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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 25 September 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- Address by Lieutenant-General Henri Namphy, President of the National Council of Government of the Republic of Haiti
- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

- Ms. Grant-Woodham (Jamaica)
- Mr. Totu (Romania)
- Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)
- Mr. Halefoglu (Turkey)

- Statement by the President

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

ADDRESS BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HENRI NAMPHY, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The General Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the National Council of the Government of the Republic of Haiti.

Lieutenant-General Henri Namphy, President of the National Council of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the National Council of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, His Excellency Lieutenant-General Henri Namphy, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President NAMPHY (interpretation from French): I am very pleased to extend to you, Mr. President, my congratulations on your election to guide the work of this forty-second session of the General Assembly. I wish you full success in the performance of your important and delicate tasks.

The participation for the first time of the head of the executive branch of the Haitian Government in the work of the General Assembly has a twofold significance. It should be seen first and foremost as a reaffirmation of our devotion to and support for the objectives of the United Nations, which are entirely in line with those of the National Council of Government over which it is my honour to preside. It is also a special tribute to this Organization, which, through the Commission on Human Rights and other agencies of the United Nations system, has for a long time concerned itself with the crisis that has afflicted our country for almost 30 years.

(President Namphy)

It is thus fitting that I should express, on behalf of the Haitian people, all our admiration and our deep gratitude to the tireless Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who, as he himself said, went to Haiti to demonstrate his concern over the urgent situation in our country and to bring us a message of comfort and encouragement. His stay with us was unfortunately all too brief, but it did enable him to judge for himself the scope of the task facing the National Council of Government, which, having come to power in particular circumstances, suddenly found itself confronting a heavy burden of economic failure, shaky political and social structures and, what is more, a wave of demands by the people whose legitimacy could not be questioned.

There are indeed very many essential and urgent needs to be met, very many injustices to be corrected, very many failing structures to be rebuilt and new institutions to be established. That is the task to which we are devoting ourselves, convinced as we are that it must have priority if the transition to democracy is to be ensured and the unity and integrity of the nation is to be safeguarded. No effort has been too great as we strive to achieve that aim. In that respect, we are entitled to be pleased with the value, the scope and the consistency of the work that has been done - work which, at the very least, is remarkable and meets the requirements of a situation that demands change, but without confusion or chaos.

Thus, at the political level a set of measures has been adopted and appropriate structures have been established in order to ensure the active participation of all segments of society in the political life of the nation. For the first time in Haiti's history, the rural masses - which make up more than 70 per cent of the population - have elected their representatives to the Administrative Councils of the Communal Sections. That is one of the measures of

(President Namphy)

which the National Council of Government can be proud; it meets the requirements of social justice for a peasantry that had for too long been kept on the sidelines of public affairs. Truly free unions now exist. There is complete freedom of expression and association, and a very large number of political parties are functioning without hindrance, discrimination or ideological considerations.

In a word, there is a new political system based on a liberal Constitution with the following main features: there is a balance among the three powers; there is decentralization; the term of office of the President is limited to five years, and he cannot be re-elected; fundamental rights and freedoms have been strengthened; an independent body to organize elections has been set up. Under the established time-table, elections will take place at all levels, with the result that on 7 February 1988 power will pass to the Haitian chosen by the people themselves, without any form of interference.

(President Namphy)

We should be deluding ourselves, however, if we thought a legal framework was enough to guarantee the existence of a democratic society. Disorders, unjustified rebellion, lack of discipline, blindness, intolerance, personal ambitions, irresponsibility, a complete lack of patriotism, the temptation to yield to anarchy and the totalitarianism of others - all are threats to this democratic enterprise. However, our faith in the future of democracy, which we feel cannot be turned back, is matched only by the determination of the people to decide its own future and take charge of its destiny.

On the economic plane, in 20 months of management, significant recovery measures have been implemented in a truly critical situation. Without losing sight of the structural handicaps of the Haitian economy, which are typical of the least advanced countries, it has proved necessary and urgent to correct internal and external imbalances, to improve public finances and to restore the confidence of investors both national and foreign. In a word, it has proved necessary to create the conditions needed to restore the economy after many years of stagnation and even backwardness.

To this end, an interim development programme has been launched. Regrettably, because of its dimensions and its objectives that programme may seem limited, considering the extent and complexity of the structural problems facing our country. But one should recall that the rate of unemployment in Haiti is roughly 50 per cent of the active population and the rate of illiteracy approaches 80 per cent, while the per capita income is approximately \$320 per annum. Even so, and notwithstanding its modest dimensions, the programme is important in that it covers many and varied areas such as health, education, public finances, and so on. Thus its value cannot be questioned. If it is to be implemented, the

(President Namphy)

programme requires more than national efforts alone; it requires substantial, sustained support from the international community.

At this crossroads, we must say we regret we have been unable to mobilize the resources Haiti had hoped for. Resources have not been raised in accordance with the urgency of the circumstances.

In spite of everything, as we work towards our goals, we must at the same time develop a human sense of justice, a sense of mutual respect and self-confidence, and we must trust others; indeed, we must cultivate the values of dialogue, concerted effort and tolerance, and at the same time we must create conditions conducive to progress. If we do these things, we shall reach an important stage on the way towards the accomplishment of our democratic ideals.

At its forty-second session the General Assembly will be dealing with serious problems which are often inseparable one from another and that concern international peace, security and co-operation.

As emerges from the enlightened report of the Secretary-General, an examination of the state of the world reveals the dangers posed by the arms race and the continuation of crises in the Middle East, in Africa, in Asia and in the Americas, which undeniably present many challenges the international community must meet if it is to build world peace and ensure world security.

At the same time, tensions are increasing everywhere. Acts of terrorism are increasingly frequent; there are repeated attempts at murder and the taking of hostages. Such acts are a manifestation of the kinds of crises that have existed in international relations for nearly four decades. This unleashing of violence, which affects all the continents of the world on the economic level and causes serious imbalances which the third world must face, has taken a heavy toll. Only a

(President Namphy)

very few countries of the third world have been spared. As for the most vulnerable and most backward countries, their development lags at least one decade behind the others, as was stressed recently in a report from the World Bank. In the circumstances, how can we fail to face such problems as the collapse of commodity prices, the ceiling on the flow of public assistance and the debt problem, all of which have halted the growth of the countries of the third world?

(President Namphy)

The Republic of Haiti is firmly convinced that international security is one and indivisible and concerns all States and all peoples. Consequently, it attaches the greatest importance to the role of the United Nations, which must be strengthened if it is truly to be a centre for harmonizing common efforts to ensure the maintenance of peace and security and the strengthening of international co-operation. Hence the need to end those situations that, in addition to threatening international peace and security, undermine the credibility of our Organization.

This applies to the Middle East, where the persistence of the conflict and the delay in beginning a negotiating process have only spurred on the cycle of distrust and violence. The bloody tragedy in Lebanon has highlighted the need to redouble the efforts to find a solution to this crisis that has already lasted too long.

Haiti believes that the fact that the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) have been ignored by some has certainly contributed to the continuance of a highly explosive situation. We feel that the time is ripe for the convening of the international conference on the Middle East, which could lay the foundations for an overall settlement that would take into account Israel's right to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to a homeland like other peoples, and the need to restore Lebanon's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Regarding the war between Iran and Iraq, Haiti welcomes the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which calls for, among other things, an immediate cease-fire by the belligerents. We earnestly hope that the implementation of that resolution will pave the way for a negotiated settlement.

(President Namphy)

Similarly, in the case of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, we continue to support United Nations efforts to facilitate the search for a political settlement guaranteeing the withdrawal of foreign forces and allowing the Kampuchean and Afghan peoples to determine their own future freely and without foreign intervention or interference.

We reaffirm also our support for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and shall continue to support the Secretary-General's efforts in this context.

The Haitian people sympathize with the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people to reunification by peaceful means and hope that the coming Olympic Games in Seoul will mark an important stage on the road to that objective.

Africa, to which Haiti remains attached by so many bonds, is waging its final struggles to free itself from the forces of colonialism and racism. It deserves the international community's fullest support in this struggle. We are firmly convinced that the persistence of the apartheid régime in South Africa is one of the greatest challenges of the end of this century. Once again we call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in the hope that finally the South African people will regain their freedom in a united, democratic, multiracial society.

