



## General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/41/PV.20

2 October 1986

ENGLISH

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### Forty-first session

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

### PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 2 October 1986, at 10 a.m.

**President:** Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)

**later:** Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda)  
(Vice-President)

**later:** Mr. DATO RAIS YATIM (Malaysia)  
(Vice-President)

- Address by Mr. Manuel Pinto Da Costa, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti)  
Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia)  
Mr. Turk (Lebanon)  
Mr. Pengiran Bahrin (Brunei Darussalam)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. MANUEL PINTO DA COSTA, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

Mr. Manuel Pinto da Costa, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, His Excellency Mr. Manuel Pinto da Costa, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

President da COSTA (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, I should like to express our best wishes for the success of the work of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. We bring with us a message of confidence in the United Nations, and the conviction that, today as in 1945, the Organization is the most complete expression of the hope of all peoples for a better world.

"The United Nations for a better world" was indeed the apposite theme chosen by the Assembly to mark the fortieth anniversary commemoration. Like all other anniversaries, that commemoration was a special occasion. By the high level of the delegations present and by their reaffirmation of their adherence to the Charter, irrefutable endorsement was provided for a mission and measures for which there has been no viable substitute or logical alternative in the turbulent world of the community of nations, which we represent here.

Along with reaffirming its ideals, the General Assembly has also taken note of criticism by Member countries with regard to deficiencies in the modus operandi of the Organization. Although reaffirmation of adherence to the purposes and

(President da Costa)

principles of the Charter and criticism of the United Nations are equally important for the life of the Organization, they carry different weight with us.

Reaffirmation of the Organization's purposes and principles constitutes the fundamental, and most relevant, element of the equation, because renewed adherence to the ideals of the United Nations justifies and gives constructive meaning to the criticism. The criticism itself constitutes, and should be understood as, a commitment to the constant improvement of the Organization. In our view, the criticism should be understood and accepted as the right of each one of us, the Members of the Organization, as interested parties, because the United Nations expresses the will and collective action of its Member countries: any criticism is, after all, self-criticism.

The General Assembly's adoption of resolution 40/237, by which it created the Group of High-level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations, constituted, in our opinion, the right step towards confronting the serious problems which the present financial crisis represents.

(President da Costa)

We agree with those who urge us to face the fundamental causes of the crisis and draw attention to the absence of decisive political will as the essential problem. Nevertheless, recognition of such a need should not prevent us from facing the problem in its most acute manifestations. The financial crisis is here, and we need to deal with it now.

A careful reading of the report submitted by the high-level Group of Experts is an unquestionable confirmation of our assertion. Beyond interests and intentions whose motivations we question, beyond hard-to-conceal measures which seek to subvert the fundamental principles of the Charter, beyond proposals whose efficacy we question as a viable alternative to the present situation, is the unquestionable fact that adjustments, reforms in methods and institutions, elimination of some practices and procedures are all required.

To maintain the status quo or limit the range and efficacy of the numerous recommendations included in the report, in the name of questionable interests, would be, in our modest opinion, to fall short of our collective responsibility; it would be to put at risk our determination to reform the United Nations into an operative instrument for resolving the problems of our time.

The measure of our success cannot be determined merely by the majorities we attain in the adoption of various resolutions or declarations, but rather by the impact and the actions such resolutions may have on the events which occur beyond the conference rooms of the United Nations

Thus, the necessary point of departure and the reference point for our deliberations should be the analysis of the effects that such decisions will have on those who will make their implementation possible - that is, the Member States and international public opinion.

(President da Costa)

We believe, for example, that resolution 1514 (XV) exerted the historic influence that everyone is familiar with, not only because it corresponded to an aspiration shared by the great majority of world public opinion but also because there was a political will for action to put an end to colonialism.

This relationship between our decisions and objective reality is, in our view, indispensable.

The Assembly will recognize with us, however, that many of the resolutions we adopt here do not respect this relationship - hence they fail to be implemented.

The fortieth session adopted, for example, some 353 resolutions covering areas as diverse as outer space and the sea-bed. I wonder how many countries were able to analyse those resolutions and the reference documents, let alone to begin the implementation process of such measures.

Talleyrand once said that everything that is excessive soon becomes meaningless. We need to ask ourselves the question whether such a great number of resolutions attains the goals to which we aspire. The responsibility for the increase in perennial questions in successive agendas of the United Nations is often attributed, implicitly if not explicitly, to the Member States which joined the Organization as a result of the decolonization process.

We will say on this point that such a situation results from the legitimate exercise of the rights of each country. Secondly, it is important to keep in mind that as participants in a system of international relations characterized until our independence by relationships of dominance and injustice, it is legitimate for us to use the machinery provided in the Charter for the realization of those objectives which the Charter itself calls for.

(President da Costa)

Our initiatives towards the process of decolonization, the establishment of a more just international economic order, and the progressive development of international law, to cite a few examples, all move in this direction.

If we often repeat ourselves, and if many resolutions are no more than declarations of intent, this does not arise from the deliberate intention to act in this way, but rather from the lack of political will on the part of our partners in assuming their responsibilities under the Charter.

We will refer to the question of Namibia as an example. After more than a decade of deliberations and decisions, it was to be expected that the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would constitute the final stage in the solution to the Namibian question. To whom should we attribute the responsibility for the resolutions, conferences and special sessions which took place after 1978? To the Member States which use every means to impose respect for the decisions of the United Nations or to those which are not in conformity with the duties and rights pledged in the Charter and the international community?

Recognized as it is today that the arms race, especially in the nuclear sphere, puts the very existence of humanity in danger, in addition to diverting important human and financial resources so necessary to resolving present world problems, to whom should we attribute the responsibility for the deluge of resolutions adopted every year in the Assembly?

On this subject, I should like to submit the following for the consideration of the majority that in the Assembly has made the adoption of such resolutions possible.

(President da Costa)

The tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, adopted by consensus a Final Document containing a Declaration and Programme of Action which established the basis of international disarmament, aimed at general and complete disarmament under effective international control. While recognizing the difficulties and complexities of the negotiations and the legitimate concerns of the principal actors in this process, in truth the arms race continues on its course. To express our frustration arising from our continued concern, we need at most two resolutions: one to express our frustration, and the second to renew our appeal to the super-Powers.

Not being participants in the arms race, let us not be participants in a "resolution race". Let us channel the limited resources of our Organization towards more productive aims, such as support for non-governmental organizations, which perform an active role in the mobilization of world public opinion, or support for research institutions in the disarmament area.

We deliberately direct the attention of representatives to the problems confronting our Organization. We have reached this point for two reasons.

The first rests on the importance and nature we think the general debate should assume in the context of our yearly meetings. We understand the statements made here, not as ends in themselves, but rather as a process of intercommunication meant to find the comprehension and understanding necessary to search for consensus and oriented towards common action.

The second reason is based on the idea, accepted in diplomatic tradition, according to which countries have no permanent friends but rather permanent interests. It is the permanent interest of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe that the United Nations may effectively reach the objectives assigned to it by the Charter.

(President da Costa)

A small island country whose greatest ambition is the attainment of the well-being and social progress of its population and whose only aspiration is to share in the common destiny of the human race, we do not want to be part of, much less an instrument of, the policies of confrontation between politico-military blocs. We will not compromise our sovereignty or our dignity in dealings of any kind. We do not take part in ideological crusades of any nature whatsoever.

We regard as the common heritage of the human race the scientific and social discoveries and advances under the various economic systems of our planet, and we claim the right freely and independently to adopt the various contributions of existing systems which are most in accordance with our reality and most conducive to the fulfilment of our aspirations.

