify wars of national liberation with terrorism and thus to discredit them. There is no doubt that there could be no more savage terrorism than that practised by the super-Powers with the aid of aircraft, tanks, warships and entire armies. And it is that kind of terrorism that incites and cultivates all other kinds of terrorism.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

Therefore, we believe that if we condemn terrorism, we must at the same time strongly condemn those who commit acts of aggression, who interfere in the internal affairs of other States and violate their sovereignty, and who have elevated terrorism to state policy.

The world economic crisis continues to have a negative effect on international economic relations and on the political situation as a whole. By means of monopolies, all kinds of machinations and speculative manipulations of the international economic and financial system, the imperialist Powers have stepped up their plundering, especially in the developing countries. One of the most widespread forms of neo-colonialist exploitation, which, in recent years, has assumed unprecedented proportions, is the granting of loans and credits on very onerous terms. Indeed this phenomenon represents a new imperialist strategy which is designed to establish hegemony not only through political and military aggression, but also through economic aggression.

The creation of more just international economic relations requires the establishment of a fair ratio between the prices of raw materials and those of manufactured goods, the removal of protectionist measures and tariff and non-tariff barriers, and the free transfer of technology. The grave economic situation can be resolved only by opposing, and taking effective measures against, the system of neo-colonialist exploitation.

The Albanian people are looking forward to two important events: the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, which, under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our great and unforgettable guide and teacher, ensured the freedom of the homeland and the construction of socialism, and the Ninth Congress of the Party.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The policy of the Albanian State, domestically and internationally, during these four decades, has secured for the Albanian people genuine freedom and independence, progress and well-being, and true social equality, in which the worker has a place of honour. Socialist Albania is developing its economy uninterruptedly on the basis of self-reliance, with no debts or credits. The policy of the Albanian State rests on the interests of our people and of the peoples struggling for national freedom and independence, peace and security.

Permit me, Sir, to assure this Assembly that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at this session and in the future, together with other democratic States, will spare no effort to promote genuine peace.

Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): Sir, it is indeed a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, to extend to Ambassador Choudhury our warmest congratulations, on his unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are highly gratified at the honour bestowed on one of Asia's most distinguished sons from Bangladesh, a third world Member and a friendly country with which Thailand enjoys cordial relations and close co-operation. We are confident that, with his political wisdom, proven diplomatic skills and vast experience, the Assembly's deliberations will be constructive, and lead to a fruitful conclusion.

I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Jaime de Piniés, President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over that historic and eventful session. His qualities of leadership, dedication, and wisdom have thus earned our respect, admiration and gratitude.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

My delegation would also like to extend our warm felicitations to all the Vice-Presidents, who represent the different regions of the world, reflecting thereby the universality of our Organization.

The delegation of Thailand pledges its full co-operation with the President and all the Vice-Presidents who are entrusted with the responsibility of guiding the deliberations of the General Assembly.

During the past 12 months there have been extraordinary events which have given rise to concern and hope. In the course of history, some years bear the stamp of certain dominating events or series of events for which they remain memorable. I fear that the past year may be remembered as an unfortunate year for the number of large-scale disasters, both natural and man-made, which have struck different places in different forms. We recall the sadness brought on by drought, famine and locusts in Africa, the Chernobyl incident, the Challenger accident, terrorist attacks against civilian targets, and the tragic calamity in Cameroon, all of which meant suffering, death and devastation. These catastrophes demonstrate how fragile the human condition is and the extent to which we are all susceptible to shattering blows by natural calamities or malfunctioning technology. However, it is adversity of this kind which often emphasizes the common bond of humanity that unites us and places in true perspective the barriers dividing us. We have seen this reflected in the generous outpouring of sympathy, solidarity and support from the world at large to the peoples of the afflicted nations. Thailand wishes to express once again its sympathy to the Governments and peoples affected.

Apart from these disasters, the international situation remains charged with tensions and uncertainties. Although some developments, during the past year, have generated optimism, it cannot be said that the past year has witnessed any

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

significant resolution of problems or issues confronting mankind. Indeed, the lack of major progress is distinctly disappointing and in direct contrast to the obvious urgent need for solutions. Among the central issues confronting the international community today are the nuclear threat and the plight of the Namibian, the Palestinian, the Afghan, and, in my own region, the Kampuchean peoples.

In looking at our world today, it is hard to remain an optimist. Many problems confronting us appear to be insurmountable. There is a great temptation for us to let go and rely exclusively on fate.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

My Government has done its best to resist such temptations. We are determined not to be passive. We feel that the lack of international justice is a major contribution to international conflict. There can be no lasting peace without justice.

We do not have much time. As the world population grows, the fight for limited resources will intensify. With advanced weapons technology, it is now possible for mankind to destroy itself and all future generations in an instant. We urgently need an equitable system to redistribute the world's limited resources. We urgently need to lead mankind away from total destruction.

We need a new world order of peace and justice under which all nations can co-operate with one another and live in harmony. Our world is at present a divided one. Members of the developed North perceive that their interests are threatened by members of the developing South, and vice versa. The same applies to the East and the West. We do not have much time left. If we do not stop fighting and join our hands together now, we may not live to see another opportunity.

International co-operation was once desirable; it is now vital for our survival. In our interdependent world, inter-State relations are no longer zero-sum. One country's gain is no longer another country's loss. When the international community gains, each member will gain.

My delegation feels that justice is a prerequisite for peace. We must work together to promote international justice. As a developing country and a steadfast member of the Group of 77, we share the common concerns of all other developing countries. We feel that there is a lack of justice in the relationship between the North and the South. We must put an end to this. Most importantly, we must tackle our problems through mutual understanding. We must give and take.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

A new world order of peace and justice can come about only through understanding and a willingness to compromise. We do not want to destroy the existing international order. We want to improve it. We want to work from within to render the international order more just and therefore more peaceful.

In our interdependent world, the North cannot live without the South; the South cannot live without the North. We are all in the same boat. We must work together or sink together.

A new world order of peace and justice requires all States to observe strictly the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law. My delegation is deeply concerned about the growing gap between what States say and what States actually do. All States have proclaimed their acceptance of the principle of non-intervention. All States have proclaimed their support for the principle of non-use of force in international relations. All States have proclaimed their respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. However, the actual behaviour of some States has proved otherwise. We must bridge this gap. We must make certain that our deeds complement our words. We must make certain that our deeds will reinforce our stated desire to see peace and justice.

Keeping in mind the urgent need for understanding and compromise, my Government has pursued the firm policy of promoting objectivity and moderation in international relations. Let us look, for example, at our activities in the Security Council. The end of this year will see the end of our first two-year term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. As a member of the Council, we have had to make many difficult decisions. Each decision has been guided by our firm adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law. Furthermore, our activities have been guided by our desire to promote objectivity and moderation in the Council's decisions.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

We are in a unique position. We enjoy excellent relations with developed countries although we are a member of the third world. We are not part of the West nor of the Socialist bloc. We are not a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries although we do share its basic values and principles. In this unique position, we have served the third world and the international community in a positive way by helping to bridge the gap among conflicting groups of countries.

During our term on the Security Council, we have offered several suggestions aimed at improving the Council's ability to maintain international peace and security. Today, we should like to offer another suggestion. Keeping in mind the unavoidable linkage between regional and global peace and security, my delegation would like to see the United Nations establish and maintain regional mechanisms to serve as an early warning system for the Security Council. My delegation feels that an early warning system of that nature would improve the Council's ability to play an early role as a problem develops affecting the regional peace and security. With such a mechanism in the various parts of the world, the Security Council's role in the maintenance of international peace and security could be enhanced. The Council would be in a better position to act quickly and early before a situation erupted into an international crisis.

A new order of peace and justice requires also a viable multilateral mechanism to enhance international co-operation. Our Organization represents the most far-reaching, albeit imperfect, effort in that direction. It is therefore a matter of concern to all Members that the United Nations is facing a serious financial crisis. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly will soon address this important issue in a spirit of give-and-take, taking into account our common goals of efficiency and effectiveness, without losing sight of our common commitment and obligations. The report of the Group of 18 should thus be considered in a constructive manner.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

As we look at the world economic situation, it is important to state that the world economic outlook has shown little improvement. It has indeed become worse in recent months, especially for the developing countries. The debt burden has hit the hardest at the economic and social foundations of those countries, while market access for their exports is being gradually curtailed in the developed economies.

Threats to international peace and security do not come from political and military conflicts alone; they come also from economic factors. The increasing tide of protectionism, together with other unfair trade practices, could lead to a trade war with terrible consequences for all.