We are also opposed to the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia and reaffirm our full commitment to the cause of the brother people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Further efforts must be made to ensure Namibia's complete independence, in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

(President Namphy)

We are deeply concerned by the confrontation in Africa between Libya and Chad. Chad, a developing country which, like ours, is one of the least advanced, wants only peace within its rightful national borders and with its neighbours. Here again, we hope that with the active support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations common sense will eventually carry the day and that Chad, with its sovereignty over all its territory restored, will regain peace, which will allow it to devote itself exclusively to its economic and social development.

(President Namphy)

As regards the situation in Central America we hail the peace plan adopted at the meeting of Heads of State, pointing the way to a negotiated political settlement with the co-operation of the parties involved. We find that a particularly welcome event because we have always believed that a solution to the problems of Central America could be found only by the peoples of the region themselves. In this connection we cannot fail to pay tribute to President Arias of Costa Rica for his timely action following upon the deserving efforts of the Contadora Group. His courageous efforts in support of peace have earned our deep admiration and gratitude.

In tandem with the worsening world economic crisis and its negative impact on the developing countries, the arms race - and more specifically the nuclear-arms race, has reached unprecedented proportions. Hence disarmament must become one of our priority objectives. That is why we welcome the success of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles. That agreement, when implemented, will represent a decisive step towards the global disarmament plan we earnestly desire. In the event, we hope that putting an end to the enormous waste of resources brought about by arms expenditures will, to some extent, offset the corresponding decline in funds for public development assistance, which have fallen well short of the goals set 25 years ago by the first United Nations Development Decade. For the maintenance of genuine international peace is undoubtedly linked to a realignment of international relations that offers real prospects to a third world burdened by debt and dwindling resources.

At a time when the Republic of Haiti is entering upon a decisive stage in its history, it wishes to reaffirm its faith in the values embodied in the United Nations. It remains convinced that this Organization, so long as it enjoys the

(President Namphy)

political support of Member States, will continue to make its irreplaceable contribution to the search for appropriate solutions to problems of all kinds caused by accelerating change in international society and by the many challenges posed at all levels in a world with a population of more than 5 billion human beings, more than two-thirds of whom live in the third world.

In solidarity with all peoples and all mankind, the Republic of Haiti will give every support to all steps taken by the Organization for the betterment of man: promoting and guaranteeing his rights and fostering the establishment of more balanced and fraternal relations among peoples. Hence we pledge to maintain and strengthen, with all nations, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the principles of sovereign equality, independence, mutual respect, non-interference, and the right of every people to choose in complete freedom the path it wishes to take for its economic and social development.

Finally, we reaffirm our confidence in the future of the United Nations and in its mission to secure the triumph of justice, solidarity and world peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the National Council of the Government of the Republic of Haiti for the important statement he has just made.

Lieutenant-General Henri Namphy, President of the National Council of the Government of the Republic of Haiti, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Ms. GRANT-WOODHAM (Jamaica): Twenty-five years ago, following the attainment of its independence, Jamaica's first policy statement was made at the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, under the presidency of an illustrious citizen of Pakistan, Sir Zafrulla Khan, from the Group of Asian Countries. Today the presidency is in the able hands of a most distinguished representative of the German Democratic Republic. This is indeed testimony to the important contribution which the varying political, economic and cultural systems can bring to the global search for peace, development and stability.

My delegation congratulates you, Mr. President, and all the other officers on your election to the leadership of this Assembly. We anticipate that under your guidance there will be marked progress in the search for effective, durable solutions to some of the issues which confront us.

The forty-first session of the General Assembly benefited from the expert leadership of Foreign Minister Choudhury of Bangladesh. We cannot overstate the value of his contribution to the achievements of that session and we commend him for it.

When we look at the statement we made at this rostrum 25 years ago we see that much the same issues remain. Of course, it would be too much to expect that within this arbitrary 25-year period, this quarter-century, human nature would have been so altered as to make conflicts and wars and social and economic problems disappear. In fact situations which demonstrate the persistence in the international community of a lack of respect for the principles of the Charter concerning the peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-aggression and the non-use of force or the threat of force continue to abound. Nevertheless there have been

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

improvements. The world has also experienced vast political, economic, scientific and technological changes, some of which today challenge man to cope adequately with the accelerating pace of the convulsions surrounding him.

Today we contemplate a General Assembly agenda which is much larger than the one we looked at 25 years ago. Some of the items are new, but all concern the persistent effort to use this Organization and the forum it affords to deal with living on this planet. Whether defined in political, economic, social, cultural or technological terms, they are all fundamentally related to the basic question: how do we cope or how are we coping?

Today, after 25 years, the United Nations can proudly point to its record on decolonization. Since 1962, when Jamaica and five other countries took their seats as States Members of this Organization, 49 others have broken the shackles of colonialism. This is a great achievement; yet we still have a little way to go. South Africa's continued defiance with respect to the independence of Namibia is a major blot on the record. South Africa has maintained its oppressive rule over Namibia the better to facilitate its plundering of Namibia's resources, in defiance of the international community. South Africa's policies are as unconscionable today as they ever were. Yet the failure to deal with them rests squarely on those countries whose policies have prevented the implementation of the enforcement measures possible under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Jamaica reiterates its call for Security Council action under Chapter VII to ensure the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

We reaffirm our total rejection of the concept of linkage and restate our firm belief in the legitimacy of the struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

In 1962 Jamaica proposed to the General Assembly that an international year for human rights be declared. This was observed by the international community in 1968. Since 1962 much work has been undertaken in the United Nations system, resulting in the adoption and entry into force of several very important conventions for the promotion and protection of human rights. My delegation notes with satisfaction the work of the several committees established under the various human rights instruments and of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Nevertheless, flagrant violations of human rights continue in many regions of the world.

How can the world continue to tolerate the vicious system of apartheid - a gross example of human rights denied? For our 25 years as an independent country, despite several changes of Government, our people have supported the Government's stance against the apartheid system. During those years we have seen the inhuman situation which is the result of this abhorrent system grow steadily worse as it claims the lives of thousands of innocent victims, including children; as it allows thousands, including children, to languish in jail without trial; as it leaves further countless thousands, including children, both physically and emotionally maimed; as it denies 25 million persons who constitute the black population some of their most fundamental human rights - thus seeking to impose on the majority population a kind of modern-day serfdom for which Pretoria's only justification is the colour of a person's skin.

We have seen the growing resentment and anger of an oppressed population. We have watched with deep concern as the situation has developed with a frightening inevitability to the point of explosion. We have seen the way in which this racist régime wilfully and cynically manipulates all efforts to negotiate a peaceful solution to the growing crisis. And we have watched with dismay as the

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

international community has unanimously condemned the apartheid system but nevertheless has failed to agree on measures to bring that system to an end. But we have also seen the influence which economic pressure has on that régime and we maintain and remain convinced that the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is the only option for a peaceful solution of this intolerable situation. Strong and concerted international action against apartheid must match the international condemnation which is so freely expressed.

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

The front-line States against which Pretoria has committed acts of aggression and sabotage must be able to rely on the effective solidarity of the international community as they seek to eliminate the dependence on their economic linkage with South Africa and improve their capacity to defend themselves against Pretoria's continuing aggression. The situation in Mozambique and Angola cries out for concerted international attention. Will this be just another General Assembly from which only strong anti-apartheid resolutions emerge?

From time to time we ask ourselves what is the use of the United Nations? But we know that whatever its shortcomings that the past years have revealed it is an indispensable institution. Whether in the Middle East, where the central issue of the right of the Palestinian people remains unfulfilled and the right of Israel to a peaceful existence within safe and secure borders must be assured, or in Kampuchea, or Afghanistan where we call for the withdrawal of foreign forces to enable the peoples to exercise fully their right to self-determination, the United Nations must have an increasing role to play. Jamaica continues to support an international conference under United Nations auspices to design a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The same is true of Kampuchea. In Afghanistan the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives must continue to be supported by all.