Geographically isolated, conditioned by a deliberate cultural isolation, condemned by the colonial system to a régime of monoculture, we seek, in our privileged and historic relationship with the African Portuguese-speaking countries and the countries of the subregion of central Africa, the contours of our identity and the complementarities necessary to our development. Like other countries of the world, we desire open and advantageous collaboration which will provide us with the contributions necessary for the optimization of our resources and our potential. In any event, we are guided in our relations by strict respect for the Charter and the norms of international law which it legitimizes and inspires. This is the contribution which we think we can make towards the attainment of the objectives of the Charter, beyond our modest participation in those actions and activities which the Charter makes possible.

We will not refer here to our serious concern over the conflicts in Western Sahara, East Timor, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Middle East, the Korean Peninsula, Cyprus and Central America. This is necessary because of constraints of time and



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because the analysis of such situations has already been made and the possible solutions have already been formulated. The only thing lacking is the political will to implement them. Furthermore, our positions will be shown in the voting process that will take place during the session. Nevertheless, I hope I may be permitted to refer in particular and briefly to the situation in southern Africa.

An unprecedented consensus among the international community has been noted on this subject. After much hesitation, attempts at evasion and dubious compromises on the part of certain members of the international community, today no one questions the need for mandatory sanctions against the racist South African régime or the fact that they are the last peaceful means available to compel the South African Government to dismantle the apartheid system, put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia and terminate its direct or indirect attacks on the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique, as well as on the other front-line States. We agree that the sanctions will, in some cases, have devastating effects on the region and on South Africa's own population. However, far from constituting a justification for the failure to apply sanctions, this should encourage the international community to take a more comprehensive, effective position. The responsibility does not end with the imposition of sanctions; quite the contrary. To ensure effectiveness, it is essential that measures of support for the neighbouring countries be adopted simultaneously.

In the name of the international community, whose ideals have been attacked, the front-line States, in a demonstration of courage and true internationalism, will accept the burden of the consequences which the effects of the sanctions and the economic might of South Africa will for their economies, already weakened by the economic crisis affecting the African continent.

(President da Costa)

It is the duty of both developed and developing countries to transform our verbal solidarity into actions of concrete, co-ordinated and universal support.

The Marshall Plan represented for Europe a response to Nazi devastation, and the countries of southern Africa need similar determined commitment by the international community. Only in this way will sanctions be an effective response and not just a fortuitous and inevitable political expedient.

Civilized coexistence among nations presupposes that force will give way to agreements and negotiations and that relations among nations will be in accordance with the imperatives of the international legal order. If, historically, the use of force has been a means of resolving differences, controlling aggressive impulses or ensuring the victory of true ideals, the birth of the United Nations was intended to establish a new historic period characterized by rejection of the use of force as an instrument in carrying out certain policies. Even admission of the principle of the use of force in response to aggression was conditioned by and subordinated to the failure of all the peaceful measures outlined in the Charter.

The structure built on the objective principles and Articles of the Charter signed in 1945 and the resulting development of international law which it inspired and enhanced were intended to initiate and project human coexistence free of the stigmas of war, whose devastating effects were experienced during the last world conflict and are being felt even today in several regions of the world.

Do we forget nothing and learn nothing? Today let us affirm that indeed we forget nothing, but we learn what is essential. We shall not forget Woodrow Wilson's declaration. He said:

"No nation should try to extend its power over any other nation or people, but, rather, every people should be free to determine its own destiny, its own way of development, without restraints, free from threat or fear, the small nations as much as the great and powerful ones."

(President da Costa)

We shall always bear in mind the essential idea expressed by John F. Kennedy before this Assembly in 1961:

"Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

(A/PV.1013, para. 40)

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Manuel Pinto da Costa, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

## GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): I am very pleased to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on your election as President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. Your well-deserved election to this high post, while a tribute to your great country, with which my own has excellent relations, also bears clear witness to your personal qualities as a seasoned diplomat. Your inexhaustible knowledge and vast experience will be an indispensable factor in successfully guiding our deliberations at this session to fruitful results. Let me assure you that my delegation will always be ready to co-operate actively with you in your efforts to discharge the heavy responsibilities entrusted to you.

Allow me also to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation and gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador de Piniés of Spain, who, in presiding over the last General Assembly session, showed the competence and devotion that are characteristic of an able and experienced diplomat.

I am also pleased to pay my tribute to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the untiring efforts he is exerting in promoting and advancing the purposes and principles for the attainment of which the United Nations was founded.\*

We have come here once more to exchange views and focus our attention and co-operation on important national and international issues whose solution are so vital to the promotion of international peace and security.

We live in a world where three quarters of the population suffers from extreme economic difficulties and social maladjustments. Half of this population is so poor and destitute that there is little hope for it to overcome its misery. It is

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\*Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda), Vice President, took the Chair.

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not therefore difficult to understand that the overwhelming majority of the world's population has found it very hard to accept a world order in which the scientific and modern technological advances and achievements benefit only the few and where the gap between the developed and developing nations is widening so much that global peace and security are endangered.

Last year when we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we came up with the inspiring motto of "The United Nations for a Better World". Every one of us knew then that we needed better negotiations for a better world. Unfortunately, since the beginning of the global negotiations in 1979 no negotiations between the North and South have succeeded in finding remedies or solutions to the social and economic imbalances that plague our planet today. As a result, the economic situation in the developing countries, and especially in the least developed among them, has deteriorated drastically, thus making the third-world communities so vulnerable to the extreme dangers of man-made and natural disasters.

The plight of the African continent has been debated at many international forums, because Africa has been the victim of one crisis after another for many years. Severe drought has afflicted many countries; it has subsided temporarily - although there are many lingering effects - but it has caused incalculable damage to the environment and ecology and set in motion a chain of irreparable destruction to both plant and animal life.

Most alarming in the African continent is the precarious food situation resulting from crop failures. That has been compounded by persistent and prolonged drought that has devoured both plant and animal life, thus seriously affecting the livelihood of masses of the population, causing chronic hunger and malnutrition in many parts of Africa and leading to famine in other parts.

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The African continent, faced with impending economic and social crisis, had to commit itself to the launching of a long-term programme of economic and social development. This African commitment, coupled with the good will of the international community, prompted the General Assembly to adopt resolution 40/40 of 2 December 1985, calling for the convening, from 27 to 31 May this year, of a special session of the General Assembly at the ministerial level to consider in depth the critical economic situation in Africa and to focus on it the international attention it deserved.

We were gratified to note the commendable efforts that were made to ensure the necessary international good will and the commitment to support the efforts to alleviate the crisis situation by co-operating with the African Governments on a bilateral and a multilateral basis - as envisaged in the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990 and the Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990. We appreciate the willingness of the international community to contribute to the economic rehabilitation and development programme for Africa - though the extent to which the implementation of this programme will be supported remains to be seen.

The African continent is endowed with abundant agricultural, animal, mineral and water resources and has a great potential for human-resources development, which, in pursuance of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Lagos Final Act, is to be given a high priority.

It is very important that the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production in the African continent be made one of the priority targets, in order to alleviate the constantly worsening food crisis. Both the agricultural and the industrial sectors should be developed in an integrated manner and should be

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accompanied by the development and the improvement of an adequate transport and communication system. Significant and serious investment in multifarious institutions for manpower training, energy resources and material development is needed to increase the chances of improving social services in education, health, hygiene, housing and employment. It goes without saying that African countries need to promote interregional co-operation in all fields that are deemed necessary for their economic, social and political survival.

The East African countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan and Uganda, reaffirming their common desire to combine their efforts in confronting the dangerous effects of drought and other related natural disasters have, in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 35/90 and subsequent relevant resolutions, established the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) and adopted a Plan of Action to promote the specific programmes and projects needed to strengthen those countries' national and regional capacities to combat the effects of drought and promote economic and social development. The necessary arrangements have been finalized for the IGADD Authority to carry out its responsibility of co-ordinating and supporting the efforts of the IGADD countries to combat the effects of drought and to deal with the problems of medium- and long-term recovery and rehabilitation.