Developing countries have suffered enormously from the protectionist policy of some industrialized countries at a time when they need to trade to sustain their meagre subsistence. Their indebtedness and debt-servicing accentuate their plight more profoundly.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

Since Thailand is a developing country heavily dependent upon export earnings from food products, agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials for the financing of its social and economic development, it is concerned that in recent years commodity prices have dropped to their lowest levels in more than 30 years. Export subsidies for agricultural products also place us at a disadvantage in the world market, where it is already difficult to compete in a fair manner. The hope of some years ago that economic recovery in the industrialized countries would ease our plight has remained unfulfilled. International efforts to stabilize prices at a level fair to both consumers and producers have not materialized.

International trade in textiles in 1977 departed from the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which consider safeguards to be temporary measures to allow for adjustments in the importing countries. That provisional clause, now renewed for another five years, appears to be becoming a more permanent feature as the number of bilateral restraints proliferates through the introduction of more and more categories. The textile industry is the only one in which manufacturing progress has been achieved by a large number of developing countries. Consequently, lack of access to markets in the industrialized countries would have destructive results.

In this connection my delegation is gratified that it played its part in the successful launching of the new round of multilateral trade negotiations by the GATT Contracting Parties at their recent Ministerial Meeting at Punta del Este, Uruguay. My delegation is particularly happy that the massive distortion in agricultural trade created by subsidies and import restrictions will for the first time be seriously addressed, and we look forward to an early start on the negotiations in this priority sector, which has so far been given little attention.

Thailand considers it to be a matter of great urgency for the interrelationship of such problems, as trade, development, finance and monetary

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

systems, as well as the indebtedness of developing countries, to lead to a political dialogue between Governments of developed and developing countries and with international financial and banking institutions in order to reach an equitable global arrangement for the relief of the economic plight of developing countries.

In the light of the foregoing, my delegation wishes to reiterate its support for the convening of an international conference on money and finance to address many of the issues that are critical even to the developed countries.

My delegation joins others in calling for the early revival of the dialogue between North and South. Delay in reopening that dialogue will lead to a rapid erosion of multilateralism, which will weaken the fabric of international peace and security. We remain committed to the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, in compliance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 34/138.

Thailand attaches great importance to the goal of collective self-reliance through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, both within its own region and at the global level, under the aegis of the Caracas and Buenos Aires programmes of action.

The delegation of Thailand is deeply concerned by the gravity of the multifaceted problems facing Africa today and stresses the urgency of the need to provide aid and thus bring about durable solutions. We therefore welcome the resolution on the critical economic situation in Africa, adopted by consensus at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly and hope that all concerned will join in the implementation of that Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. Thailand, for its part, remains committed to participating in the international effort towards a long-term solution, particularly in the areas of agricultural development and food security.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

The United Nations has declared 1986 International Year of Peace. However, numerous obstacles to peace still exist in our world today.

In the Middle East, no progress has been made in the search for a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours. After 39 years the question of Palestine still remains the core of the Middle East conflict. There can be no permanent peace in the Middle East until the question of Palestine is resolved, taking into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the legitimate security concerns of all States in the region, including Israel. Thailand wishes to reaffirm its support for the unrelenting efforts of the United Nations and various Member States in the search for a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In this connection we would like to urge all the parties concerned to revitalize the peace process so that a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem may be achieved.

Thailand is also in favour of the early convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East to deal with this important matter, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 38/58 C, 39/49 D and 40/96 D.

My delegation views the situation in Lebanon with deep regret. The mounting violence and continuing bloodshed in Lebanon, caused by civil strife among the various factions and outside interventions, continue to pose a grave threat to Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

While recognizing the importance of maintaining peace-keeping operations in Lebanon, my delegation wishes to emphasize the need for the speedy and full implementation of Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 509 (1982), which call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

Thailand is gravely concerned over the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has continued unabated for over six years. Thailand enjoys diplomatic relations with both conflicting parties. We wish to see our two friends refrain from any action which would further aggravate the situation. We call upon them to take a peaceful and negotiated route towards resolving their differences.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

Let me now turn to Namibia. My delegation commends the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia concluded a week ago. During the special session the delegation of Thailand had an opportunity to reaffirm the Thai Government's position on this important question.

In this connection, my delegation fully shares the view that any linkage between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is unwarranted. Such linkage has been rejected by the Security Council as being incompatible with its resolution 435 (1978). Furthermore, we strongly condemn the apartheid régime in Pretoria for its establishment of the so-called interim Government in Namibia and resolutely denounce it as null and void. My delegation also condemns South Africa's continued use of Namibian territory as the springboard for launching military attacks against and incursions into neighbouring independent African States.

My delegation wishes to reaffirm Thailand's firm solidarity with the Namibian people in their just and heroic struggle for freedom and independence in a united Namibia under the sole and authentic leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

World attention is at present focused on the problems of southern Africa, with apartheid as the root cause. The United Nations has played a crucial role in informing us of the plight of the unfortunate people in southern Africa who fall victims to the Pretoria régime's inhumane policy of racial segregation.

In view of South Africa's persistent defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, I should like to reiterate my delegation's support for a world-wide comprehensive system of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa - aimed at bringing to an end that country's apartheid system, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against neighbouring States.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

It is very important for my delegation to draw the Assembly's attention once more to the Vietnamese invasion and continued illegal occupation of Kampuchea.

Peace and stability in the South-East Asian region cannot be realized unless the States of that region commit themselves to respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. The Vietnamese invasion and illegal occupation of Kampuchea constitute a clear violation of that country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Vietnamese actions are in blatant violation of international law and the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

I should like to reiterate once again Thailand's firm conviction that the Kampuchean problem can be settled only through political means, by the parties directly concerned. For this reason, Thailand and the other countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) fully welcome and support the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea issued on 17 March 1986. The proposal, in Thailand's view, is comprehensive, reasonable and flexible.

While the eight-point proposal has received a positive response from most members of the international community, it is regrettable that Viet Nam has rejected this constructive initiative by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Moreover, Viet Nam refuses to acknowledge that the Kampuchean problem stems from Viet Nam's illegal occupation of Kampuchea. That is why, despite some unwarranted optimism in certain quarters, there is in reality no emergence of a Vietnamese change of position and thus no prospect for a genuine Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea in the near future. Viet Nam's outright rejection of the proposal is a manifestation of its continuing inflexibility and unwillingness to solve the Kampuchean problem by political means. Thailand strongly urges Viet Nam

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

to consider the eight-point proposal seriously and to respond positively by engaging in direct or indirect talks with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with a view to seeking a political settlement of the Viet Nam/Kampuchea conflict.

At this juncture, my delegation would like to take the opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Ambassador Sarré of Senegal, as well as to the other members of the Ad Hoc Committee, for their continuing efforts to find a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the mandate entrusted to them by the International Conference on Kampuchea.

My delegation would also like to express its deep appreciation for the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. My delegation urges the United Nations to continue to play its legitimate role in fostering a peaceful process within the framework of the Charter for the resolution of this pressing international issue.

In commenting on Thai-Lao relations, I should like to stress that our relations are of a special and unique character because our two countries are bound by history, religion, race, culture and language. Even though Thailand and Laos have different political and economic systems, such differences do not deter the development of good-neighbourly Thai-Lao relations. The Thai policy towards Laos has been consistent. The Government of Thailand always regards Laos as a fraternal neighbouring country. Accordingly Thailand has carried out several economic assistance projects for Laos. In this context, my delegation wishes to state that any hindrance or misunderstanding which may appear should be settled bilaterally through peaceful means, without any interference from third parties.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

The refugee problem is one of the most tragic consequences of the Indochinese conflicts. It deserves the close attention of the international community because, in addition to creating individual human suffering, it also has serious consequences for the domestic order, stability and economic development not only of the receiving States but of the entire region, and thus endangers international peace and security.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

My delegation wishes to stress to the international community that the principle of burden-sharing must remain the cardinal tenet in dealing with the aftermath of an influx of refugees. Not only must the international community do its part in alleviating their burden but it must also try to deal with the root causes of the Indochina conflicts in order to alleviate the refugee problem itself.

In that connection, the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees has presented a report with recommendations. It is my delegation's fervent hope that they will be implemented urgently to avert new refugee situations. At the same time, the international community must continue to pursue every effort to end existing refugee situations by peaceful means.