In the Gulf Jamaica believes that the United Nations has an important role to play in the achievement of a peaceful solution. We support Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to fashion a settlement in the area. Jamaica is of the view that a cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq is a vital pre-condition for stability in the region and for peaceful passage of maritime traffic. It is therefore essential that both Iran and Iraq comply with the demands of the international community for a speedy solution to their conflict.

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

We are encouraged to hope that violation of the territorial integrity of Chad will be put to an end soon now that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has again become very actively involved.

In our region, the conflict of Central America did not exist in its present form 25 years ago. But the seeds were there. The longstanding social and economic disparities have given rise to conflicts into which, more recently, ideological differences have intruded. We have followed closely and have supported diplomatic initiatives to bring about a negotiated settlement acceptable to all the parties involved in that regional conflict. Time and time again our expectations have been dashed as an effective solution eluded these efforts. We were, however, encouraged by the Agreement signed on 7 August in Guatemala by the five Central American Presidents as a demonstration of their determination to resolve their differences through dialogue.

The Government of Jamaica wishes to commend the longstanding and painstaking efforts of the Contadora and Support Group and their contribution to this latest development, and also the role of President Arias of Costa Rica, whose proposal formed the basis for the Agreement. It is our hope that the parties to the Agreement will respect those commitments and that implementation will follow the agreed schedule. We urge the international community to support this endeavour to generate peace, stability and development in the region. In particular, we would urge all those States external to Central America and which have interests in the region, to support fully this noble endeavour and thus allow the Central American States to resolve their conflict without external intervention.

Whatever the regional conflict may be or wherever it is, one major issue overhangs us all, and that is the threat of nuclear war and the persisting race between the super-Powers to acquire more sophisticated nuclear weapons systems.

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

The United Nations has been strenuous in its efforts to put a stop to this madness. In 1962 Jamaica expressed its concern at the escalation of the arms race. Today, 25 years later, the situation is infinitely more dangerous. We continue to urge and support the adoption of measures for the achievement of general and complete disarmament. We expressed our optimism at the news of the agreement between the two super-Powers to eliminate one entire class of nuclear weapons. This is a major event for the international community. But we should not be euphoric. There are still enough nuclear weapons to destroy civilization several times over. Hence, we must persist in maintaining the pressure on the nuclear Powers. At the same time, the race for the accumulation of conventional armaments must not become a substitute for the race in nuclear weapons.

A few weeks ago the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development ended. We deeply regret that all States did not participate, but we believe that the message which emanated from the Conference will find a ready, positive response among peoples of the East and West, of the North and South.

The paradox of millions of dollars spent in weapons of mass destruction, in order to maintain peace and security, while millions of people remain in abject poverty and deprivation, cannot continue.

We have had occasion to refer to new kinds of problems with serious international impact, among which were international terrorism, illicit trafficking in drugs and the debt crisis.

Jamaica condemns international terrorism whether it be state-perpetrated or from any other source. We are concerned and appalled by its random and destructive nature; by its ability to weave a web of fear, hostility and distrust among nations and peoples, thus gnawing away at the framework of peace, stability and good will which the United Nations has so painstakingly sought to develop. We are fully

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

committed to the adoption of measures to eradicate international terrorism and will continue to support efforts to this end.

The international community has recognized the need to close ranks in the fight against drug abuse and the illicit traffic in narcotics. Conferences at global, regional and subregional levels have fostered action by the large majority of States to wipe this evil from the face of the earth. Not only are we concerned about the irreparable damage to our people that can result from drug abuse, but we are gravely troubled by the security implications, as the illicit traffic is inevitably linked with international crime, which respects no frontier. The multilateral plans of action which resulted from the various conferences, in particular, the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking which was held earlier this year, reflect our commitment as sovereign nations to co-operation in the relentless struggle against drug abuse and illicit trafficking in drugs. We believe the development of international law, through the adoption of a convention on this matter, could greatly enhance this international campaign.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our membership in the United Nations, my Government would have liked to be able to state unequivocally that considerable progress had been made in promoting the goals and principles of this Organization in economic development. Regrettably, we are unable to do so.

The challenge of development is even more pressing than it was 25 years ago when the world economy was vibrant. Despite the significant advances made during the last two decades in living standards to which the United Nations system has made valuable contributions the developing countries have been facing unprecedented economic difficulties in the 1980s. These difficulties threaten the economic and social gains made by, and the stability, of our States.

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

Developing countries are being encouraged to pursue export-led growth but, at the same time, the very industrialized countries which encourage this path to growth are seeking to erect protectionist barriers around their own uncompetitive domestic industries. This leads to a reduction in the level of exports from developing countries to developed country markets, to a fall in foreign exchange earnings, and therefore to a reduction in the capacity to import goods necessary to sustain our economies. The imbalances within the world economy are thus perpetuated.

The new round of multilateral trade negotiations which was launched at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in September of last year, emerged in response to the overall continued deterioration in the international trading environment and the need to halt this trend by restoring international trade to agreed multilateral discipline. The contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), face new challenges as they negotiate a wide range of trade related issues during this round. Jamaica attaches much importance to these negotiations as we feel that agreed rules and principles, which seek to provide a stable, practical and secure international trading environment, not only help trade, but foster the climate for foreign investment.

The burden of external debt has now become the greatest obstacle to economic development. The gap between average living standards in developing countries and those in the developed world has widened and there are growing disparities between different parts of the developing world. We believe that our creditors are now fully aware of the need for creative and positive action on their part with a view to alleviating the situation.

The view that the external debt problems of developing countries would become manageable within a brief period is no longer realistic. The focus on short-term

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

stabilization programmes supported by the International Monetary Fund and the rescheduling of bilateral obligations through the Paris Club and commercial debt directly with commercial banks have to be re-examined.

New thinking must take into account the capacity to service the debt and the situation of small middle income countries with high debt service burdens and limited room for additional indebtedness. The resumption of a growth path must be a fundamental objective.

The Prime Minister of Jamaica has put forward a proposal which, we submit, can assist in co-ordinating and improving approaches to the debt crisis. The proposal is for a new type of policy-based lending programme which directly addresses the need for both debt service and secure economic growth. This facility, to be offered by multilateral financial institutions, would be conditioned on the basis of a targeted reduction of debt service ratios to sustainable levels over a programme period, geared to release sufficient disposable resources to achieve targeted growth. As a parallel programme, the Paris Club and commercial banks would also condition their multi-year rescheduling to the targeted debt service ratios.

We would welcome discussion on this proposal in the Second Committee, and we solicit the support of Members of the United Nations for what we are convinced is a useful and constructive initiative in the complex search for solutions. I am convinced that there is wide agreement that a solution to the debt problem will not only assist in improving the economies of developing countries, but will also form part of a broader solution of the problems which together contribute to the present stagnation of the world economy.

The seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII) which was recently held in Geneva, was eagerly awaited by the

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

countries of the developing world. It presented an opportunity for the international community to seek concrete solutions to the many problems which beset the world economy. We looked to that forum for policies and measures which would revitalize development, growth and international trade and foster a more predictable and supportive environment.

UNCTAD VII was not the resounding success for which we had all hoped. The decisive action that the current world economic situation required was not forthcoming. However, it was an important advance in multilateralism and interdependence. It was a renewed commitment to UNCTAD. The international community recognized that the four-yearly UNCTAD conferences continue to provide an opportunity for frank and useful discussions of development issues.

The final act of UNCTAD VII, that consensus document which brings together the assessment of world economic trends, policies and measures in the areas of resources for development, commodities, international trade and special measures for the least developed countries, will remain an important policy document for implementing reforms to the international economic and financial systems.

Jamaica remains fully committed to multilateralism and will continue to play a positive role in the programmes and projects sponsored by the institutions of the United Nations. We expect that these programmes will complement those introduced at the national and regional levels. We believe that our efforts, coupled with those introduced and developed by the wider international community, will assist us in achieving our national goal of a better life for our people in a peaceful, secure and stable international environment.

We note with great satisfaction that major progress has been made in the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority on the problem of overlapping claims. This good news should help to convince the remaining doubters

(Ms. Grant-Woodham, Jamaica)

about the viability of the régime that the members of the international community fashioned by consensus. We expect the meeting in December to be successful. It continues to be our hope that ratification of the Convention will move speedily along.