Confronting recurrent drought and its ramifications is a formidable challenge which cannot be easily overcome without the development of suitable and sound programmes for recovery and rehabilitation. These programmes cannot be successful without the full support of the international community for the IGADD countries so that they can cope effectively with the difficult task of resolving drought problems in the region.

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It is for this reason that the countries of IGADD reiterate their appeal to the international community for support, and wish to invite the donor countries to a pledging conference to be held in Djibouti in March next year.

May I at this point express our sincere appreciation and gratitude to all those Member States, agencies and organizations that have assisted the countries of IGADD in their efforts to establish the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development.

The nations of the Horn of Africa have always attached great importance to the development of active regional co-operation among themselves. We believe that the establishment and maintenance of intergovernmental agencies and organizations will help to create conditions conducive to greater tolerance, mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness and thus lead to the development of meaningful co-operation in the improvement of trade, commerce, cultural exchange and tourism. We also believe that such co-operation will help to create a climate of trust in which our differences can be accommodated and more mutual respect and understanding can be created in order to benefit all the people of the region.

The Republic of Djibouti is situated in one of the most arid regions in the world and the scarcity and irregularity of rainfall are impediments to undertaking any meaningful agricultural development. Although there is the possibility of exploiting underground water, it will require a considerable amount of financial resources and technical expertise. Although self-sufficiency in food is a desirable goal, the climatic conditions and non-agricultural tradition of the inhabitants are the main obstacles to agricultural development.

Livestock had been the principal livelihood of the population before the development of urban centres. However, the overgrazing of pastoral land and the recurrent drought have brought about an environmental change which means that



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livestock rearing is no longer a viable means of subsistence. Consequently the rural population has become more and more dependent on urban centres for their sustenance.

As a result of such impediments to agricultural production and livestock rearing, Djibouti is a net importer of almost all the food needed for local consumption.

In the industrial sector, the country lacks raw materials and electric power is too expensive to be a source of energy for industrialization. The development of new and renewable sources of energy could lay the basis for meaningful industrial development. In this regard, we have accorded priority to the exploitation of geothermal energy, which is believed to exist in sufficient quantity to provide for a substantial part of the energy needs of the country. But the exploitation of geothermal energy requires technology, capital investment and skilled professional manpower.

In these circumstances, it is appropriate to accord priority to the development and expansion of the service sector, which constitutes the basis of the country's economy. But this also will require structural adjustment, vocational training and improvement in the quality of services, which in turn will depend on the availability of the financial resources which Djibouti cannot provide.

At present, the country has to cope with difficult economic and financial problems resulting from multiple adverse factors, such as external debt, inflation, unemployment, the effects of the last drought and the presence of a considerable number of refugees from the neighbouring areas.

The Palestinian question and its direct consequence, the situation in the Middle East, have for the last four decades been the main concern of the international community as a source of potential threat to international peace and

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security. As long as the Zionist aggressors continue to occupy Palestinian and other Arab lands and persist in their denial of Palestinian rights in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the Middle East will continue to be the powder keg that could blow up at any time, with incalculable consequences for international peace and security. Every attempt by the United Nations to find a just and lasting solution to this problem has been flouted by the Zionist expansionists, who perceived the United Nations partition plan, creating one Arab Palestinian and one Jewish State, as nothing more than a bridgehead to be used as a base for future expansionist aggressions.

As subsequent events have demonstrated, Israel's declared policy has become the non-recognition not only of Palestinian national rights but also of the existence of the Palestinians as a people, in an attempt to alienate them from the land on which they have lived since time immemorial. Israel's declaration of independence signified, at the same time, a declaration of war on the Palestinian Arab people. The political motivation behind the cold blooded massacre of the civilian population, including women and children, at Deir Yassin, perpetrated by Zionist gangs, was to terrorize the inhabitants into panic and cause them to flee the country. Those dangerous developments led to armed conflicts that have five times plunged the region into bloody destructive wars, each time threatening international peace and security.

The continuing occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories by Israel and the concomitant oppression and repression of the inhabitants by the occupying authorities in their drive to accelerate the process of colonization and Judaization, have become an expansionist strategy to force the Arab inhabitants into exile so as to make a place for the Jewish immigrants coming from all over the world.

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The Palestinian people have suffered for a long time. Unless the United Nations, which bears direct responsibility, responds urgently to their plight, the mounting hostilities will widen into a global conflagration. Sporadic acts of violence and outrage can be eradicated only if the international community addresses itself decisively to the root causes, which are none other than the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and the Zionist expansionist policy. Since this year has been dedicated by the General Assembly as the International Year of Peace, it would be appropriate for the United Nations to take decisive action on the question of Palestine, which remains a constant threat to international peace and security. The Member States of the United Nations have already expressed their collective desire in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C to convene an international conference on peace in the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations. Any peace initiative must be based on a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem, which ensures the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and which enables the people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to exercise its inalienable rights, including the right to return and the right to self-determination, national independence and the establishment of its independent sovereign State of Palestine.

In this regard, the Arab Peace plan adopted unanimously at the 12th Arab summit conference, held in Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, and endorsed by the extraordinary summit conference of the Arab States held in Casablanca in August 1985, constitutes a landmark contribution towards the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in the Middle East.

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The continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, in defiance of Security Council resolution 509 (1982), is fostering sectarian strife so as to destabilize the country and impede the process of national unity and reconstruction in Lebanon. We request the United Nations to discharge its responsibility by bringing about the total withdrawal of Israel from Lebanese territory.

The intense struggle of the South African black majority to rid itself of apartheid has widened into a critical situation that calls for the serious attention of the international community.

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The apartheid régime of South Africa has condemned the black South African majority to the most heinous conditions of racial segregation, racism and racial discrimination and confined it to degrading "native reserves", the so-called Bantustans, which have become the most common pool for cheap labour to serve the repressive policy of exploitation in the interests of the apartheid régime and its foreign allies.

Moreover, the South African régime has created a hostile climate that has led to political and economic destabilization in the southern region and made the neighbouring sovereign front-line States vulnerable to South African attacks and acts of unprovoked aggression against their territorial integrity to prevent them from extending moral and material support to the liberation struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples.

It is immoral and inhuman to allow the South African question to stagnate while the atrocities perpetrated by South Africa continue to cause the disintegration and destruction of the very fabric of the black South African society, in flagrant violation of international legality and human tolerance, merely because the South African régime has shown its lack of interest in negotiating with the interested and concerned parties.

We believe that the racist régime of South Africa will neither abandon its apartheid practices against the black African majority nor coexist peacefully with the neighbouring sovereign States unless it is made to buckle under the impact of concerted and genuine international pressure imposed by all developed and developing nations without any exception.

We urge the peace-loving international community to consider seriously all aspects of socio-economic and military sanctions, including full and effective implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa and especially preventing

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it from acquiring nuclear-weapon capabilities. We also urge the international community to put pressure to bear on South Africa for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The South African black majority deservedly needs all the moral and material support the international community can generously extend to it for the success of its rightful cause. Likewise the front-line States should be supported in their efforts to defend themselves against the attacks and acts of aggression perpetrated by the armed forces of South Africa.

All international efforts that could weaken the repressive machinery of the apartheid régime must be welcomed by all peace-loving nations of the international community. In this respect, we support the commendable proposals made at the second Paris Conference on sanctions against South Africa to intensify the efforts to abolish apartheid by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The world has become impatient with South Africa's refusal to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia since its Mandate over the Territory was revoked and terminated by the adoption of United Nations General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), of October 1966, after which the Territory was placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. Subsequently the Security Council, in its resolution 264 (1969), of March 1969, declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal and called upon that régime to withdraw immediately its administration from the Territory of Namibia.