Now let me say a few words on the situation of the Kampuchean displaced persons in Thailand, particularly along the Thai-Kampuchean border. At present there are approximately 250,000 Kampuchean displaced persons stranded in Thailand as a result of the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces and their armed attacks on the Kampuchean civilian encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border since 1979. The foreign forces have also been trying to prevent those unfortunate people from exercising their right to return to their homeland. They have deliberately planted more than 20,000 land mines on Thai territory near the Thai-Kampuchean border. Moreover, some 23,000 Thai villagers have had to be evacuated from their home villages to safer areas. This situation, if allowed to continue, will increase the already heavy burden on Thailand in the near future.

Without a political solution to the root cause of the Kampuchean problem, the international community will be obliged to continue to share the burden.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

The situation in Afghanistan has disrupted the process of détente. It has, indeed, increased tension in the world. The delegation of Thailand reaffirms its full support for the calls by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly on the urgent need to seek a comprehensive political solution on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and respect for Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. It remains the firm conviction of my delegation that it would be in the interest of all the parties concerned to seek a negotiated political solution to the Afghan problem, one which ensured that the Afghan people could determine their own future free from foreign intervention, interference, coercion, subversion or constraint of any kind.

As a country of temporary refuge for Kampuchean refugees, Thailand expresses its full support for the continuation of humanitarian assistance to the growing number of Afghan refugees in neighbouring countries - in particular, Pakistan, which has had to bear an enormous burden.

The prevailing situation in Central America constitutes one of the major focal points of tension both at the regional and international levels. In spite of the efforts of the Contadora Group of countries aimed at securing a negotiated solution to the crisis in Central America, the problems remain unresolved, thus endangering the peace and security of the entire region. In this regard, Thailand supports the tireless efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group in Central America.

It is regrettable that senseless acts of terrorism continue, despite the endeavours of the international community to prevent them. Terrorism has affected innocent human lives, regardless of nationality. It also jeopardizes friendly relations between States and endangers international peace and security.

Therefore, the General Assembly last year, for the first time, unanimously adopted

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

a resolution condemning terrorism and recommending measures to combat it. It is also the firm belief of my delegation that terrorism enjoys no legal justification nor should it be condoned under any circumstances.

The arms race in all its aspects, particularly the nuclear arms race, has placed the world's survival in jeopardy. Moreover, advanced technologies are being applied to the deployment of new weapon systems, including those in outer space, resulting in a further increase of tension in international relations.

We welcome the declaration of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva last November in which both parties maintained that

"a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought"

and agreed to accelerate their negotiations so as to

"prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability." (A/40/1070, p.3)

Aside from the continuing threat to mankind from nuclear weapons, the dangers stemming from the conventional arms race are also quite apparent. My delegation therefore believes that, while proper emphasis should be placed on nuclear disarmament, adequate attention should also be given to conventional disarmament measures.

Thailand is very concerned about the diversion of precious financial, material and human resources from development and welfare to armaments, in both their nuclear and conventional aspects. We believe that if the immense cost of the arms race could be saved the enormous amount of resources involved could be used for economic and social development. My delegation therefore fully supported the decision of the General Assembly at its fortieth session to convene an International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. It is our fervent hope that the Conference will be definitely convened in 1987.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

Another major threat to mankind is the problem of narcotic drugs. In recent years the danger from illicit drugs has increased by leaps and bounds. Today the situation is much worse, and has reached an alarming stage. We must now face up to the danger and do everything humanly possible to reduce and eliminate the harm being caused to our human family. Thailand has always shown grave concern over the increasing danger of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, and has taken strong and effective measures to cope with the problem at the national level.

The problem also has grave implications at the international level. Thailand has long been a firm and consistent advocate of decisive and concerted efforts at the global level to combat the very serious threats posed by the international drug problem. For that reason, Thailand co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 40/122, which provides for the convening in Vienna in 1987 of an International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking.

(Mr. Savetsila, Thailand)

Thailand is convinced that the success of the Conference will depend on the commitment of all States to co-operate with one another in dealing with this global problem.

Having reviewed the various developments around the world, the general outlook appears sombre. It seems that we are all powerless in the face of the numerous crises confronting us everywhere. It is difficult to be an optimist. Yet we cannot and must not give up. The urgency is all the more compelling now for us to work together to bring about a new order of peace and justice. We must rededicate ourselves to the task of creating a new awareness of the perils that face us. We must have a new awareness of the vital need for more effective international co-operation, because without it we may not long survive. A new world order of peace and justice is only possible through understanding and willingness to compromise. Yet it must be based on the strict observance of the universally accepted principles and the rule of international law.

Thailand believes that, if we join hands and hearts in our common search for a more peaceful and just order in the world, then with perseverance and the political will we shall succeed. We cannot fail, because we owe it to ourselves and to posterity not to do so.

In concluding my remarks, Thailand would like to pay a warm tribute to our able and tireless Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, upon whose shoulders fall the heavy task of heading this world Organization, particularly at a time when the Organization is facing a financial crisis. He clearly earns and deserves our continued full support in the performance of his important and very difficult task. For his industry and dedication to the cause of peace, freedom, justice and human progress, we salute him.

Mr. HARDING (Jamaica): Ambassador Choudhury's election to preside over this Assembly is a fitting tribute to his vast experience and tested diplomatic skills. Indeed, it is also a tribute to the capacity of the Organization to live up to its ideals as a democratic concourse of nations. For his country, Bangladesh, like the overwhelming majority of States gathered here, brings to this world body neither the trappings of economic power nor military strength. What he brings is an active and unswerving commitment to peace and development and to the pursuit of those ends through consensus-building and international co-operation. We confidently anticipate a productive session under his guidance.

I wish to commend Ambassador Jaime de Piniés of Spain for the skilful and able manner in which he carried out his tasks during the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly.

Each session of the Assembly provides a new opportunity for States to reflect on the course of recent events, to assess their import and to reach new levels of understanding about the problems the world community and its members face. The repetition and ritual which cloak the diplomatic behaviour of States and which inevitably accompany participation in this general debate need not obscure the fact that, at the core, this is a profoundly rational and democratic approach to mediating and managing relations among States. In this regard, the United Nations embodies the ancient, often violated but eternally resilient ideals of discussion, compromise and consensus, which are indispensable to the concept of community. This is the Organization's underlying and manifest strength; it is the source of Jamaica's conviction that during its present crisis, and through others that will no doubt follow, the United Nations will not simply persist, but will prevail.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

This Organization would do well not to succumb to a teleological view of the future. The fact is that, no matter how desirable its goals and lofty its ideals, there is no automatic reason why these will ultimately be met. What is necessary is the conscious, deliberate moulding of the Organization to meet new challenges and the rigours of a changing environment. A firm anchor to the time-tested and enduring ideals of the Charter is not inconsistent with a dynamic, adaptive and innovative world body. The United Nations is not the ossified, anachronistic body its detractors purport to be, but there can be no doubt that it must use its accumulated experience more effectively in dealing with old problems. It must move less ponderously. We must now devise ways and means of dealing effectively with a new generation of perplexing international problems. This is the crucial challenge facing the Organization and its Member States.

Among these problems is the issue of international terrorism. The primary purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security; and international terrorism has emerged, full-blown, as a potent threat to international peace and to the security of individuals and States. This is a particularly pernicious kind of violence. Its random and indiscriminate nature, its rapid and shadowy spread across borders and, in many cases, the faceless character of its perpetrators create a climate of fear, apprehension and hostility. This is confined not solely to the immediate victims, for it is the nature of terror that its victims must be counted not only among those subject to physical ravages of violence, but among all those burdened with the fear of random attack.

My Government condemns international terrorism in the strongest terms. The international community must build upon the advances made at the fortieth session of the General Assembly in addressing this issue. We must also seek now to

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strengthen the international legal régime laid down earlier through the outlawing of specific acts, such as those covered in the Conventions relating to civil aviation and to the taking of hostages, and other related instruments. We believe that the co-operation of all States, the full exchange of information and ratification of and adherence to the existing international legal instruments are essential elements of a strengthened multilateral approach to this issue. The United Nations should encourage and facilitate this process by all the means at its disposal. Indeed, it may be timely for consideration to be given to the preparation, within the framework of the Organization, of a convention on the suppression of international terrorism.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

At the same time, it must be made clear that we do not agree with what appears to be a deliberate attempt to confuse international terrorism with the fight for self-determination by national liberation movements. We recognize that there are still cases of colonial and racist domination where political expression has been stymied. It is, therefore, incumbent on this Organization, and on the members of the Security Council in particular, to work more assiduously to find and implement political solutions which diminish the potential for recourse to violence as an instrument of change.