Jamaica recognizes that the United Nations can be effective only to the extent to which we, the Member States, seek to make it so. There have been recent indications of a disposition to do that. We are encouraged by this. The United Nations is all of us. We all share the responsibility to use it to help make a better world.

Mr. TOTU (Romania): Your election, Sir, to the high post of President of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly gives me the pleasant occasion to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for full success in the accomplishment of the mission entrusted to you.

I feel especially honoured to present from the rostrum of this high forum the considerations and proposals of the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceauçescu, on the main issues of international life and on the ways to solve them, in accordance with the interests and aspirations for peace, independence and progress of the Romanian people, and indeed of all peoples of the world.

Analysis of the evolution of international life reveals a picture which is utterly disquieting.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

The world situation continues to be particularly serious and complex. The arms race has assumed disturbing proportions. Nuclear tests aimed at the steady development of weapons of mass destruction are still going on. This has harmful effects on the natural environment and, in fact, on life on earth. At the same time, far from diminishing, the conflicts, crises and hotbeds of tension in various regions of our planet have even worsened, thus generating new threats to the peace and security of mankind.

The policy of force, of threat of force and gross interference in the internal affairs of other States continues unabated. These manifestations are incompatible with the principles and norms of international law, morality and ethics.

Furthermore, the world economic crisis has become more serious and more profound, affecting all States. Its adverse effects are being felt primarily by developing countries, whose situation is already tragic.

In the view of Romania, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, the sole, compelling alternative at present is to reverse the dangerous course of events and bar the road which leads to a nuclear catastrophe. A new world war is inconceivable, for it would mean the practical annihilation of life on our planet. Hence the need to renounce, once and for all, the wrong and outdated conception upheld by some nuclear-weapon States that nuclear weapons strengthen security and contribute to the maintenance of peace.

Romania considers that the fundamental problem of our era is to halt the arms race and pass on resolutely to disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, to defend the supreme right of peoples and individuals alike to peace, life, and a free and dignified existence.

In its overall international activities Romania devotes all its efforts to a permanent dialogue and wider and more diversified contacts with all States,

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

irrespective of their social system. Firmly underlying all its relations are the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, the non-use of force or the threat of force, non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual benefit.

In view of the unprecedented scope attained by the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and the need for determined measures in the field of disarmament, we deem it necessary for the Assembly to give these issues top priority at the present session. We believe that all States must intensify their endeavours and actions in order to achieve this objective.

Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu propose that the General Assembly launch an appeal to the Soviet Union and the United States, since their positions are very close, to conclude without delay, as of this year, an agreement on the elimination of all medium- and shorter-range missiles from Europe and the whole world.

At the same time, the General Assembly should call upon the countries that have nuclear weapons on their territory to renounce them and refrain from raising obstacles of any kind to the achievement of an agreement. Furthermore, all countries in Europe and elsewhere in the world should be called upon to act resolutely in order to achieve such an agreement this year.

We welcome the recent Soviet-American understanding in principle in this respect and express our hope that the accord will be signed at the summit meeting to take place in the autumn of this year.

Taking into account that nuclear tests are stepping up the arms race while having damaging effects on the environment, the General Assembly should address an appeal, primarily to the United States and the Soviet Union, but also to the other nuclear-weapon States, to halt nuclear testing and any other activities designed to

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

develop and improve nuclear weaponry. Similarly, all the States of the world should be called upon to undertake to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of humanity at large.

While according priority attention to matters relating to nuclear disarmament, Romania holds the view that resolute and tangible measures are also needed to reduce conventional armaments, troops and military expenditures, which this year topped \$1,000 billion for the world as a whole.

Consistent with its proposals in recent years in this field, Romania proceeded to a unilateral reduction of its weapons, troops and military expenditures by 5 per cent, following a national referendum in which practically all the people took part. In this way, the Romanian people asserted its will and determination to act unflinchingly in favour of disarmament and peace. In our view, the adoption of unilateral disarmament measures by States would constitute a practical way of passing from words to deeds and making real progress towards general disarmament.

In the same spirit of a new approach to disarmament problems which requires that all possible avenues be explored, Romania considers it necessary for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Warsaw Treaty countries to start as soon as possible negotiations on conventional disarmament, with the participation of other countries of the European continent.

Bearing in mind the increased role that the United Nations should assume, Romania proposes that the General Assembly take action to prepare and finalize a complex programme of nuclear and general disarmament, to be submitted for adoption at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled to be held in 1988. The programme should lay down measures for the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons and the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, troops and military expenditures, as well as for the

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

prohibition of the production of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles. We believe that this programme should specify the need for the various problems and issues relating to nuclear and conventional disarmament to be resolved independently, without some being conditional upon others.

Following the same line of thought, Romania believes that the preparation and adoption by the United Nations of an international document setting forth the principles that should govern negotiations among States on freezing and reducing military expenditures would have a stimulating effect on the efforts of the world community in the field of disarmament.

It is of special importance to halt any measures designed to militarize outer space, which should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes in the interest of all mankind.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

As the great number of satellite launchings have harmful effects on the natural environment of life on Earth, we propose that the General Assembly address an appeal to all countries launching satellites to limit such launchings.

Likewise, we propose that the General Assembly call upon all States of the world to start early negotiations to regulate the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only, and to establish a rational system for its use as an asset of all mankind.

The interests of international peace and security make it increasingly necessary to set up nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zones, for developing good neighbourliness, mutual understanding and co-operation. It is in this spirit that Romania takes consistent action towards turning the Balkans into a zone of good neighbourliness, peace and co-operation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, foreign troops and military bases. In this respect, it is of special significance to recall the recent proposals advanced jointly by Romania and Greece to convene in Bucharest a high-level meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Balkan countries.

Equally, Romania upholds the setting up of nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zones in northern and central Europe, as well as on other continents. We consider it necessary for the United Nations to encourage initiatives designed to establish such zones, including nuclear-weapon-free cities and towns on various continents. Such moves are likely to strengthen confidence and security at the regional and world levels.

Against the background of the ever-closer interdependence that characterizes today's world, and bearing in mind the evolution of international events, Romania proposes that the United Nations address a general appeal to all States in conflict to bring their military operations to an end. It should also call upon all States

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

to proceed to the settlement of all pending issues and disputes between them by peaceful means, through negotiations. The General Assembly should call for the cessation of any form of military operations during negotiations, from their beginning.

The Security Council, or a United Nations special body, should be empowered to monitor the implementation of obligations assumed as to the cessation of military activities throughout the negotiations and to ensure the solution of the issues through negotiations.

As regards the situation in the Middle East, the stand and the actions taken by Romania and its President are consistently aimed at ensuring a global, just and durable peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, on recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to set up a Palestinian State, and on a guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the region. We consider that a realistic way of bringing peace to the Middle East is to convene an international conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, to be attended by all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council. We believe that such a historic chance for the much tried region of the Middle East finally to find its tranquillity and peace should not be missed.

With regard to the Iran-Iraq conflict, Romania welcomed the Security Council resolution which favours the cessation of the war without delay and a political settlement, by means of negotiations, of all the issues between the two countries. We also support the action of the Secretary-General in this matter. We stand firmly for the renunciation of all acts conducive to an extension of the conflict. It is imperative to withdraw all foreign military ships from the Gulf, to step up

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

efforts towards the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war and to ensure free navigation in that region, as well as in all other oceans and seas of the world.

Similarly, Romania supports any actions and initiatives favouring peaceful solutions to the conflict situations in Central America as, indeed, in other regions of the world. In this context, we believe it necessary for the General Assembly to work out the mandate for finalizing the initiative which Romania took at preceding sessions on resort to a United Nations commission of good offices, mediation or conciliation for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We also think it necessary to start the elaboration of an international document on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between States and to devise methods conducive to the strengthening of the United Nations role and capacity to work for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Consistent with its policy, Romania firmly upholds the peoples' national liberation struggle, and lends its active support to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its fight for Namibia's independence. We strongly condemn the racist, apartheid policy of South Africa and that country's hostile acts against neighbouring independent and sovereign States. We favour the taking of tangible and effective actions against the Pretoria racist minority régime.