Defiant to all international appeals and refusing to terminate its illegal occupation of the Namibian territory, the Pretorial régime intensified its apartheid practices with increasing military and police repression to subjugate the

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Namibian people so that the apartheid régime would meet less opposition to its robbing and squandering of the vast natural and mineral wealth of the Territory.

The encroachment of the apartheid forces has not been limited to Namibian and South African territories but has gone beyond their borders. The South African régime, using the Namibian territory as a launching pad, has repeatedly intimidated and waged war against the neighbouring front-line States so as to destabilize and disrupt them and prevent them from extending support to the courageous people of Namibia. It is high time that the international community denounced these acts of aggression by South Africa and extended adequate moral, material and financial support to the front-line States to enable them to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the apartheid régime of South Africa.

The Namibian people, who have always fought colonization with great sacrifices, will continue to resist the exploitation of their land and the rapid depletion of their natural and mineral resources by South Africa and other foreign economic interests, in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.

We are very confident that the courageous people of Namibia, under the wise leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - their sole, authentic representative - will continue stepping up their rightful struggle for self-determination and the achievement of full independence. We commend SWAPO's patience and readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with the South African régime within the context of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without pre-conditions or further delay. We believe that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only genuine basis for solutions that can lead to the peaceful independence of Namibia.

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In this connection, we support the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, adopted in Vienna, Austria, in July 1986, and the Programme of Action following thereafter, to mobilize and strengthen further international support for the immediate and unconditional implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Any other plan or strategy that deviates from that of the United Nations will only increase the intransigence of South Africa and will encourage it to delay the freedom and independence of the Namibian Territory.

The international community must exert every effort possible to give to the Namibian people the moral, financial and material assistance needed to counter the South African aggression and to enable them to carry out their struggle under the wise leadership of SWAPO - their sole, authentic representative - to gain genuine freedom and independence.

It is indeed disheartening to find ourselves once again addressing the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq that has ravaged the Gulf region for six years on end. Notwithstanding the steadfast efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement, the conflict still rages with unabated intensity, wreaking destruction upon economic infrastructures that are indispensable to both countries for their economic and social progress. It is also taking a heavy toll among civilian populations, especially in the present phase of escalation.

I should like to commend the constructive efforts undertaken by the member States of the Economic Co-operation Council of the Gulf countries in their endeavour to put an end to this bloody and destructive conflict, which not only is depleting the human and natural resources of the countries involved but also is threatening international peace and security. In the present circumstances



(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

the only reasonable course of action left to the parties concerned is to start dialogue without any further delay to achieve a peaceful solution of their differences. In this regard, we appreciate and support the wise and constructive initiative taken by the Government of Iraq to terminate this senseless carnage and destruction and its intention to enter into peaceful negotiations leading to the settlement of the crisis.

It is our hope that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference will persevere in their endeavours to put an end to the conflict and restore peace in the region.

The Chadian question has remained unresolved for many years, and the restoration of peace in the country during that period of time has evaded all possible solutions, while the sad fratricidal war has continued to ravage the country's human and material resources. We regret that the commendable mediation efforts exerted by several African Heads of State in the search for reconciliation and peace have been frustrated.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

We urge the competent bodies of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to continue their commendable efforts to explore all possible channels to speed up the process of peaceful negotiations to achieve national reconciliation and lead to a lasting political solution for the unification of Chad.

With regard to the conflict in Western Sahara, we reaffirm our position in support of the Sahraoui people in the exercise of their right to self-determination. In that regard we reiterate our support for the consensus reached within the OAU to hold a referendum to allow the people of Western Sahara to exercise their right to self-determination in conformity with the spirit and resolutions of the OAU.

For several years Afghanistan, a peaceful, developing and non-aligned country, has been a victim of foreign intervention, in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and of the obligation of all States to refrain, in their international relations, from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State. Notwithstanding the persistent call of the international community for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Afghanistan, the Afghan people continue to suffer from the brutality of foreign occupation.

It is therefore incumbent upon the international community to endeavour to put an end to the continued and serious suffering of the Afghan people and to alleviate the socio-economic burden of neighbouring countries where millions have sought refuge. We express our appreciation and support for the Secretary-General's sustained efforts and constructive steps in his search for a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem. The situation calls for the urgent achievement of a political solution that will enable the Afghan people to exercise their full right to sovereignty by choosing the social, political and economic systems of their preference, in accordance with their national aspirations.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

It is now eight years since the Kampuchean people fell victim to foreign military intervention. The persistent call of the overwhelming majority of the international community for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea has so far gone unheeded. We reiterate once again that the only way to put an end to the plight of the Kampuchean people is to ensure the evacuation of foreign forces from the country and the restoration and preservation of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to allow the Kampuchean people to choose freely the system of government they may wish to establish.

The situation that has prevailed on the Korean peninsula since the early 1950s is fraught with tension. We believe that the best way to foster better relations between North and South Korea is to create the necessary conditions that would enable the Koreans themselves to undertake a constructive dialogue to resolve their differences. A lasting settlement can be achieved only if the Koreans themselves can establish mutual trust without any interference from outside.

The international community could not have chosen a better forum than this body to exchange views on matters so vital to its survival. As the Assembly united us now, our thoughts cannot escape from the shadows of the gloomy pictures of the world environment, plagued with countless civil strifes, confrontations, conflicts and mass displacements of population as a result of the deteriorating third world economic situation, aggravated by the runaway global economy, by unrelenting natural disasters and by prevalent uncertainties in international economic relations.

The ceaseless cry for help of the hundreds of millions of people suffering in squalid misery, starvation and abject poverty and of the tens of millions of homeless refugees and displaced persons, as well as the unbearable human suffering all over the world, add darker clouds to these gloomy pictures that have always crowded the panorama of our daily thoughts.

(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

Despite all that, our strong faith in human solidarity in times of crisis has taught us to trust that the spirit of true co-operation and understanding among the nations of the world will prevail over the consequent fears and suspicion emanating from such unrelenting hardships.

We are confident that our need to live together in a peaceful and secure environment will transcend the reluctant and stunning state of global dialogue and lead to better survival. Our wisdom and deep foresight in safeguarding our interdependent relationship will pragmatically guide our endeavours in all matters that influence the wellbeing of our world, in accordance with the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) ((interpretation from Russian)): I should like to assure you, Sir, that the Mongolian delegation associates itself with the warm words of congratulation that have been conveyed both to you and to the President by preceding speakers in connection with your unanimous elections to your respective offices to preside over the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We are hopeful that the President's rich diplomatic experience, competence and high sense of duty will greatly promote the success of this session.

On behalf of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, it is also my pleasure to extend a cordial greeting to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to wish him every possible success.

The present session of the United Nations General Assembly is a particularly meaningful one. It is being held in the year proclaimed by common consent as the International Year of Peace. That important decision reflects the growing anxiety of the world community over the current complex international situation and its resolve to exert every effort to check further deterioration of the situation and the escalation of the nuclear threat.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Prevention of a nuclear war and safeguarding peace is a difficult but attainable objective. The current world situation demands the removal of the old stereotypes such as the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence". They have become outdated. It is essential to undertake without delay concrete and effective measures leading to radical changes from nuclear rivalry to a nuclear-free world, from confrontation to co-operation, from the arms race to disarmament.

What is the stumbling-block to such a change in international relations so vital for mankind?

The root cause of the evil lies primarily in the policy and practical actions of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, first and foremost the military-industrial complex of the United States of America. They seek to attain a military-strategic superiority and to achieve their neo-globalistic objectives through blackmail, sanctions and acts of State terrorism, including armed intervention against countries and peoples who refuse to submit to their diktat.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The militaristic and revanchist approach to such fundamental issues of the day as questions of war and peace and the right of peoples freely to decide their own destiny is fraught with the most disastrous consequences for the whole of mankind.