I have spoken of a new generation of international problems. There is irony in this. The increase in communications, including greater ease and facility of travel, has contributed immensely to the evolution of a world community. But at the same time those same forces have had an unintended impact. They have served to intensify and make international, on an unprecedented scale, problems that previously were largely confined within national borders. It has been observed that the psychological effects of terrorist violence tend to be out of proportion to its purely physical impact - horrible as the latter might be. This is instructive, for such universal trauma is possible only where there is a collective psyche emerging and where the randomness and scope of violence threaten to victimize mankind itself.

That is also the nature of the illicit international traffic in drugs. That shadowy menace, stalking whole societies, is another example of the new kind of problem facing the international community. The interdependence of the modern world has created conditions in which the illicit traffic, production and consumption of harmful drugs flourish. The evidence now makes clear that this development is a problem of immense proportions. It is a threat not only to health and morals but, if left unchecked, an insidious force capable of undermining the

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social and political fabric of whole societies. For that reason this is hardly a domestic or bilateral issue, but a problem for the international community to address energetically and with the financial, technical and other resources at its disposal.

The countries of the developing world are themselves victims of that traffic. We fear that the preoccupation with dividing the world into sources of supply and markets, into producers and consumers, is an artificial attempt to assign culpability, is too often self-serving, and deliberately obscures the fact that it is the poor countries which are most vulnerable to the deleterious consequences of the illicit international traffic in drugs.

Those countries lack the resources to deal with the pernicious consequences of the abuse of drugs in their populations. In addition, the movement of massive funds from the drug trade into those communities has been known to undermine, or seek to undermine, the electoral processes. Hence, it attacks the very foundations of democratic societies.

Why do people trade in those destructive drugs? The answer is simple: they do it for profit. We must, therefore, find ways to take the profit out of illicit drugs.

My Government is currently examining proposals for legislation which will enable the authorities to trace, freeze, seize and confiscate the proceeds of trafficking in drugs.

Jamaica hopes that next year's world conference, in Vienna, on drug abuse and illicit trafficking will lead to an effective and supportive role by the United Nations in dealing with this problem, and will lay the foundation for more effective co-operation among Member States of the international community on this issue.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

This is the International Year of Peace. It is perhaps, an unhappy omen for our times to reflect that throughout history, wars have been declared with vigour, pomp and fanfare, but peace has often come tremulous, and uncertain. As the poet Milton reminded a famous military leader of his day, "Peace hath her victories - No less renowned than war". The primary objective of the United Nations requires, indeed, demands, that this Organization does not capitulate into defeatism where the preservation of peace is concerned. Jamaica has worked energetically, through two committees established at the national level - one of which I have the honour to be Chairman - to inculcate the ideals and promote activities related to the International Year of Peace. We affirm our support for this undertaking which serves to remind us that while new international problems may have arisen the old ones remain unsolved.

Unfortunately, there has not been any significant change in the international situation. Military confrontations continue. The atmosphere of conciliation and co-operation is undermined. Opportunities through the United Nations system for closer contact and collaboration are ignored. Clearly any hope for peace has to come out of greater understanding and co-operation. The preservation of mankind demands a greater resolve to bring about solutions through meaningful dialogue.

We recognize the renewed efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States to hold discussions on arms control. There was a mood of optimism which followed the summit meeting in Geneva last November, and we welcome further attempts by the leaders of those two countries to resume the process of dialogue. The process of dialogue may be slow, but we are convinced that it is only through patient diplomacy that any real understanding can be achieved. That has been demonstrated at the successful conclusion of negotiations at the Conference on security in Europe held in Stockholm.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

Jamaica continues to support positive steps towards arms control and disarmament. The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant earlier this year and its repercussions have once again impressed on us the threat posed to our existence by radiation. It is imperative that the process of nuclear disarmament be initiated, beginning with a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests. We must welcome the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests proclaimed by one of the nuclear-weapon States, and it is our continued hope that its gesture will be matched by action on the part of other nuclear-weapon States, and lead to agreement on the cessation of those tests. The international effort to halt and reverse the arms race has the support of the overwhelming majority of mankind who are calling for peace and for the exercise of political will by Governments to bring an end to the wastage of resources on the accumulation of weapons.

The tragic and futile war between Iran and Iraq continues. We urge the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices to prevail upon those States to seek a peaceful end to this long drawn-out and bitter conflict. One of the more sinister aspects of this war has been the deplorable use of chemical weapons. We again urge the parties to the conflict and the international community to proceed more vigorously in their efforts to ban the use of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

In the Middle East, the basic problem remains, but the need has become greater for a comprehensive and lasting settlement. We consider the question of Palestine as being central to the Middle East problem, and we do not envisage any lasting peace or stability in the region until the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland are realized. This, along with the termination of policies of occupation and annexation, would make it possible for all States in the region, including Israel, to exist in peace and security within internationally recognized boundaries.

Although other efforts in the pursuit of peace in the region cannot be totally rejected, our view is that a comprehensive approach would be far more effective. We therefore continue to support the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations.

The crisis in Central America is yet another issue of serious concern to Jamaica. We have always firmly supported the diplomatic initiatives of the Contadora Group in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem, and we continue to do so.

In this regard we are pleased to hear of the recent announcement of the eight Latin American countries involved in the Contadora initiative that they will be meeting as soon as possible to develop a fresh strategy aimed at breaking the deadlock in the negotiations.

The attainment of social, economic and political justice in South Africa and the threat to peace and stability in the southern African region as a whole remains one of the greatest challenges of our time. Jamaica's full and total opposition to the brutal régime in Pretoria is well known; it was stated by the Prime Minister at the fortieth anniversary session, and more recently reiterated by the Deputy Prime Minister at the United Nations special session on Namibia held in this Hall a few weeks ago.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

We again call on the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa as a means of bringing the system of apartheid to an end. Over the past year, there has been increasing acceptance of the use of sanctions in this struggle. It is a tribute to the sound instinct and conscience of people everywhere that it is public opinion, not governments, which has taken the offensive. The recent decisions by the Commonwealth to impose further measures against South Africa rests on the conviction that sanctions are effective. Contrary to the belief of some, the Pretoria régime is indeed concerned about the possibility of comprehensive sanctions being imposed.

Jamaica continues to be outraged and gravely concerned at the persistence of the appalling state of affairs in South Africa itself, and at Pretoria's unrelenting campaign of military aggression and destabilization attempts against the front-line States. Together with its latest attempts designed further to entrench its illegal presence in Namibia and forcibly to annex that Territory, Pretoria's policies and actions have had the inevitable effect of heightening the already alarming prospects of an open racial conflagration in that region, and constitutes a flagrant assault on the rule of international law, respect of human rights and civilized conduct among States.

In Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cyprus, the Korean Peninsula, Western Sahara and other areas where aggression, occupation, open conflict, or high levels of tension persist, the ideals of the Charter and the hope embodied in the initiative for an International Year of Peace go unfulfilled. Jamaica urges the parties to these conflicts to renew the search for peaceful solutions, and respond positively to the initiatives of the Secretary-General.

Peace has many dimensions. Genuine and lasting peace will remain a chimera as long as the overwhelming majority of States and their peoples remain in a condition marked by poverty and lack of development.

(Mr. Harding, Jamaica)

The challenge of development, along with disarmament and the maintenance of peace, remain the pre-eminent tasks of our time. Indeed, the need for international co-operation and for a constructive and positive role by this Organization is as pressing in international economic affairs as in the case of major social and political problems, to which I have just drawn attention. It is a genuine tragedy that this interdependence is not as fully recognized by the world community as it should be, and this particularly by the major economic Powers.

The cost to developing countries in lost growth and retarded development is high. This has once again been demonstrated in no uncertain terms in 1985. Last year the recovery in industrial countries weakened. The United States in particular was unable to sustain its role as the locomotive of the world economy. Growth in that country fell from a robust 7.2 per cent in 1984 to 2.5 per cent in 1985. What were some of the consequences of this weakened recovery? Growth rates also fell sharply in the great majority of developing countries during 1985. Significantly, in light of the severe debt problem of many countries and the need to earn foreign exchange, growth in export volume in the developing world fell from 11 per cent in 1984 to a mere 2.3 per cent in 1985. Debt service ratios moved upwards as export volumes contracted. The terms of trade of developing countries declined during the year. Painfully for countries such as Jamaica, weakening demand in the industrial countries contributed to an 11 per cent fall in the price of non-oil primary commodity exports. Adverse developments also occurred in the case of manufactures exported from the developing countries. These rose only by 3.3 per cent in 1985 after having grown by a vigorous 16.6 per cent in 1984 when the recovery in the industrial countries was stronger.