We reaffirm our solidarity with, and active support for, the position and initiatives taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and its political and diplomatic efforts and actions aimed at bringing about the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of Korea.

In the present conditions of the world economy, which is beset by continued crisis phenomena both in the economic and the monetary-financial fields, the economic situation of developing countries has worsened considerably, while the economic, technical and scientific gaps separating them from developed countries have continued to widen.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

We have recently witnessed a proliferation of protectionist and discriminator barriers to international trade, in particular to the exports of manufactured products from developing countries, coupled with a decline in the prices of their export commodities. However, the most serious problem faced by developing countries is the burden incurred by their foreign debts, the value of which has now reached the colossal figure of 1,000 billion dollars.

Therefore, President Nicolae Ceausescu considers that the General Assembly should adopt an appeal to be addressed to all creditor developed countries and to all banks and international financial institutions to the effect that they should establish a moratorium of at least five years on all credits given to developing countries by the economically developed countries and by banking institutions, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The appeal should include a demand that a ceiling of not more than 5 per cent be fixed for rates of interest on existing credits. It should also ask that the principle be established that rates of interest on future credits should not exceed 4 to 5 per cent; that banks, in their turn, should pay interest of up to 5 per cent on their respective deposits; and that commercial credits should be repaid in compliance with such norms and understandings as are agreed between the parties.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

At the same time, the General Assembly should make an appeal to all States to renounce any protectionist and discriminatory measures, any artificial barriers and any restrictions and quotas in the field of international trade, and to apply firmly the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) on the granting of most-favoured-nation treatment.

The situation of the world economy calls for a resumption of the dialogue between developing countries and industrialized countries. In this respect Romania has proposed that an international conference be convened within the United Nations, to be attended, with equal rights, by both developed and developing countries. Such a conference should have the purpose of seeking mutually acceptable solutions to the economic problems, including that of foreign debts, in order to eliminate underdevelopment and establish the new international economic order.

To increase the United Nations role and contribution to the political and economic settlement of the foreign-debt problem, on a global basis, it appears necessary to set up, within the framework of the United Nations, a special body on the foreign-debt problem which should discuss and make proposals on concrete and effective steps to be taken in this field.

The proceedings of the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development made it strikingly clear that, while at the world level there exist numerous unsolved economic and social problems of a most serious nature, the arms race absorbs huge resources every year, thus becoming an increasingly heavy burden on all peoples.

The message which the President of Romania sent to the Conference contains a set of proposals designed to freeze military budgets at the 1987 level and to reduce them in the initial phase by 5 per cent. The resources thus saved would be

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

used both to meet internal socio-economic needs and to increase the contributions to the United Nations technical assistance programmes.

Now, at the confluence of our century and the third millenium, science and technology have become a decisive factor of progress. But in this area of human endeavour also, yawning gaps have been created between economically developed countries and developing countries. Here too it appears both necessary and urgent to agree, within the United Nations framework, on the proper methods to be used so that all countries, primarily developing countries, may benefit from the major gains of human genius - hence the need to convene a second United Nations conference on science and technology for development.

The complex and particularly serious situation of international life in the political, military, economic and social spheres requires the democratization of international relations and respect for the sovereign right of all States, irrespective of their size, their economic or military strength and their socio-political system, to participate, on the basis of full equality and mutual respect, in the solution of all problems of concern to mankind. In that light, we stand for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and the other international organizations, so that their activities may be focused on the settlement of the cardinal issues of today's world.

Life and its realities call for strict observance of the principles and norms of international law in relations between States and for the establishment of a comprehensive system of peace and security in the interest of all peoples.

We hold the view that there is a need to improve and simplify the machinery of the United Nations Secretariat. We are also convinced that the Organization's temporary financial difficulties should not result in a decline in its essential political and economic activities or in alterations of the democratic structures of the United Nations.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

The point of view of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu, on the main issues of present international life gives expression to the constructive vocation of the Romanian people for peace and large-scale international co-operation. At the same time, it constitutes an ardent call on all States, peoples and realistic forces to join efforts in order to remove the danger of war, once and for all, to exclude force from international life and to establish a new world, a world of peace, understanding and co-operation.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I should first like to extend to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I am absolutely sure that your long experience and your well-known skills ensure positive results by this important session. We are particularly pleased to see in the Chair a representative of your country, which is a friend of the Jamahiriya and linked to it by strong relations of friendship and understanding. I assure you of our readiness to co-operate fully with you as you discharge your high task.

I express my country's appreciation also to Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, who presided over the forty-first session of the Assembly with outstanding skill. We believe that his guidance as President played a large part in the success achieved by that session.

I pay a tribute also to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for the efforts he has made and continues to make to promote the role of the Organization and to achieve its purposes and principles, particularly in the maintenance of international peace and security.

I also congratulate Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed on his appointment to the post of Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

This is the forty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, an organization which, despite its shortcomings and the loopholes in its Charter, remains the only hope that the international community has for the achievement of peace and security based on justice, and of the well-being and equality of peoples. The peoples of the world - and it is they who are mentioned at the very beginning of the Charter - have always looked to this Organization to fulfil their hopes and aspirations, in freedom, justice and equality.

When the Organization was established, everyone believed that that would be the beginning of the end of existing international struggles and struggles based on hegemony and racial and ethnic discrimination.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The whole world opposed nazism and fascism as aberrant phenomena. The family of nations joined hands to eradicate those dangers and to stem their tide. Libya, which was one of the victims of fascist aggression lost more than half its population opposing and resisting that aggression during a long and bitter period of struggle, fully appreciates the importance of the world's and mankind's victory over fascism and nazism.

In the field of decolonization the United Nations has achieved many successes and victories. The struggle of peoples in all the continents of the world, and in our African continent in particular, has been crowned by many victories, which led to the demise of colonization and the smashing of its chains. However, those victories in fighting fascism and nazism achieved by the community of nations have encountered many setbacks because of the emergence of imperialism, racist Zionism and neo-colonialism. Today we see entire peoples facing extermination or dispersion.

The tragedy of the people of Palestine, a tragedy caused by the alliance between imperialism, world Zionism and colonialism, is seen in the attempts to eradicate the Palestinian people. That tragedy can indeed be considered the worst tragedy in our contemporary history. The United Nations, which was used as an instrument to legitimize the aggressor and deprive the victims of their rights through the creation of the Zionist entity, has a moral responsibility to correct that historical mistake.

The establishment of the racist régime in South Africa - the counterpart of the racist régime in Palestine - through the same instrument is but another example of the historical tragedies being forced upon peoples. The violation of the rights of millions of African blacks in South Africa and Namibia and the inhuman treatment

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

meted out to them make this a shameful chapter in the history of our time. The racist régime in South Africa can be ended only if imperialist States cease their direct support for that régime. Furthermore, the independence of Namibia, to which imperialist Powers are attempting to create obstacles and which they are trying to prevent by creating new conditions, can be achieved rapidly only on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We believe that the time has come to impose economic sanctions on the racist régime to force it into line with the will of the international community. We further believe that the racist régime must allow the people of Azania to determine its own future in freedom and without any pressure whatsoever, so that we may at last hear the voice of the black majority, which has not been allowed to be raised at any time in the past. Nor has that majority been allowed to participate in ruling its country. Stability and peace cannot be restored to Azania unless the national rights of the black majority are fully recognized.

Despite the attempts by mankind and the family of nations to achieve peace, the savage campaign by the United States Administration against small countries and peace-loving peoples cannot but make the picture a very depressing picture and underline the nature of the State terrorism practised by that Administration. Many peoples have been in the past and continue to be subjected to that imperialist campaign, whether directly or indirectly, in every one of the world's five continents. The Vietnamese people was subjected to mass extermination; Grenada was subjected to direct invasion and occupation; Nicaragua has been the subject of siege and aggression; Cuba is the subject of aggression; Libya was the victim of direct aggression from the north, while today it is subjected to the same aggression on its southern borders; Palestinian refugee camps have been and

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

continue to be destroyed; there have been and continue to be attempts at the mass extermination of the Palestinian people, inside and outside occupied Palestine, with the use of American weapons of destruction and with the support of the American Administration. That Administration has provided the Zionist entity with all types of weapons to commit aggression against the Palestinian people and expand, at the expense of neighbouring Arab countries, in the Golan and in Lebanon.