Imperial policy is counterbalanced by the growing peace potential represented by the world socialist community, the non-aligned countries and other peace-loving States, the anti-war and anti-nuclear movements and the forces of common sense. The year 1986 is marked by active endeavours and fresh initiatives aimed at preventing a nuclear war, ending the arms race and improving the international situation.

The proposal on the question of establishing a comprehensive system of international security, submitted by the socialist countries for consideration at this session, represents the most rational approach to ensuring universal peace. It is designed to lay down the bases for collective security in the military, political, economic, social and humanitarian fields.

The way to establish the most decisive component of such a system is proposed in the concrete programme worked out by the Soviet Union to deliver mankind from nuclear and other types of mass-destruction weapons by the end of this century. This programme has been complemented by the Budapest Appeal by the Warsaw Treaty States addressed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) States and all other European countries. It envisages a wide range of concrete measures for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, a matter which is also of global importance.

The statement of the Soviet Government of 23 April this year and the speech in Vladivostok, by Mr. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, outlined a host of practical measures designed to improve the international situation in Asia and the Pacific, consolidate mutual

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

confidence and promote good-neighbourliness and co-operation between the countries of the region. Last, but not least, it should be recalled that at the previous General Assembly session the socialist countries submitted a comprehensive proposal on international economic security.

Thus, the new proposal by the socialist countries is built on the solid asset of their previous proposals related to reducing the nuclear threat and military confrontation and promoting détente and peaceful co-existence through the active interaction and co-operation of States.

A comprehensive system of international security envisages that the collective security of all nations on a mutual and equitable basis will be ensured. The co-sponsors proceed from the premise that the security of a State or a group of States cannot be safeguarded at the expense of others.

This initiative of the socialist countries further strengthens the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter on the system of collective security. Its objective is to give practical effect to these provisions, duly taking into account the realities of the nuclear-space age. The Mongolian People's Republic has co-sponsored this new initiative.

At the nineteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held in late May this year, Comrade Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Head of State, pointed out that a comprehensive system of international security is designed to make peaceful co-existence the highest universal principle of relations between nations. As a co-sponsor we have also borne in mind the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, which makes it incumbent upon every State to take concrete measures for the implementation of this basic right of peoples.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic appeals to all Member States of the United Nations to give thorough consideration to the ideas contemplated in the new proposal of the socialist countries and to contribute to their practical achievement.

The Mongolian delegation notes with satisfaction that the spirit and content of the Harare Declarations adopted by the Eighth Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries are consistent in many respects with the objectives of the proposal of the socialist countries. Here I wish to quote from the report of the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, regarding an idea which is along the same lines as ours:

"... in a world where the destinies of all countries are almost certain to become ever more closely linked, there can be no substitute for an effective multilateral system in the maintenance of international peace and security and in the co-operative management of global problems." (A/41/1, pp. 2-3)

Every practical step that promotes the achievement of the important goal of comprehensive security is indeed of great importance.

The Mongolian People's Republic, like the overwhelming majority of States, highly values the widely acclaimed unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions declared by the Soviet Union over a year ago and extended until the beginning of next year. Were it to become mutual and multilateral, a reliable barrier would be placed in the way of the further qualitative improvement of nuclear arms. My delegation calls upon all other nuclear-weapon States, above all the United States, to join in the moratorium and to start working out an agreement on a comprehensive ban of nuclear-weapon tests. It welcomes the readiness of the Soviet Union, reaffirmed at this session, to sign such an agreement at any time.



(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The Mongolian People's Republic highly appreciates the efforts of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden, which have offered practical proposals to contribute to the banning of nuclear tests and the adoption of other measures aimed at curbing the nuclear arms race.

A tangible step towards preventing the outbreak of a nuclear war would be for all nuclear-weapon Powers, following the example of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic, to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Such a step would certainly contribute to strengthening the atmosphere of trust between States, and also enhance the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

The Mongolian People's Republic supports all proposals and practical steps aimed at creating nuclear-free zones and corridors in Europe, Asia and other regions, and views them as important measures promoting the goals of nuclear disarmament.

While welcoming the progress achieved in the talks at the Conference on Disarmament on banning chemical weapons, my delegation would like especially to emphasize the need for the earliest achievement of an agreement on banning that barbaric means of the mass annihilation of human beings.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The international community should not allow existing treaties and agreements in various fields of arms limitation to be undermined. Strict observance of the obligations undertaken by all sides constitutes an indispensable prerequisite for achieving agreements in new fields.

We note with satisfaction that despite the existing real difficulties, as well as obstacles, that are often artificially erected by certain quarters, the contacts and dialogue between the USSR and the United States, the two leading Powers, are becoming of a more active and practical character.

The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting on 11-12 October of this year in Reykjavik. We hope that this summit meeting will pave the way for achieving practical agreements in the field of the limitation and subsequent elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction as well as in preventing the militarization of outer space.

Facts show that progress would depend upon the extent to which the United States side displays the necessary degree of responsibility commensurate with the importance of the measures to be agreed upon.

In this age of scientific and technical progress the uses of its achievements for the benefit of man has become an objective of top priority. In the first place, this relates to the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the peaceful uses of outer space. Mongolia supports the convening of an international conference to consider material, political, legal and institutional bases for concerted action in peaceful uses of outer space. My Government endorses the efforts being made within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure the safety of nuclear energy use. It will accede to the two important conventions adopted at the recent special session of the IAEA General Conference.

My Government welcomes the outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe as a real contribution to the reduction of military confrontation, to strengthening security in Europe, and as an example of reasonable compromise and realism. We hope that the spirit of Stockholm will have a favourable impact on the work of the forthcoming November follow-up meeting of the representatives of the countries at the Conference and likewise on the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

International peace would be considerably strengthened if hotbeds of tensions and crisis situations were eliminated in various parts of the world. It is regrettable, however, that regional conflicts in various parts of the world not only persist but sometimes even aggravate and threaten to undermine the basis of universal security.

Many of the regional conflicts are taking place in the Asia-Pacific region. The Middle East crisis, the Iran-Iraqi conflict, the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the provocations against Kampuchea sow death and devastation and poison the atmosphere on the continent and throughout the world.

The Mongolian People's Republic supports the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). To this end we deem it desirable to reach agreement, at this session of the General Assembly, to establish a preparatory committee which would include all the permanent members of the Security Council.

The crux of the Middle East settlement lies in the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to the establishment of its own independent State and in the complete liberation of all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Mongolia supports the strengthening of the national independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

We add our voice to appeals by the world community to the Governments of Iran and Iraq to put an immediate end to their military actions and to enter into peaceful negotiations aimed at resolving the outstanding disputes between them.

Our Government firmly supports the proposal on a comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of full respect for its independence and territorial integrity.

We consider that a favourable prerequisite for political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan has been created by the decision of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to withdraw this year a considerable part of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan. We hope that this act of good-will will meet with a positive response. A necessary guarantee for the cessation and non-recurrence of outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan should be worked out. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic duly appreciates the efforts by the United Nations Secretary-General and his Special Representative towards bringing about a political settlement to this problem.

The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. Cessation of encroachments upon the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the bellicose acts against the other countries of Indochina would greatly benefit the efforts made to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence in the region. My delegation reaffirms again the continuing support of its Government to the constructive approaches taken by Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and to their consistent efforts to stabilize the situation in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

My Government, as before, lends its consistent support to the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of American troops and armaments from the south of the Korean peninsula, on the creation of a nuclear-free zone there, and to this end the initiation of tripartite negotiations. Realization of these measures would create an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful reunification of Korea and would substantially help to improve the situation in the Far East.