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The metaphor needed here to describe this is hardly that of ripple effect. Clearly, shifts in levels of growth and of demand in the industrial economies set in motion powerful economic forces which literally reverberate throughout the world economy. Not only must the international community recognize this, but it must understand that this force can be harnessed for good or ill.

It is for this reason that the Jamaican Government is of the view that an historic opportunity now exists in the world economy. In the parlance of the day, a window of opportunity is present in North-South relations. We say this because economic developments during the 1980s, particularly the severe recession of 1980-1982 and its worst manifestations, the debt crisis and the collapse of primary commodity prices, have also set in motion changes in the approaches to development and the economic management strategies of a growing number of developing countries.

Structural adjustment and export diversification are being pursued. Budgets and current account deficits have been reduced. Efforts have been made to reduce or eliminate distortions in goods and factor markets. More realistic exchange rates have emerged. It has been a period of austerity, of sacrifice, of change. Midway through the decade it remains clear that despite their own vigorous efforts, sustained and widespread growth cannot be achieved in the developing countries without more robust growth in demand and in levels of financial flows from the industrial countries of the North.

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It is a matter of serious concern that precisely the opposite process is taking place. Recovery is slowing down in the industrial North. Data from the World Bank show that in 1985 net financial flows to developing countries declined from \$55 billion to \$42 billion. In addition, net private direct foreign investment from North to South has fallen by 28 per cent since 1981.

Jamaica believes that it is paradoxical that, precisely during the period when in many developing countries the conditions exist or are being created for optimal cost-effective use of capital and financial flows from the North, the quantum of those resources has declined. We would urge the developed countries and the multilateral financial institutions to increase at this critical time the provision of financial resources to the developing countries. We emphasize that it is imperative that policies be adopted by the major developed countries that ensure sustained and strengthened recovery in the industrial North.

In our view, this requires not only appropriate monetary and fiscal policies but the reduction of non-tariff trade barriers. More thought and attention should also be given by industrial countries to the redistribution and use of accumulated surpluses in a manner which serves to stimulate and promote development in the South. We are convinced that only under this scenario will developing countries be able to grow and service their debt.

Many of the problems of the world economy remain acute. The burden of debt weighs heavily on many countries and remains a potential threat to the international financial system. Issues of protectionism, trade, commodity prices, resource flows and monetary reform remain on the agenda of the international community and must be addressed with creativity and vigour.

In this context, we welcome the agreement recently reached at Punta del Este on the launching of a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) round of

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multilateral trade negotiations. Next year, also, the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) will provide an opportunity for the international community to address the areas of money, finance, trade and development in a comprehensive and integrated manner. We encourage all States to co-operate in order to ensure that this important meeting will be a success. The economies of the developing countries must be placed on a sustained growth path if the hopes and aspirations of mankind embodied in the Charter, which guides the work of the Organization, are to be fulfilled.

These continuing, troublesome and often perplexing issues make it all the more necessary to have an efficient, responsive and viable United Nations. The effort at collective self-criticism has now resulted in the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts. That report is welcome. It is one step in the right direction. We find the recommendations thoughtful and thought-provoking. But it would be over-ambitious to expect this session of the Assembly to adopt all of them. There are sufficient contradictions and inconsistencies in the recommendations to make any such package impossible. Nevertheless, the Assembly must examine the report thoroughly. In so doing, Member States must be ever careful not to distort or derogate from the goals and principles of the Organization in our necessary and well-intentioned efforts to satisfy immediate concerns about administrative efficiency and financial soundness.

Finally, Jamaica notes with satisfaction that progress is being made in the work of the Preparatory Commission in connection with the law of the sea. We are pleased that agreement has been reached on an understanding to overcome the problem of overlapping claims of the pioneer investors and we look forward to the registration of pioneer investors in the near future. This step will give increased credibility to the international régime for the sea-bed and will further

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demonstrate the commitment of the international community to the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The history of man's ability to adapt to changing circumstances and environments gives up hope that the United Nations will respond to the new needs and challenges. Everything depends on us, the Member States. It is we who, having taken cognizance of the needs, will so organize ourselves and this institution that its worth will be unquestioned and unassailable.

We look to the future of man, we look to the future of the United Nations, and we can only hope that the ability to adapt and the instinct for survival will prevail.

Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): It is indeed a pleasure to stand before the Assembly and extend to Mr. Choudhury, in the name of Qatar, my most sincere congratulations on his election as President of the present session of the General Assembly, which we hope will be successful and fruitful. His election is an expression of faith in his person, his vast experience and his great knowledge and ability. We are confident that he will put those attributes at the service of the international community during the term of his presidency. His election is also a reflection of the positive role played by his country through its membership in the United Nations. Nor can I fail to mention the good relations and historical ties that exist between our two countries. We take a keen interest in furthering those relations.

I take this opportunity also to extend my thanks and appreciation to Mr. Choudhury's predecessor, who conducted the work of the previous session with great ability and competence.

Similarly, my thanks go to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for his efforts to strengthen the Organization and its role, in order to safeguard peace

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and security and end all the conflicts that cloud the international climate. The State of Qatar praises and supports the valuable report on the work of the Organization submitted by the Secretary-General to the present session of the General Assembly.

The respect and appreciation enjoyed by the United Nations as an international organization embodying the highest human ideals and dedicated, as stated in the Charter, to safeguarding international peace and security make it incumbent upon us all to strengthen its role, respect its decisions and recommendations and implement and abide by the principles of the Charter.\*

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\* Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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However, we note with great regret the failure of certain Members of this Organization to abide by its resolutions and decisions, and the inability of the Organization itself to compel those Members to do so. That state of affairs makes it incumbent upon us all to strive seriously and sincerely to find ways and means of compelling all Member States to abide by the decisions of the United Nations. Otherwise, what is the point of their joining this Organization?

This should not be taken as a denial of all the efforts that the United Nations and its Secretary-General have made and are still making on all fronts to strengthen international peace and to consolidate the effectiveness of the Organization. In this regard I must note the excellent work of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations. It is only natural that 40 years after the establishment of the Organization, and in view of the increasing responsibilities and functions entrusted to it, a financial and administrative evaluation should be undertaken with the aim of improving its working methods, increasing its efficiency and securing additional resources with which it can serve the noble objectives for which it was founded.

My delegation would like to affirm the importance of the political element and of a sincere political resolve by Member States as essential to the upholding of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the implementation of its decisions. That would strengthen the Organization's role and renew the international community's faith in it, thus ensuring a positive response from that community which would result in the Organization receiving the financial contributions it needs to clear away the obstacles in its path.

The Palestinian question remains the most glaring example of failure to abide by United Nations decisions and resolutions and of attempts to obstruct them. Ever since its usurpation of the land of Palestine and its expulsion of the legitimate

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inhabitants of that land, the Zionist entity has represented the main challenge to the will and decisions of the United Nations. It continues to practice its terrorism and aggression against the Palestinian people both within and outside their homeland. From the beginning, it worked hard to expel them from that land by force of arms. Massacres and genocide awaited those who did not leave. Yet the Zionist entity was still not satisfied. It pursued the Palestinian people into their refugee camps, seeking their physical and psychological destruction.

Furthermore, it extended its aggressive attacks to neighbouring Arab countries and annexed part of their lands, on the flimsy pretext of safeguarding its own security. There may well be people who believe that absurd fiction, but who can explain the Zionist entity's aggression against the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which was built for peaceful purposes, or its aggression against Tunisia, hundreds of kilometres from its borders? Regrettably, there are those who despite all this are still ready to give the Zionist entity all the moral and material support it needs, together with the most sophisticated weapons, which it uses to kill Arabs wherever they are to be found.

The Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East conflict. All other developments and secondary problems in that region arise solely out of that central issue. The Middle East, that sensitive part of the world, will know no tranquillity or stability until the Palestinian issue is resolved in a just and humanitarian manner, with the Palestinian people regaining the land from which they were expelled, and being allowed to establish an independent State on their national soil, under the leadership of their sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The international community can expect only increased tension and adverse consequences if a just solution is not achieved and if the racist Zionist aggressor is allowed to continue its suppression of and aggression against the Palestinian

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Arab people, thus trampling under foot the most basic principles of humanity and international law, and to continue to deny the Palestinian people their historic rights and to destroy their identity, culture and institutions.