Furthermore, American imperialism does not hide its enmity towards the Arab world and has widely proclaimed its strategic alliance with the Zionist enemy.

Old, traditional colonialism, which was kicked out of the front door, is today trying by all possible means to return through the back door. French colonialism, which suffered many setbacks in the African continent, faced defeat in Algeria and was forced to leave its colonies in the African continent, is today attempting to return through the back door. French bases on the African continent, and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans are all a direct threat to and aggression against small countries and peace-loving peoples. The continuing occupation by France of a part of the African continent, is in the case of the island of Reunion, and other parts of the world, such as New Caledonia, where the will of the people is being misrepresented, are outstanding examples of the remnants of this abhorrent colonialism.

Libya, which was one of the victims of aggression and direct French intervention, cannot but draw the attention of the international community and the world to the danger of French occupation, intervention and presence in the African continent, particularly in Chad. We have heard the Foreign Minister of France speaking of the "responsibility" of France. What responsibility is he talking

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

about? Is it the responsibility of the wolf to its victim? Is it the responsibility of the master to those he wishes to continue to enslave? What right has France to intervene in Africa? Perhaps it is the right of the wolf as compared to the lamb. We say to the French Government from this international rostrum that the time when colonialism could use its heavy stick has gone for ever.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamarhiya)

Algeria is no longer French. Viet Nam, following Dien Bien Phu, is no longer French. Libya is no longer part of the fascist empire of Mussolini. The age of colonialist and fascist treaties and conventions to divide the world and its people has also gone for ever.

May I also recall that Libya, which fought fascism; Libya, which lost half its population defending its land and waters, will not give up any part of its territory under any condition. Aouzou is Libyan and will remain so. We do not need any French scrolls or documents to prove it is so.

We believe in the inevitability of the victory of peoples, despite all the tragedies and plights to which humanity has been subjected. The presence of such a large number of Member States which struggled in the past against colonialism and which struggle today against imperialism is resplendent proof that history cannot be rolled back; it is proof of the inevitability of the victory of peoples. Despite the attempts of imperialist Powers to divide peoples and to sow seeds of dissent among them, we can still say, and say emphatically, that the world today realizes more than at any time in the past the true nature of colonialist-imperialist plots.

What happened in 1948 when plots were made to partition Palestine, disperse its people and legitimize the aggressor will not be repeated in the name of the United Nations. The United Nations today is very different from the United Nations of yesteryear.

For the United Nations to undertake its role fully, it must be changed in a way that will never allow the Organization and the members of the international community to ignore new political and economic realities that have emerged on the international scene. The paralysis of United Nations resolutions, the rejection of its will, indeed the flouting of the United Nations and the non-observance by some

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamarhiya)

major Powers of their commitment to the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights must not be repeated.

Certain rights and privileges of some States - the right of veto, for example - runs counter to the simplest rules of equality among Member States provided in the United Nations Charter - are an obstacle in the way of a truly effective role for the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The right of veto has been continually used against the international will to defend the aggressor and justify aggression and occupation. The time has come for the international community to get rid of that privilege, which is clearly counter to the principle of equality among Member States provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

We welcome all agreements between the two super-Powers to achieve disarmament and peace. However, as small peoples we have learned from our experience not to be over-optimistic. Imperialist Powers will not give up their ambitions or their objectives of hegemony and domination. Imperialist Powers exploit all attempts by peace-loving States to achieve peace and use every opportunity to attack small peoples, usurp their riches, monopolize their wealth and destroy their economies.

I have said that, despite the achievements of the United Nations, hotbeds of tension, dispute and war exist in many parts of the world. Those Powers which reject peace and justice feed those disputes and, indeed, they lead to the fanning of more such disputes in order to try out their weapons and achieve their imperialist aggressive aims. The time has come for the United Nations to achieve peace and security, based on the interests of peoples, not on those of the monopolies.

The war in the Gulf must be brought to an end; it is a war between two neighbouring Muslim States whose resources must be devoted to the interests of

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamarihiya)

their peoples; their joint efforts must be devoted to standing together with other Islamic and Arab countries in the region against the joint imperialist-Zionist threat. Only the imperialist Powers have an interest in the continuation of this war - a war through which those imperialist Powers attempt to gain a stronger foothold. By amassing forces in the region they wish to inflame that war. We express support for the Secretary-General's efforts to end that war as soon as possible, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The situation in Latin America and Central America cannot be improved and peace cannot be restored to those two regions unless the imperialist intervention is brought to an end. Imperialism is supporting mercenaries in the area. We salute the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group in Central America as represented in the Guatemala agreement, which we believe is the only way to solve the problem. We should also like to emphasize our support of, and solidarity with, the peoples of Nicaragua and Cuba against imperialist intervention and aggression.

I have mentioned attempts by imperialism and colonialism to sow seeds of dissent among African brothers. Allow me to say that the solution to the Chad problem can be found essentially - as has been emphasized by various parties and even by Mr. Habré himself - in an end to French intervention, the withdrawal of French and imperialist Powers from Chad, and achievement of national interests among all Chadian factions.

The Jamahiriya has always expressed its willingness to help in solving the Chad problem. Libya recently declared, through the leader of its Revolution, that it would leave the Chadians to solve their own problems and that it no longer considered that there was any problem whatever between it and Chad. Furthermore, the Jamahiriya has expressed its complete readiness to co-operate with the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamarihiya)

Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the good offices committee assigned by that organization at its most recent meeting held in Lusaka to deal with the Chad problem.

To date, the problem of Western Sahara has not been solved in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the OAU to solve the problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions and in a way that would ensure justice and equality.

The Jamahiriya, which has 1,900 kilometres of coast on the Mediterranean, is very keen to see it become a sea of peace and security for all Mediterranean countries and for the world as a whole. However - and most unfortunately - that Sea continues to be a region of tension owing to the presence there of imperialist fleets in its waters and imperialist-colonialist military bases on its shores. If those fleets and bases remain in the area, that will lead only to more tension and the possibility of new conflagrations in that area.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Libya has been the victim of treacherous American military aggression during which the waters and airspace of that sea were used. That aggression was directed against Libya in an attempt to abort the Libyan revolution and to kill its leader. In General Assembly resolution 41/38 the international community clearly condemned the aggression after having first agreed at its forty-first session to include an item in its agenda - item 142 - to discuss the issue.

The solution to the Cypriot problem can be achieved through co-operation between the two communities in Cyprus, Greek and Turkish, on the basis of a united, non-aligned Cyprus and the elimination of imperialist colonialist British bases there. The Jamahiriya supports the efforts of the Secretary-General towards the achievement of a peaceful and just settlement of the question of Cyprus.

In the Asian continent we notice many hot spots of tension. My country, which enjoys excellent relations with the Asian States believes that efforts to solve the problems and eliminate these hot spots of tension must be continued. The agreement signed by the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Viet Nam is likely to resolve problems in the area in a way that will guarantee the rights of their peoples and their socio-economic choices.

We in the Arab world have been subjected to efforts to divide us. We fully appreciate, therefore, the importance of the reunification of Korea in a peaceful framework. We support dialogue and mutual understanding towards that goal and we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korean land.

I cannot fail to mention here, however briefly, the international economic situation and the economic crisis faced by the peoples of the world, particularly the third world. The international economic crisis is becoming more grave every year, and it is the developing countries, my country included, that are most

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

seriously affected. Indeed, the peoples of those countries are already bearing the brunt of those consequences. In fact, the developing countries have begun experiencing the effects of economic stagnation, as reflected in their inability to achieve the economic growth needed to guarantee a minimum level of development and progress. The least developed countries face the spectre of hunger and poverty as well as deterioration in all sectors of their economies, particularly in the African and South-East Asian regions affected by drought. The international economic crisis can be appropriately addressed only if the world moves towards dialogue and attempts to eradicate the factors that have provoked it, in the forefront of which is the flagrant injustice being imposed on the developing and the least developed countries because of instability in international economic affairs. The developed countries must restore balance if they are to avoid the effects of the current imbalance from spilling over into their own economies. Tariff barriers on imports must be removed. Furthermore, the developed countries must devote more attention to achieving real stability in the international monetary system.