The situation in the Asia-Pacific region has been aggravated by the growing United States military presence and the build-up of its nuclear arsenals there, especially in South Korea and around Japan. The latter is being increasingly drawn into the orbit of the military-strategic schemes of Washington, including participation in research on the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative. Attempts to turn the Asia-Pacific region into another arena of military and political confrontation are being accelerated.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

To halt and reverse the negative development of events in Asia and the Pacific, it is imperative that a common search for ways and means of promoting the idea of a comprehensive system of regional security be intensified. In that connection, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the creation of international machinery that would proscribe the use or threat of force in relations between Asian and Pacific States. Consistent compliance with that principle as an accepted norm in relations among States of the region would undoubtedly contribute to the stabilization of the situation and the consolidation of the foundations of peace and security.

The nineteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party underlined the fact that the complexity of the current situation calls for all States of the region, large and small, to explore together means of achieving regional security and to take collective action to solve crisis situations and outstanding problems. We believe that the time is ripe for engaging more actively in political consultation and dialogue on a bilateral and multilateral basis and assessing the feasibility of convening, at some later date, an Asian-Pacific forum devoted to problems of regional peace and security.

The threat of armed intervention against Nicaragua is becoming ever greater. Attempts are being made to export counter-revolution with the help of traitors to the Nicaraguan people, to stem its revolutionary gains and to compel it to retreat from its chosen path.

The Mongolian People's Republic supports the constructive approach of the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua with regard to a peaceful solution to the Central American problem. The Mongolian people will continue to stand by the Nicaraguan people, which is defending its independence and freedom with great courage. We support the efforts of the Contadora group and the Support group aimed

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

at lessening tension in Central America and the Caribbean and finding political solutions to the urgent problems of the region.

The explosive situation in South Africa poses a serious threat to world peace. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemn the racist régime of South Africa, which seeks to perpetuate at any cost the inhumane system of apartheid. We fully support the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, which called for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Apartheid has no place in our world and it should be eradicated once and for all. We demand the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other patriots in South Africa and reaffirm our solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

The South African régime, relying on the United States policy of so-called constructive engagement, is pursuing an expansionist policy in southern Africa. Our Government strongly condemns the armed aggression and acts of destabilization ceaselessly committed by the Pretoria régime against Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other front-line States.

The problem of granting immediate independence to the Namibian people continues to focus the attention of the international community. This is evidenced by the results of the International Conference held in Vienna as well as the special session of the General Assembly which has just ended its work. Full implementation of the decisions adopted at those important forums will undoubtedly help to boost the efforts of the international community to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to speed up the granting of independence to Namibia, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

My delegation fully supports the decisions of the eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the problems of southern Africa and on intensifying the struggle against apartheid.

The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of granting unconditional and immediate independence to the peoples of Micronesia, Puerto Rico and other dependent Territories.

The Mongolian People's Republic most resolutely condemns acts of terrorism, no matter what their motivation. At the same time, we assail the actions of those who, under the guise of fighting terrorism, resort to brute force and armed aggression against other sovereign States, as was the case with regard to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The struggle of peoples for their national liberation has now entered a new phase in their fight to achieve genuine economic independence and social progress.

We fully support the intensification of efforts to establish a new international economic order based on justice and equality. Such a need is particularly overriding in the light of the deteriorating economic conditions in the developing countries. Their growing external debt, which now exceeds \$1 billion, has become an awesome challenge. There is an urgent need to introduce basic and structural changes in the economic relations between the leading Western Powers and the developing countries and to carry out practical measures aimed at ensuring genuine economic security for all States. It is quite natural to expect this issue to become a central point in the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly.

Twenty-five years have passed since my country's admission to the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Republic has done its best throughout that period to contribute to the improvement of the effectiveness of the United Nations as an



(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

instrument for maintaining international peace and security. On the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic, the United Nations adopted a decision to observe every year a week devoted to fostering the objectives of disarmament. The Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace has also been adopted. We try to take an active part in the activities of the Organization in social and humanitarian fields. Our delegation intends to propose at this session of the General Assembly the proclamation of a United Nations campaign for the eradication of illiteracy. The campaign could cover a period lasting to the year 2000.

We share the opinion that the root cause of the difficulties the United Nations is at present undergoing is first and foremost political and for that very reason has implications for the Organization far beyond the state of its finances.

The role of the United Nations as a multilateral forum for broad co-operation among States is acquiring even greater significance. Therefore, those who attempt to undermine it are assuming a serious responsibility before world public opinion.

From this high rostrum, my delegation would like to reiterate the commitment of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic to the purposes and principles of this most prestigious world body.

Mr. TURK (Lebanon) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish first of all to join other heads of delegations who have preceded me to this rostrum in conveying to His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. I take this opportunity also to wish him every success throughout his term as President of the General Assembly. His wisdom, great experience and moderation are the best guarantee of success in this forum.

I wish particularly to pay a tribute to the previous President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Jaime de Piniés, for his successful handling of the work of the Assembly at its fortieth session.

I express my country's gratitude to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for the commendable efforts he has constantly made to achieve the purposes of our Organization - peace, security and well-being for all mankind - and to work towards more scrupulous compliance with and the implementation of its resolutions. We thank him too for the very special attention he has devoted to my country, Lebanon, which does him credit as a man of conscience.

My country has always been unswervingly committed to the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Not for a single day, despite the crisis that has shaken it, has Lebanon failed to play its modest role as a Member of this Organization. We have an unshakable faith in the principles of the United Nations and view it as a supreme forum for saving mankind from the scourge of war - whether regional or world-wide - for improving the economic, social and cultural conditions in which people live, and for promoting the advent of a better world.

We thus believe that it is the duty of all Member States to lavish on the Organization all the material and moral assistance it requires, and to support the Secretary-General in his efforts. The United Nations must survive for the sake of the future of mankind. If it is true that we bear a collective responsibility, it is no less true that it is a priority on the part of the two super-Powers to

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

promote concord among nations, to assure international peace and security and to end the crises and conflicts that are proliferating throughout the world. These objectives necessarily involve adequate prevention, deterrence and repression of aggression, the granting of the right of self-determination to peoples, and the elimination of the injustices that threaten them, in the framework of greater respect for the dignity of the human person.

The agenda of this session is certainly not short of important topics for deliberation. But we insist that Lebanon not be forgotten; in return, we undertake as far as possible to help solve the thorniest problems. Delaying decisions is no solution; it can only add to the existing complexity of the problem and lead to the proliferation of resolutions.

Once again, the agonizing problem of Lebanon has come to the fore, as it has for 11 years without interruption, 11 years of deliberations in the course of which all Members have become familiar with all aspects of the problem, 11 years that make it unnecessary for me now to dwell in too much detail on what everyone now calls the "hornets' nest" of Lebanon. When it was a country standing tall, Lebanon never failed to respond in defence of a just cause. The walls of this Hall will remember this, and they still ring with the resounding appeals made from this rostrum. \*

Lebanon's tribulations began in 1975; our scarred people's wounds, still gaping, attest to its martyrdom, as spoken of by the heads of delegation who have mounted this rostrum year after year. What can I add that is not already known? I wish only to recall a few basic facts.

Whether deliberately, out of ignorance, or trying coyly to hide their face, the media go on repeating that the war in Lebanon is a civil war.

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\*Mr. Dato Rais Yatim (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

Today, I wish to aver as a man of conscience whose words will be confirmed by history, that the war ravaging the land of Lebanon is in no wise a civil war: not in its scope, not in its intensity, not in its very essence. In Lebanon, brother has not taken up sword against brother. Despite its pluralism, Lebanon is a mosaic held together by the cement of nationalism. Once the predatory vultures stop tearing it apart, the war will end forthwith, the unity that has been fragmented will be restored in our ravaged country, and brother will embrace brother.