In addition to the Palestinian question there is another very important and serious issue: the Iran-Iraq conflict. The war between Iraq and Iran has entered its seventh year. We are all well aware of this destructive conflict's human and economic cost for our two Muslim neighbours. We are also well aware of the threat that the continuation of the war poses to the security and stability both of the region and of the whole world as a result of its harmful effect on freedom of navigation and on international trade. This situation must necessarily be damaging to international co-operation.

Together with its fellow members of the Gulf Co-operation Council and other Arab and Muslim States, Qatar has spared no effort in seeking an end to this destructive war. It has called on the international community - particularly the United Nations - to make every effort to find a peaceful solution that would guarantee to each of those two countries its legitimate interests and historical rights. It is unfortunate that all these international, Arab and Muslim efforts have thus far been in vain.

The members of the Arab Gulf Co-operation Council welcome Iraq's positive stand, as represented by its willingness to respond to all initiatives and to put forward ideas and suggestions for peace between the two countries, and they still hope that wisdom will prevail and that Iran will respond to the desire of the Muslim world - indeed, the world as a whole - for the two countries to arrive without delay at a definitive solution to end their war. Such a solution could be founded on the basis of safeguarding all legitimate interests, and on the principles of good-neighbourliness, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

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The State of Qatar views with increasing concern the events in Afghanistan, a Muslim country with which we have strong historical ties, which has become another hotbed of tension. The presence of foreign troops on the soil of Afghanistan against the will of its people represents a dangerous threat to the peace and security of that country and has led to a conflict whose eventual scope and consequences no one can foresee. My country hopes that those foreign forces will be withdrawn soon and that the Afghan people will be given the opportunity to choose the political system that suits them best.

The present situation in southern Africa is of primary concern to us. It is our sincere hope that suitable solutions will soon be found to ease tension and put an end to the suffering of the peoples of the region and to the repeated aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria against its neighbours. We hope that that despicable régime will abide by the United Nations decisions and allow the African peoples to govern themselves.

Recently my country participated in the summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Harare, Zimbabwe, in a country that was a bastion of racism in Africa until its heroic people set an example by their national struggle and steadfastness in the face of racism and won its freedom and independence.

My country supports all the decisions adopted by that Conference, particularly those concerning the problem of apartheid in South Africa and Pretoria's policy of denying the majority its right to participate in governing its country. We reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the heroic struggle being waged by the majority in South Africa against the ruling racist minority.

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It is the responsibility of us all to mobilize international public opinion in support of these just causes. We call on the countries that co-operate with the racist régime to put an end to their financial and military support and boycott that régime commercially in order to force it to abandon its implacable racist policies.

My delegation followed closely and with great interest the deliberations of the General Assembly at its special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. We welcome the Declaration adopted at that session and the good intentions that were expressed by industrialized countries. We hope they will be translated into positive action at the earliest possible time and that the international community will perform its humanitarian role in helping the African countries overcome the negative effects of circumstances, mostly beyond their control.

The present situation can be resolved only through concerted efforts in support of the efforts of the African countries themselves to overcome the negative consequences of their critical economic situation.

We look forward to an international community in which peace and security prevail, in which all States and peoples co-operate and live in equality. It is in that context that we repeat our call to the United States and the Soviet Union to put an end to their cold war, the intensity of which has increased in recent years. We urge them to end the arms race in which they are engaged and work together to improve the chances of peace and of finding just solutions to the chronic and the urgent problems in the Middle East, southern Africa and Latin America.

The world economic crisis continues to wreak havoc on the developing countries. The international community as a whole is vulnerable and exposed to its consequences owing to the interdependence of interests. The debt and interest

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burden has reached phenomenal proportions in the third world. The deterioration of the terms of international trade, the consequences of the protectionist policies adopted by the industrialized countries and the decline in the prices of commodities produced by the developing countries have all come at a time when inflation and prices have risen in the developed and the developing countries.

This critical economic situation, represented by inflation, recession and a decline in the prices of raw materials, must impel the international community to realize the necessity of resuming the North-South dialogue in order that agreement may be reached between the industrialized and the developing countries for the setting up of a new economic order or improving the present one. Only then will a solution be found to the current economic difficulties.

Economic development is the only means by which the developing countries can settle their foreign debt, which represents the major crisis facing these countries and can lead to their financial collapse. In this context, and in order to stimulate growth and development, we call for an increase in imports from developing countries along with a genuine reduction of interest rates on the outstanding debts of the debtor countries. We also call for an increase in low-interest loans extended by international lending institutions and the extension of repayment periods.

On the other hand, the developing countries should develop their economic policies in such a way as to allow for the stabilization of consumption and the optimum use of credits to set up investment projects guaranteed to generate work opportunities.

Mr. MANDUNGU BULA NYATI (Zaire) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegation of Zaire and on my own behalf I should like at the outset to congratulate the President on his election to guide the work of the United Nations

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General Assembly at its forty-first session. It is a pleasure for me to see him presiding over the General Assembly, particularly since he is a son of the third world and a gifted statesman. His political and diplomatic experience, together with his thorough knowledge of the United Nations system, guarantees the success of our deliberations. The delegation of Zaire, need I say, assures him of its whole-hearted co-operation.

To his predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, an experienced figure in the United Nations and a well-known personality, we express our delegation's appreciation for the outstanding way in which he guided the fortieth and commemorative session of the Assembly as well as its thirteenth special session, on the critical economic situation in Africa.

Lastly I should like to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his brilliant report on the work of the Organization, which offers a lucid and profound analysis of the major problems that now concern the international community. That objective and courageous study of the explosive situation in South Africa and the present state of the economies of the developing countries confirms the justified apprehensions of the Non-Aligned Movement with respect to those issues.

The forty-first session of the General Assembly has begun at a time when the international community is deeply disturbed by the patent inhuman injustices imposed upon the black majority in South Africa by a white racist minority sustained by certain Powers. The Pretoria régime is seeking to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to impede that Territory's accession to independence.

The racist régime's constant defiance of the international community and the way in which it acts like a dominant Power exploiting the region are illustrated

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very clearly by its acts of sabotage and terrorism directed against neighbouring independent States it wishes to destabilize because they are helping the black nationalists in South Africa and Namibia.

Several rounds of negotiations to restore peace and security in that part of Africa have met with but one response from the Pretoria régime: systematic refusal to make any compromise and recourse to military incursions into the neighbouring States.

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Front-line States are well aware of the misdeeds, the barbarous and bloody repression committed by the racist troops from Pretoria, which, over recent years, have resulted in the deaths of several thousand men, women and children, as well as in the destruction of the economic infrastructure of those countries. Zaire welcomes the unstinting support offered by the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit to the front-line States. This is clear evidence of the fact that the great majority of the United Nations Members condemn the Pretoria racist régime and support the legitimate struggle waged by the black people in South Africa to recover their fundamental rights. The delegation of Zaire, which supports mandatory, comprehensive, binding sanctions, unreservedly, against the Pretoria régime, nevertheless considers that the international community must give its total support to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) so that the latter may find an African solution, which can, as speedily as possible, promote the restoration of peace and security in southern Africa. This will enable all the countries in the region to ensure their economic and social development within the context of interregional co-operation, while guaranteeing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their States.

Consequently, Zaire urgently appeals to all those countries which have a special relationship with the Pretoria régime to intensify their pressure on South Africa so as to persuade it unconditionally to release Mr. Mandela and all the other political prisoners, thus bringing about conditions favourable to the establishment of a political climate propitious to negotiations between blacks and whites aimed at setting up a democratic régime. The time has come for all peoples committed to peace and justice to demonstrate their solidarity with the nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

In Namibia the minority white régime in South Africa is continuing its systematic plunder of the natural resources of the Territory in collusion with

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outside economic interests. This is in violation of United Nations resolution and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, which was adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1974. The racist Government is continuing to take steps to jeopardize the territorial integrity of Namibia. It is seeking to detach Walvis Bay from Namibia and to proclaim its sovereignty over the Penguin Islands and the other offshore islands. Never, in recent times, has a régime been subjected to such condemnation, reprobation and recrimination. Because of its intransigence and refusal to put an end to apartheid, sanctions against the régime are being considered by the overwhelming majority of the international community. Nevertheless, notwithstanding such isolation, the régime persists in raising major obstacles to Namibia's accession to independence. To justify its illegal presence in the Territory, it is seeking to subordinate Namibia's independence to considerations which are totally unrelated to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), a resolution which has to date been accepted as the sole valid basis for a peaceful settlement to the Namibian question. In this regard the Security Council should play a primary role in maintaining international peace and security, rather than hiding behind legal quibbling, which is tantamount to tacit support for the Pretoria régime.