The North-South dialogue will succeed only if the developed countries make concessions with regard to their selfish goals and exercise the moral responsibility they bear towards developing countries. That dialogue can be enhanced by a genuine South-South dialogue and solidarity among third world countries.

The world is going through a critical stage of large military blocs and many imperialist and colonialist interventions; hence it is in dire need of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Jamahiriya strongly supports that Movement, for we are fully convinced that it has a constructive role to play to decrease tension and

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

achieve international peace and security. We in the Non-Aligned Movement are this year celebrating its twenty-sixth anniversary. On this occasion we hail its many successes, some of which, unfortunately, have made many of its members the object of imperialist campaigns merely because they have held strongly to the principles and objectives of the Movement as the sole hope for humanity.

May I, in conclusion, say that promoting the role of the United Nations - an Organization the imperialist Powers wish to weaken - will be a true guarantee for the achievement of its objectives: international peace and security. Attempts to solve disputes outside the United Nations and dividing the world into blocs can only lead to undermining the Organization. Small countries, which make up the overwhelming majority of the membership of this Organization, bear the fundamental responsibility to support the Organization because small countries, including Libya, can but consider their membership of the Organization as one of the best guarantees of their independence and freedom. For that reason we must foster mutual effective co-operation in order to enable our Organization to fulfil its role free from any hegemony or intervention.

Mr. HALEFOGLU (Turkey): I take pleasure, Sir, in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-second session. I wish you every success in discharging this important task. Our goal should be a constructive session where moderation will prevail. I am confident that you will guide the work of the General Assembly with diligence and skill towards that goal.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the President of the forty-first session, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh. During the last session important decisions were reached, in particular on the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations. Mr. Choudhury personally contributed to the achievement of agreement on this vital issue, and the General Assembly was able under his guidance, to function effectively despite the constraints arising from the financial situation of the Organization.

I would equally like to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General. The United Nations and the Members of the Organization have continued to benefit from his dedicated efforts on a wide range of international issues. I reiterate our confidence in him to promote greater international understanding and harmony.

The tasks of preserving peace, resolving international problems, strengthening international security for all and creating a more equitable economic environment continue to challenge our nations and Governments. Increased confidence-building and international co-operation are the key to dealing effectively with many of those challenges.

From our vantage point between the continents of Europe and Asia we have always appreciated the value of and given firm support to the efforts towards stabilizing and improving East-West relations. Mindful of our geographic location, we have supported in the field of arms control and disarmament those initiatives that have a chance of being translated into concrete, balanced and verifiable measures without diminishing the individual or collective security of any country or group of countries. These considerations will continue to shape our approach to disarmament questions.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

We are pleased to note that there are at present new opportunities for genuine progress in East-West relations. Important steps have already been taken on the difficult road towards arms control and disarmament.

We welcome the agreement in principle reached between the United States and the Soviet Union for the elimination of all their medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. We have always supported the idea of the complete elimination of medium-range nuclear forces through the global application of the so-called double zero option. The agreement will go down in history as a major step forward, since it will entail meaningful and reciprocal reductions in the nuclear forces of the two major Powers for the first time in the nuclear age. Chancellor Kohl's declaration on the Pershing 1a missiles is an important and constructive step that facilitates that agreement. It is our hope that this agreement will pave the way for a treaty at the level of strategic weapons. The momentum that currently exists in the arms-control field must not be allowed to ebb away.

We believe that arms-control efforts should be considered as an integrated whole in all its dimensions, be they nuclear, chemical or conventional. An agreement on medium-range nuclear forces in Europe will accentuate the urgent need to address the question of conventional forces in a meaningful way. It is not possible to deal with nuclear weapons in isolation if we are seeking enhanced security. If there is no progress in the near future in the area of conventional arms control, further reductions in nuclear forces may indeed prove to be very difficult to achieve.

There is a pressing need to establish a conventional balance in Europe at the lowest level possible, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Turkey participates actively in the negotiations to this effect currently under way in Vienna.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

I wish also to stress, as we have done in previous years, the growing urgency of concluding an international convention on the general and complete prohibition world-wide of chemical weapons and on the destruction of existing stockpiles.

The success of arms-control initiatives depends in the first instance on the establishment of an environment of confidence among the parties concerned. In this connection I would underline the importance of the Helsinki process, which has contributed to bringing about an environment in Europe through which unprecedented progress in nuclear-arms reductions has come within the reach of mankind. All three dimensions of the Helsinki process, which deal, respectively, with security, economic relations and humanitarian issues, are of equal importance for the establishment of mutual confidence and fruitful co-operation in Europe.

During the past year, as the attention of the international community has focused ever more on the continuing war between Iran and Iraq and the situation in the Gulf, that tragic conflict has caused further devastation and suffering, and it poses a growing threat to regional and international peace and security.

We are deeply concerned by this situation. We maintain the hope that resolution 598 (1987) will provide a suitable basis for both countries to bring the war to an end. We hope that the Secretary-General's contacts in the region will contribute in concrete terms to the peace process. Since the outbreak of hostilities between our two neighbours we have maintained friendly relations based on mutual confidence with both parties, while remaining strictly neutral. We believe that we can contribute to the peace process. The escalation in the Gulf and the tensions that have arisen in the region have further complicated the situation. In this respect, we have been trying to eliminate the misunderstanding caused by a lack of communication and to maintain a dialogue among the countries concerned. We remain ready to do everything in our power to be of assistance in this respect, while pursuing our friendly relations with all sides.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict still awaits a just and lasting solution. There is a definite need to reactivate the search for peace. During the past year the idea of an international conference has gained ground. Turkey supports all initiatives which might lead to a just and lasting peace. Representation of the Palestinians in such a conference is an important issue. The views of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people should also be given due consideration in this regard.

We continue to support full recognition of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people and the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories under its occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem. The ultimate aim should be a just and lasting settlement which would create the conditions whereby all the nations of the region can live in peace and prosperity within secure and recognized borders.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

Economic co-operation among the countries of the region and projects serving common interests could increase confidence among the peoples of the region. That is our vision and that is why we have been working and consulting on an economic venture that will take the abundant waters of two rivers in Turkey as far south as to Saudi Arabia.

The situation in Lebanon continues to be a source of serious concern and sorrow. The tragic developments of recent years lead us to reaffirm once again our conviction that only national reconciliation will enable the people of Lebanon to address all its problems successfully.

The apartheid policies of the Pretoria Government have continued to be the principal cause of tension and violence in southern Africa. Since last year, unfortunately, the political situation in South Africa has not improved. The policy of the Turkish Government on this problem remains unchanged: so long as the South African Government does not totally abolish its policy of apartheid and embark upon a real process of dialogue and change, the international community should persevere in its efforts. The worsening of the situation in South Africa and the continued human suffering created by apartheid require more than ever a firm reaction on the part of the United Nations.

The Council for Namibia, of which Turkey was a founding member, has this year marked the twentieth year of its establishment in 1967 as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until it attains independence. It is a matter of the deepest regret that after so many years the Namibians have not been able to exercise their right to self-determination and that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), has remained unimplemented. We reaffirm our full solidarity with the people of Namibia and our determination to continue to support their legitimate struggle for

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted unanimously, constitutes therefore the only universally acceptable basis for a peaceful solution to the Namibian question.

The threat posed by terrorism to every society and to all facets of international relations has not abated. On the contrary, acts, methods and practices of terrorism which were unequivocally condemned by the General Assembly two years ago have continued to claim innocent lives on an increasing scale. Turkey has for many years stressed the necessity of effective international co-operation against terrorism in all its forms. We shall work with other Members for a forceful new resolution on terrorism which reaffirms resolution 40/61 of 9 December 1985. Those who instigate or support terrorist activities with the intention of jeopardizing the territorial integrity and security of other States assume a grave responsibility and should be unequivocally condemned by the international community. There can be no double standards about terrorism. Attempts to differentiate between various forms of terrorism can only encourage new acts of outrage. Those who support or tolerate terrorism for political advantage will only live to regret their shortsightedness.