As I said, Lebanese society is a heterogeneous blend, but the Lebanese people - with all the groups that make it up - has deep roots in the land from which it draws its life-blood. Although it has been bowed by tribulation, nothing has been able, nor will it be able, to uproot that age-old cedar. First and foremost, Lebanon is a people, whose vital forces need security and quiet if their creative energy is to be released.

Lebanon is the Lebanese, thirsting for peace and reconciliation in their homeland, a united homeland from which tears and suffering are banished. A people which death has daily haunted for 11 long years without being able to vanquish it totally, without ever extinguishing the life that runs with passion and determination in its veins, is a people with many branches, but none the less belonging to a single trunk, rooted in the same land.

That is why I have just said that nothing could be further from the truth than talking of the events in Lebanon as a civil war, whatever the appearances may be.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

The problem of Lebanon is - to be quite objective - a tangled web of many skeins, of internal, regional and international factors. The war in Lebanon has three elements: first, internal dissension among the Lebanese comparable to that found quite naturally among members of the same family; secondly, the regional nature of a conflict which has been added to the Israeli-Arab dispute; and, finally, the international dimension, because of the rivalry of the great Powers in the region. While it is true that the solution to each problem can be found by attacking the root causes of it, this is the equation that is found on taking up one by one the three component factors that I have just mentioned.

First, at the internal level, there is now a dialogue going on between the various Lebanese parties concerned, on the initiative of the President of the Lebanese Republic, Sheikh Amin Gemayel, and this has been welcomed by the Head of Government, Mr. Rashid Karami, and the members of his Government. Let us hope that it will lead to a lasting agreement among the Lebanese that is not constantly threatened by disruption, an agreement enshrining a true osmosis, not simply coexistence; concord, not merely a concordat; an agreement forging an authentic nation, not a pale reflection of one. That is why we are counting on this dialogue to lead Lebanon to calmer waters, pinning great hopes on the wisdom of its leaders and the heads of the various political factions. Internal unity is the bulwark against which the violent winds from outside have no effect.

Lebanon will gain four main advantages from this unity. These are: the definitive ending of the war, to the great satisfaction of Lebanese and non-Lebanese alike; the establishment of the lasting security to which the Lebanese aspire and which is as necessary to them as bread, air and light; amendment of the Lebanese Constitution and legislation to ensure greater justice and equality of opportunity for all Lebanese, and the fulfilment of the dreams and aspirations of

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

the Lebanese within a more united Lebanon, with strengthened institutions - reforms made necessary by the attempts to divide us, which can only weaken our country and postpone its salvation; and national reconstruction and the restoration of everything that the war has destroyed throughout these long years of tragedy.

Then all those of goodwill will unite in this common endeavour, the people of Lebanon will speak in a single voice in favour of a sovereign, free and independent Lebanon, not a piece of straw being tossed about by the waves, not the fragile prey of hungry vultures, but a strong Lebanon, strong because of the force of its people, its mother Earth, its history and its civilization.

At the regional level, everyone is aware that in 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon, occupying part of its territory, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the most elementary rules and customs of international law. The Security Council adopted resolution 425 (1978), in which it called upon Israel to withdraw forthwith from all Lebanese territory occupied by it, called for the restoration of international peace and security and for assistance to the Government of Lebanon in regaining control of all its territory in order to make southern Lebanon a zone of peace and security and established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), to be entrusted with a special mission.

On 6 June 1982 the Security Council adopted resolution 509 (1982), demanding that Israel withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon's internationally recognized borders. That did not prevent Israel from continuing to occupy a part of southern Lebanon, committing one act of aggression after another, with the assistance of armed forces trained and financed by it, and stopping UNIFIL from discharging the mission entrusted to it under resolution 425 (1978) and subsequent resolutions.

Israel must withdraw from all occupied Lebanese territory. Until it does so, the continued presence of UNIFIL is indispensable. Lebanon wants UNIFIL to remain

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

and asks that it be enabled without further delay to fulfil its mission more effectively. Although it is now eight and a half years since it was set up, it has, unfortunately, still proved powerless to ensure Israeli withdrawal, to prevent the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and to remove the aggressor from our territory.

Lebanon deplores the incidents of which UNIFIL has been the victim since its establishment, whoever the perpetrators may have been, and particularly those that took place at the end of August and the beginning of September last.

I reaffirm here that the people and Government of Lebanon are unanimous in their desire to improve the security of this Force. Lebanon is ready to contribute to all efforts in this connection. However, we call for a review by the Security Council of the role of UNIFIL. We share the concern of members of the Council from the troop-contributing countries and of the Secretary-General to ensure the security of the peace-keeping forces, which are the largest in the world.

Lebanon is prepared to send UNIFIL a reinforcement contingent to help in the implementation of resolution 425 (1978), which calls for Israeli withdrawal and the deployment of UNIFIL up to the international borders of Lebanon.

I take this opportunity to say how horrified Lebanon is at the attacks against UNIFIL, and I wish to pay one last tribute to the memory of the officers and men who have lost their lives. The heartfelt condolences of Lebanon go to the Governments of the victims and their families, and in particular the Governments of France and Ireland. Lebanon thanks all the States that have given financial or logistic support to these troops, especially Sweden, which has increased its participation by providing UNIFIL with a logistic unit.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

Not content with pursuing its occupation of Lebanese lands, Israel, feels duty-bound to violate the integrity of Lebanese air and sea space. If Israel does not withdraw and its acts of aggression continue, the future of the region will be uncertain, for the people of Lebanon is resolved to free its land and to vanquish the occupier by practising legitimate resistance, which can only increase in view of the inhuman acts of aggression Israel has persisted in imposing on Lebanon.

We believe that liberating south Lebanon is a national duty and that resisting the occupier is a legitimate act under international law, whether written or customary. Every State that has ever experienced the bitterness of occupation has always resisted, adding to its history pages of fierce struggle, proudly written in the blood of its valiant resistance fighters. The General Assembly must know that the Lebanese leaders and heads of the popular factions have repeatedly stated that, once Israeli withdrawal has been achieved, Lebanon will never allow the pre-1982 situation to recur in the south.

We categorically reject the policy authorizing that country to undermine Lebanese sovereignty and independence because of its perceived need to ensure its own security. The Lebanese are not the depository of the security of Israel, nor are they responsible for policing its borders. They are responsible only for the adoption of security measures within Lebanese borders and do not accept any agreement that would impinge upon the sovereignty of their country.

I can assure the Assembly that the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) - complete withdrawal of Israel and restoration of Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanese territory - is a basic element to the solution of the problem that gave rise to the war. I cannot fail to take this opportunity to appeal to the Arab nations. For some of them, Lebanon has become a focal point for their own problems and differences. Eleven years after the beginning of this deadly war their eyes have been opened to the fact that the tragedy being played out in our



(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

country affects them too and that the conflagration which has engulfed Lebanon is now on their own doorstep. Yes, the Arab countries are indeed firmly resolved to root out this cancerous excrescence which has not spared them either. With their assistance we can rebuild our devastated country for the greater good of us all.

I come now to the international dimension of the Lebanese conflict. The war of Lebanon, and we have made this point before, results from the inability to agree on a just, comprehensive, lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East and the obstinacy in linking Lebanon with the crisis that besets the region as a whole. We have constantly called for a solution to be found to this problem as soon as possible and we have given unambiguous support to the convening of an international conference on this subject with the participation of all parties concerned.

Is it not therefore unfair that it is Lebanon, a small country so desirous of peace and tranquility that has been spared neither suffering nor tribulation, that is paying the cost of this inability to resolve these problems that go far beyond the context of its national borders?