My delegation therefore considers that the United Nations should take urgent steps to ensure that the United Nations plan for Namibia is fully applied.

The continent of Africa faces other trouble spots apart from those in the South. I am referring to Chad and the Western Sahara. In Chad we are witnessing a dramatic challenge to the principles of international law as set forth in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. I have in mind particularly respect for sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs of States, non-recourse to force in relations between States and

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the peaceful settlement of disputes. The situation in Chad constitutes a serious threat to peace, stability and security in Central Africa, but above all it represents a threat to the maintenance of a balance which is necessary throughout the African continent as a whole. Recourse to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter by a legitimate government which has been the victim of blatant external aggression has resulted in many interpretations by certain Member States; but those same States, when they are themselves attacked by a force from outside, are better placed than anybody else to understand the meaning of Article 51. The same applies with respect to the occupation of part of a State's territory by armed forces, supported and supplied from outside, in order to overthrow the established government. If it is unanimously recognized that such de facto occupation is illegal and constitutes a threat to peace and security, then the same must apply with respect to Chad. That country, a member of our Organization, is undergoing a period of division of its territory, which is being split into two parts; the northern area is occupied by forces supported from the outside.

The United Nations must therefore adopt a resolution during this session reaffirming the principles of the territorial integrity of Chad and the inviolability of its frontiers. It must also invite any outside occupying forces to leave Chad. The people of Chad are entitled to freely exercise their sovereignty and self-determination. It is up to them alone to work for a reunification within the context of national reconciliation brought about by the N'Djamena Government.

All the parties concerned by the problem of the Western Sahara are in agreement on the idea of organizing a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations. My delegation supports the commendable mediation efforts carried out by those parties with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in close

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co-operation with the current Chairman of the OAU in accordance with resolution 104 of the twentieth summit of the Organization of African Unity.

In the Middle East no progress has been made since last year and tensions continue in the area, despite resolutions adopted at the fortieth session of the General Assembly. One of those called for the organization of an international conference on this issue, a matter which has been on the General Assembly's agenda for well-nigh 41 years now. In that region the parties in conflict have opposed any spirit of dialogue and negotiation, whereas the Security Council decided, in resolution 338 (1973), that negotiations should begin immediately.

The international community thus has a duty to prompt the protagonists to accept the idea that they must overcome psychological, historical, legal and other obstacles in order to achieve peace. This peace presupposes, first of all, justice and equality, because the Arab people in Palestine, like the people of Israel, are entitled to a homeland and a State. That was understood from the outset by the United Nations General Assembly, which, on 29 November 1947, set forth the principle of a Jewish State and a Palestinian-Arab State, when it adopted resolution 181 (II) relating to the partition of Palestine.

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Secondly, that peace can be brought about only through implementation of resolution 242 (1967), adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967. That resolution lays down the conditions for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. They are: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force or by war; the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Arab territories occupied in 1967; the termination of all states of belligerency; respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force; the guaranteeing of a just settlement of the refugee problem; and the guaranteeing of the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the region.

Finally, this longed-for peace in the Middle East is possible only if there is recognition of the rights of the Palestinians, because the violation of those rights is at the very heart - indeed, was the origin - of the conflict in the Middle East.

Various General Assembly resolutions - 2535 (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975 - have placed the Palestine question at the core of the Middle East conflict, by channelling efforts towards the search for a comprehensive solution, by reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, by recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and by establishing the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. There can be no doubt at all that the full implementation of those resolutions would contribute decisively to a comprehensive final settlement of the question.

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The Republic of Zaire places its hopes in the United Nations, which, as part of its historic responsibilities, gave a State to the Jews of the Diaspora and decided to create a Palestinian Arab State - and it must proceed to establish that State.

In the international community's continued consideration of the situation in Asia, four other problems are of concern to it - namely, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Korean question and the Iran-Iraq war.

The first two questions result from the violation of the principles of the sovereign equality of States; respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States; non-interference; non-use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations; and the peaceful settlement of disputes. These illegal acts are in conflict with the spirit of the Charter, without which free rein would be given to the excesses of irrational urgings.

That is why Zaire believes that a just and lasting settlement of the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be found through the withdrawal of all foreign forces from those territories, whose peoples aspire to live in peace, independence, honour and national dignity, and to remain full members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

With respect to the Korean question, my delegation urges continuation of the dialogue between the two Koreas, in the clear interest of their people.

In Asia, furthermore, two brother countries - Iran and Iraq - which are also members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are waging an endless war that has caused countless loss of life and considerable material damage, while the United Nations remains powerless to produce an appropriate framework for negotiations on halting hostilities. My delegation once again urgently appeals to

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those two brother nations to come to an understanding so that reconciliation and fraternity may be achieved.

In Central America, we must encourage the implementation of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in that region, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the signatory States.

The achievement of international peace and security, which are the primary purposes of the United Nations, should be sought by all Member States with a view to creating a climate of confidence between peoples. But, unfortunately, peace is constantly threatened by acts of terrorism, which have now assumed disturbing dimensions. Resolution 40/61, adopted by the fortieth - commemorative - session of the General Assembly, invited all States to take all appropriate measures at the national level with a view to the speedy and final elimination of the problem of international terrorism, to fulfil the international obligations they have assumed and to prevent the preparation and organization in their territories of acts directed against other States.

The dimensions which international terrorism have taken recently are evidence of the determination of certain Member States not to implement that resolution. Hence, the present session must recommend appropriate measures to eliminate international terrorism and promote relations of trust between States.

The arms race is a powerful tool for those who follow a policy of recourse to force in international relations, a policy of intimidation and subjugation, of hegemonism and expansionism. The arms race increases the gap between the developing countries and the industrialized countries and reduces to naught the efforts to establish the new international economic order, to which the industrialized countries refuse to adhere.

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Moreover, the mobilization of large material, human and financial resources for an increase in nuclear weaponry cannot be justified in any way when we know that the overwhelming majority of mankind suffers from hunger, poverty and want. This diversion of resources is pure selfishness. That explains the determination of the nuclear Powers to keep the price of the raw materials from the developing countries at the lowest possible level, for the sole purpose of building up stockpiles of them.

These same Powers are opposed to the launching of global negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order with a view to restructuring international economic relations.

In other words, part of the economic difficulties facing the developing countries that are commodity producers are caused by the nuclear-arms race. Thus, the relations between North and South, rather than improving, are becoming worse. We see an increasing deterioration in the terms of trade, the excessive indebtedness of the third world and an even greater imbalance between industrialized countries and developing countries.

Indebtedness, which has a direct influence on the growth of the developing countries, entails considerable budgetary burdens that prevent the carrying out of investment programmes. At the present time, when Africa is looking to the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, adopted by the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the critical economic situation in Africa, it would be highly desirable if the undertaking by the international community to provide up to 30 per cent of the financing of the Programme for 1986-1990 could be translated into concrete action.

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Out of a desire to achieve the recovery of its economy, the Republic of Zaire has agreed to make heavy sacrifices, accepting the plan for economic and financial restructuring proposed by the International Monetary Fund. Broadly speaking that plan consists of reducing public expenditure, freeing prices and encouraging the private sector.

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Responding to the appeal of their Head of State, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, Founder-President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and President of the Republic, and as proof of their fidelity and steadfast devotion to him, the people of Zaire have for four years demonstrated discipline and a spirit of sacrifice. We have observed, however, that the rigorous implementation of that policy has led to restriction of investment credits, a drop in production and a galloping increase in the prices of basic necessities. Furthermore, the absence of agricultural credits means that that sector has been experiencing serious stagnation, if not outright recession, which has resulted in obstacles to improvement of the standard of living. Whereas, of course, the primary task of any Government is to foster the social conditions of its people. This situation, which has virtually throttled our economy, has also led to a reduction in the production capacity of the agricultural and industrial sectors and to increased inflation.

Is it right to expect the developing countries to be forced to continue to set aside considerable sums of money to pay off their foreign debts at a time when their export earnings have dropped sharply as a result of the fall in commodity prices?

Zaire, while reaffirming its readiness to pursue the programme with the International Monetary Fund, nevertheless considers, in the light of its own experience, that the Fund's policy should take greater account of the demands of our countries' economic and social development instead of pursuing a policy that could, at the present time, be regarded as a new form of veiled colonialism.