In the current year, there is no doubt that the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Traffic convened at Vienna in June was a timely initiative. We welcome all United Nations efforts directed towards assuring greater control over the drug problem, reducing the illicit drug trade, and at the same time alleviating the damage it causes to individuals and societies. As we stated at the International Conference, the close links between the illicit traffic in drugs and both organized crime and international terrorism constitute a serious and increasing threat to social stability and therefore necessitate concerted efforts by the international community to combat those scourges.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

The Turkish approach to the Cyprus problem is realistic and constructive. The fact that the Turkish Cypriot side has accepted the Secretary-General's draft framework agreement of 29 March 1986, presented after comprehensive and arduous consultations with the parties concerned, is another indication of this constructive attitude. It is regrettable that the Greek side seeks to prolong the dispute and pursue confrontation rather than accept the Secretary-General's draft framework agreement as the basis of a negotiated settlement. The Greek Cypriot efforts to blame the party that has accepted the Secretary-General's draft for the present stalemate constitute a manifest contradiction. By the same token, the Greek Cypriot efforts in international forums where the Turkish Cypriot people are not represented will certainly not be conducive to a settlement of the dispute. The Greek Cypriot initiative to open a debate on the Cyprus problem during the present session is yet another example of its efforts to divert attention from its intransigence. Past experience has shown that such initiatives render the problem all the more complicated and difficult to solve.

The Members of the United Nations are aware of our deep humanitarian concern over the plight of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, a minority of one and a half million people whose status and rights are unequivocally recognized by bilateral and international agreements. We regret that the Bulgarian Government continues with its coercive policy of assimilating that community, denying its identity and its most elementary human rights. Bulgaria also denies its members the right of emigration. We are ready to accept all who wish to immigrate to Turkey. Many countries and organizations have appealed to the Bulgarian Government to abandon this policy of oppression and to restore the minority rights of the Turkish Muslim community. In fact, if the Bulgarian Government adopted a positive attitude in

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

this regard, that would bring about progress in our bilateral relations, improve the prospects of Balkan co-operation, and reinforce the Helsinki process with regard to the application of its humanitarian principles.

With regard to Afghanistan, we continue to support the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his representative to help work out a political solution. We regret that the latest round of proximity talks held at Geneva has been inconclusive and that it has not yet been possible to surmount the remaining difficulties on the way to a comprehensive settlement.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

We strongly believe that the diplomatic process must be pursued and that Afghanistan must be allowed and assisted to become once again a truly independent country. In this connection we should like to reiterate our deep appreciation of the humanitarian assistance provided by the Government and people of Pakistan in hosting millions of Afghan refugees.

The prevailing tensions in South-East Asia and the plight of the Kampuchean people continue to be a cause of concern. The key to a just and lasting political settlement in Kampuchea continues to be the exercise by the Kampuchean people of their inalienable right to self-determination. We consider the eight-point proposal made by the Coalition Government on 17 March 1986 and supported by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to be a valid framework for a comprehensive political settlement. We also believe that the recent efforts of the countries of ASEAN and the Secretary-General represent a constructive contribution to the search for a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea through negotiations.

I should like to emphasize once again the importance that we continue to attach to the efforts deployed to bring about a constructive and fruitful dialogue in the Korean peninsula. We welcome the initiative taken by the Republic of Korea to reopen the suspended dialogue between the two countries. We hope that the parties concerned will keep working on such a process and engender the conditions necessary to lead to their representation in the United Nations.

With regard to Central America, we hope that the new regional effort undertaken this summer on the initiative of Costa Rica within the framework of the Contadora process will promote peaceful solutions to the problems that confront the countries of the region. In this regard, we welcomed the peace plan adopted at the meeting of the Heads of State of the five Central American countries, held in

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

Guatemala City in August. We hope that it will generate a new momentum towards resolving the problems of the Central American region through negotiations within a democratic process.

On the international economic scene, the major challenge before us continues to be the reactivation of the development process and the restoration of sustained growth in the world. We all know that events of recent years have not been favourable in this respect. Many countries in the developing world have registered negative growth rates, and the economic growth in the industrialized countries has remained slow as compared to the 1960s and 1970s.

I should like to submit that the international community cannot and should not be complacent about this situation. In fact, the possibilities and potential available in today's world can indeed turn the tide provided that the community of nations implements the necessary measures in a timely manner.

The seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) constituted a landmark in this respect. At that Conference a common approach was adopted by the international community in order to deal with the problems besetting both the developed and the developing world. Countries individually and as groups respectively made common commitments and accepted obligations which are clearly and exhaustively stated in the Geneva Final Act. The Conference was realistic and pragmatic, both in the assessment of the world economic situation and the in remedies to be applied. The concept of interdependence has acquired a tangible and meaningful substance. A strong consensus has emerged as to the need for higher global growth with a view to improving the international economic environment and rendering it more conducive to the solution of the problems of indebtedness and protectionism and acceleration of the process of structural adjustment.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

I wish to focus on an issue of high importance to the developing world from the viewpoint of both integration and development. Protectionism has made deep inroads into the industrialized economies. UNCTAD VII rightly diagnosed the need to revitalize international trade as a means of creating the additional resources needed to overcome development problems. It is important that growth-oriented policies be accompanied by the removal of protectionist barriers. We hope that the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations will usher in a more open system of international trade. We support the idea of an immediate standstill and wider roll back in the early stages of multilateral negotiations.

Needless to say, the curtailment of access to the markets of the industrialized world will only compound the debt problem. Careful though Turkey is about its debt payments, we would none the less hasten to state that the time has come for more sustained and balanced trade to overcome the development problems of, especially, the middle income countries. We should like to underline the fundamental contradiction in introducing restrictions on imports from the developing world while expecting debt payments to proceed smoothly.

We believe that in addition to universal action there is much to be done at the national level. The Turkish experience is worth recalling in this respect. Only eight years ago our economy was on the verge of collapse. Vital imports had ceased because of severe foreign currency shortages and production had come to a virtual standstill. As a result of the market-oriented and liberal trade policies that we have pursued, Turkey today maintains the highest rate of economic growth among the countries members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), with exports having quadrupled since the early 1980s and industrial goods comprising 78 per cent of total exports. We are currently experiencing a boom in tourism and other services. In April 1987 Turkey applied to

(Mr. Halefoğlu, Turkey)

the European Community for full membership, confident that its economy had for the most part reached the level of competitiveness for such an undertaking. There are still big challenges ahead, but we are confident of our future.

Let me now stress the importance of initiatives which the developing world can take collectively. A concrete example is the Committee for Economic and Commercial Co-operation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which held its third meeting in Istanbul earlier this month. Within a short period this institution has registered palpable achievements. One such has been the creation of a long-term trade financing scheme. Such possibilities and potentialities abound in South-South co-operation.

However, a sustained and organized impetus is needed in the form of investments and capital inflow, better access to the markets of the industrialized world and facilities for debt repayment in support of growth-oriented structural adjustment policies in developing countries. Increasing responsibility falls on the industrialized world to help overcome development problems by improving the international environment and sensibly raising their growth rate.

In concluding, I wish to express my hope that the forty-second session of the General Assembly will be able to contribute to the search for peace and co-operation in the world.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): As delegations are aware, the General Assembly, following a proposal by the representative of Cameroon, decided on Friday, 18 September, that consultations should be held with Member States with regard to the recommendation of the General Committee concerning item 140, both on the wording of the title and on the inclusion of the item in the agenda, before taking a final decision. The General Assembly was to be informed of the results of those consultations this week. I am now in a position to inform the General Assembly that intensive consultations have been held. I wish to thank all those who have endeavoured to bring about results in these consultations for their co-operation. The consultations have not yet resulted, however, in a final proposal to be submitted to the General Assembly for a decision. The parties involved share the view that consultations should be continued and a proposal for a decision submitted to the General Assembly as soon as possible. If I hear no objection, I intend to continue consultations and to inform the General Assembly of their outcome at the earliest possible date.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.