Zaire considers that debt repayment should not be achieved at the cost of the living standards of the peoples of the third world and of investments that are necessary for their countries' progress and development.

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As a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, Zaire will work with the other members of those groups to achieve the goals of collective self-reliance and international co-operation tailored to present-day realities.

In this connection, Zaire intends to continue to participate actively in the work of the United Nations. It fully appreciates the recommendations made by the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations. My delegation will deal with those recommendations when the Group's report is discussed by the Assembly. At this stage, however, my delegation would like to reaffirm its steadfast devotion to the principle of the sovereign equality of Member States enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We ardently hope that those recommendations may lead to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and the purposes and principles of its Charter, which must not be infringed.

In concluding, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to a situation that we unanimously deplore. On the threshold of the twenty-first century, the black race continues to be the object of scorn, while its human dignity is denied. It is against that background that the President of the Republic of Zaire, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, has launched the idea of creating a league of black African States. That, we feel, could serve both as a rallying point for the black diaspora around the world and as an appropriate framework for co-ordination and discussion of problems peculiar to the black race.

I wish the forty-first session of the General Assembly of our Organization every success in its work.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall call now on delegations that have asked to speak in exercise of the right of

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reply. I remind the Assembly that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, the first statement in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and the second to five minutes, and that such statements should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): Last evening, in speaking in exercise of the right of reply to the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, the representative of the Kabul régime made certain observations and allegations against my Government which necessitate this statement in exercise of our right of reply.

We note that the representative of Kabul agrees that the people of Afghanistan have historically waged courageous struggles against foreign domination and, in the process, caused violations of our common frontier, which has led to serious loss of life and property. He also acknowledges that acts of sabotage and subversion have taken place on our territory. However, he attributes those acts to a wholly fanciful factor, which he referred to as

"an undeclared war perpetrated by imperialist, hegemonist and other reactionary quarters against Afghanistan ..." (A/41/FV.15, p. 97)

He shields and absolves totally the 120,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, whose presence and suppression of the people of Afghanistan are the real cause of the current situation in Afghanistan and have compelled one third of its population to seek shelter in the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran. He also conveniently overlooks the fact that not a single soldier from any foreign country other than the Soviet Union is present in Afghanistan today.

It is not the first time that the spokesmen of authorities condoning foreign occupation have described fighters for freedom and liberty as "bandits and mercenaries". Even the most credulous could not believe that 5 million people, one

Mr. Khan, Pakistan

third of the total population of Afghanistan, would forsake their hearths and homes on account of the activities of bandits and mercenaries. No, they have left their homes because of the suppression to which they have been subjected, because their homes and crops have been destroyed, because men, women and children have been killed or maimed in a seven-year war against alien forces of occupation, that prop up an unacceptable régime.

The most recent announcement from Kabul speaks of a cruel plan to uproot large numbers of tribesmen from their ancestral homes in south-eastern Afghanistan and send them to the western region adjacent to Iran. We in Pakistan are deeply concerned at this announcement, which could presage another exodus of refugees towards Pakistan.

A preposterous allegation has been made that the refugee situation has been exaggerated in Pakistan in order to attract foreign contributions, to be converted to Pakistan's own use. The refugee camps in Pakistan, which house the single largest concentration of refugees in the world, are open for inspection by international agencies. It is a verifiable fact that those refugee camps are being maintained at the cost of \$2 million a day, and that Pakistan defrays half that daily expenditure from its own resources - in other words, \$1 million a day.

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While the resistance inside Afghanistan against foreign forces of occupation is the sole concern of the people of Afghanistan, Pakistan is profoundly affected by the consequences of their struggle and is deeply interested in an early political settlement to end this tragic situation in a neighbouring country. It is for this reason that we have placed our faith in the United Nations-sponsored negotiations, and we shall leave no stone unturned to ensure their success.

The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him to make a statement in reply on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), of 22 November 1974, taking duly into account the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session and the precedents established under similar circumstances during subsequent sessions of the Assembly.

I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): Yet again this Hall of the General Assembly of the United Nations has been desecrated. Even though his hands are still dripping with the innocent blood of the first United Nations peace envoy, Count Folke Bernadotte, the terrorist assassin, Yitzhak Shamir, addressed the Assembly this morning. Shamir, as we all know, was a leader of the terrorist Stern gang - a leader of the Fascist faction of Lehi - a leader of the Likud gang - a gang not ashamed of the alliance between the Irgun Zvai Leumi of Menachem Begin and Hitler's Nazi régime in the late thirties.

His was a pernicious address. He dared to speak of the inspiring ideals of the founding fathers of this Organization. He definitely could not recall the first Article of the Charter, the principles of which call for the maintenance of international peace and the suppression of aggression, as well as respect for the right to self-determination of peoples - and here I would add that these include

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the Palestinian people. Hypocrisy and lies - but no one can insult indefinitely and with impunity the intelligence of the international community.

Shamir is not ashamed to refer to exercises by the United Nations such as the creation of the State of Israel, at the price of the splitting up of Palestine, in the hope that such a creature would be a peace-loving State. It turned out to be a monster that devastates the region and threatens international peace and security, a monster determined to commit massacres and holocausts and bring about the elimination of an entire people, the Palestinian people.

Shamir instead referred to precious United Nations funds being spent - funds that could be used to combat hunger and poverty, he said. I would add to that the dispersion as a result of Zionist policies. However, let us look at the current expenses. The General Assembly knows very well that it authorized the spending of more than \$US 150 million a year to maintain only one of its peace-keeping forces, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, which was established to confirm the total withdrawal of Israeli invasion troops from Lebanon in 1978. Yet Israel refuses to withdraw.

Shamir uttered pontifical words like "moral and democratic values". What are "democratic and moral values" to a junta that is the only Member of the United Nations branded as an occupying Power? Military occupation can in no way be a modality for the behaviour of a democracy. But then, on the issue of moral values, legally minded Israeli people spoke up when they denounced Shamir and his directives to the Shin Beth, the Israeli secret service, to kill Palestinian prisoners. I would only refer to what is stated in The New York Times of this morning.

Who is Shamir fooling when he speaks of apartheid, a racist and exclusivist ideology identical to the zionism practised by the Tel Aviv junta, which has only recently promulgated a new law institutionalizing racism and racial discrimination? How dare he condemn apartheid at a time when his junta and

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business circles help market diamonds stolen from Namibia by the apartheid régime to the value of \$US 1.2 billion a year? He is perhaps condemning the system in theory but in practice he is providing the Pretoria régime with a safety net to render ineffective all measures for imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

It is true that violence may not be the path to reform, but it is definitely the only option left for the freedom fighters when the peaceful process is obstructed.

Shamir spoke about assistance to Africa. That is a joke, coming from a country that is heavily in debt, with a national debt of \$US 2.5 billion, representing \$US 8,000 per capita, unless this so-called assistance is offered to cover up subversive activity in favour of the imperialist plans of the United States multinationals and others. We are all aware of the bullying threats by the United States against the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity reported a few days ago.

Let me assert here that the Palestinian people has made its position and its aspirations clear, through its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. We fully support and adhere to a peaceful settlement through the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, including of course the Government of Israel, which is the aggressor, on the basis of the principles of the Charter and all - I repeat "all" - the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, with no selectivity or discrimination, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Our National Council has endorsed this process. On the other hand, Shamir this morning declared his rejection of peace initiatives. In his country Shamir has made it a criminal offence against peace-loving Israeli citizens, who will get three years in prison, if they show enough courage to extend their hands to our

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outstretched hand for peace. The Camp David process did not achieve peace. It failed simply because the Palestinians were not there. The principal party to the conflict is the Palestinian people. The Camp David accords, on the contrary, have been maliciously utilized by Israel to invade and occupy a good portion of Lebanon since 1978.

Today I ask: Will they respond to the challenge and to our call for peace, a sincere call to save our peoples from the scourge of war and more violence? Enough is enough, and the road to peace is through the United Nations Security Council Chamber, with the participation of all parties to the conflict. Naturally the principal parties now are the Palestine Liberation Organization, representing the Palestinian people, the Government of Israel, of course the other Arab parties to the conflict and the members of the Security Council. Otherwise what option is open to us but the course of legitimate armed struggle against the occupying Power and the forces of occupation? This was made clear in General Assembly resolution 40/61, adopted unanimously by the Assembly last year. This is a call for peace. Will they accept the challenge? Shall we give peace a chance?

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.