We appeal to our friends throughout the world - in particular the United States and the Soviet Union - to help us to put an end to our trials without linking our problem to the problem of the Middle East as a whole. Furthermore, I am convinced that the solution to the problem of Lebanon is one of the key elements to the settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The crisis that has beset Lebanon for 11 years has brought in its wake an alarming political and social situation further compounded by the Israeli invasion of 1982 and the continued occupation of the south, as well as a distressing economic and financial situation that Lebanon alone is not able to put right. Our losses - in lives and material damage - are incalculable.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

In order to rebuild what the war has destroyed, we need the contributions of the Arab countries, friendly countries and international organizations, as well as the United Nations and its specialized agencies, in keeping with the resolutions of the Arab summit, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. We urge that Lebanon be helped to effect its economic recovery and to improve the lot of its sons in distress or displaced and to help tend their wounds.

Frequently the mention of terrorism or certain terrorist acts brings with it the mention of Lebanon. Let me state from this rostrum that Lebanon knows the difference between resistance and terrorism. While resistance is legitimate when it is a question of restoring the rule of law on a territory freed from foreign occupation and within the context of regained sovereignty, the same cannot be said of terrorism, which we most vehemently reject and condemn.

Everybody here knows that Lebanon is one of the victims of terrorism and that it has been suffering from terrorism more than any other country. How many innocent lives have been cut down, how many citizens have been forced into exile, how many orphans or invalids have been victims of this war!\*

\*The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

Although, unfortunately, Lebanon has become for some a springboard to launch terrorist acts - because part of its territory is not under the control of the central Government - are we not entitled to think that if that Government were in a position to regain, inch by inch, control over its national territory and to restore public order there, that would in itself remove this scourge of modern times and the resulting shadow that looms over everyone, Lebanese and non-Lebanese alike? That is the task we are tackling, and it is here that the assistance of the international community is the most necessary, in order to enable Lebanon - through the implementation of this Organization's resolutions - to regain its security, territorial integrity and complete sovereignty, in its own interest and in the interest of everyone.

After that brief review of the facts, I wish to make some comments.

First, since its establishment, the United Nations - and I should like to say for the record that Lebanon was one of the founding Members - has had the responsibility of protecting the small States that do not have the resources to ensure their own defence, in a world where the law of the jungle is said to be the best law. And Lebanon, which is a small country, needs the confidence of others and looks to this Organization to fulfil the wishes of its people. That is why we hope that the United Nations will remain an effective Organization, monitoring compliance with the law and taking into consideration the aspirations of States to sovereignty and independence, with respect for humanitarian values. Only then will we be able to continue to view the Organization as the shield protecting us from injustice. Lebanon, as a Member of this Organization, certainly has obligations under the Charter; but it also has rights, which are the counterpart of those obligations and which it wants to see recognized and respected by the Organization and its Member States - primarily the right to independence, to sovereignty and to territorial integrity, which of necessity implies implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

Secondly, Lebanon, it is true, is a small country with a small population, but it has made up for that by the other assets with which nature has, fortunately, endowed it and which are familiar to the historians. That country, small in size but large in civilization, was the lighthouse that projected its beam over the waters of the port - a beam that was weak but that was none the less visible from far off the coast, in the gathering gloom of the night. Will not Lebanon - this country that is small but has an intense cultural impact - be rescued by this body in its hour of adversity?

Thirdly, in fact, the whole region has borne the full brunt of the war in Lebanon, because peace in Lebanon cannot be dissociated from peace beyond its borders. Formerly, as everyone here well knows, Lebanon was like the white dove of peace. On more than one occasion, it held out the olive branch. It was a land of asylum for the needy. It zealously defended law and peace. That was the case formerly, as I have said, when it was a haven of peace - enough peace to fill the whole world. Unfortunately, when peace deserted my country, the tranquillity of our neighbours left with it. That is why, unless we all make it our duty, without any further ado, to put out the flames consuming Lebanon, the fire may well spread to the whole region.

Fourthly, on the strength of what we have physically experienced, we state here that the Lebanon of former days - strong, independent and united - the Lebanon before the storm in 1975, was perfectly capable, because of its special geographical situation and its leading historical role, of shouldering its responsibilities and even of assisting others. But the Lebanon of today, weakened and bled white, has become a burden to itself and to this body. If, then, we see to it that this peace that has fled Lebanon is brought back to it, this body too will regain peace too.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

Lebanon is addressing itself not to the Assembly's emotions but to its conscience. Peace, and peace alone, can guarantee tranquillity and the enjoyment of life to human beings, releasing their vital energy and promoting the development of the values they cherish, free from the fear of death and war - this horrible fate which wrests from them the state of grace that life represents. This tiny spot of light on the map of the world that Lebanon constitutes can become stronger in peacetime, until it is a large flame spreading its beneficial glow to all around it.

Today, my country is rent asunder by the difficult choice between the law of the jungle and the supremacy of the rule of law. But Lebanon - if only for reasons of its special situation - cannot assert the strength of power which it no longer has. Its strength must therefore be sought in legitimacy.

Lebanon, a country of democratic tradition and openness to the world, made freedom a profession of faith, until it turned against us because of a cruel fate and a strange reversal of the scale of values, by which tolerance was confused with permissiveness and openness to others with anarchy - to the point that what had been its lifeblood became a weakness. It was then that the war of others burst on the Lebanese scene and settled there. It was then that some saw in Lebanon a choice land to which to export their conflicts, with their succession of misfortunes and destruction - and the tears of the widows and the orphans will never be able to wash away the blood of the innocent.

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

And each time, the aggressor came back to our devastated homeland, which it thought it had brought to its knees, only to discover in the ruins the seeds of new life, to discover that there was still in the hearts of the Lebanese people an obstinate desire to live in their motherland where they have such deep roots.

Lebanon has had more than its share of suffering. It has endured the war of others and has suffered for others. With admirable courage, it has endured its sufferings with patience. Although it has sometimes had to bow before the tempest, it has risen up again and has remained defiant despite its sufferings. That is why it is high time that justice be done to this country, lest like Samson it perish in the ruins of the fallen temple, bringing others down with it, in its own destruction.

Throughout its history, Lebanon has braved these violent attacks. Each time it has tended its wounds and risen up again, firm as a rock, resisting valiantly; while its people has tenaciously rebuilt the ruins with loving care and once again opened wide its doors to the outside world. The winds that are blowing may uproot the brambles and shake the buildings, but it can do nothing against the majestic cedar, so deeply rooted in its native soil that their destinies are inseparable. And my country lives up to its emblem: it is immortal.

Lebanon must be the only country in the world with as many of its citizens scattered throughout the world as it has residing within its borders. Thus Lebanon shares the benefits of its creative genius with the whole world, and especially with all the countries that have given asylum to Lebanese.

Consequently it is not in vain that Lebanon addresses the conscience of the world, which well appreciates the powerful influence of that country when it was at peace.

In conclusion, when we recall that Lebanon was referred to in an epic dating back to the ninth century B.C., engraved in cuneiform characters on tablets of

(Mr. Turk, Lebanon)

clay, when we re-read in the passage of Homers' Odyssey describing the grotto of the Siren Calypso: "The perfume of the cedar spread to each nook and cranny, filling it with scented air", we understand that we have a duty not to fail in our historic mission.

There are children in Lebanon who have never known anything but fear. The very least our duty to them requires is to teach them what peace means. Lebanon hopes to become again the white dove of peace, holding in its beak the olive branch, its brow encircled with a crown of cedar leaves, giving free reign to its love for freedom, sovereignty and independence, as well as its thirst for justice and beauty.

Our President, Amin Gemayel, said last year to this Assembly:

"Lebanon has achieved the miracle of survival and it deserves to live in dignity.

"... On behalf of Lebanon I declare that it will survive at the crossroads where history and geography have placed it, a living example of a country devoted to law, justice, liberty and the dignity of man."

(A/40/PV.42, p. 42)

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rashid Karami, said, at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly:

"We have striven to make Lebanon a haven for freedom and humanity. This is our cherished legacy to be handed over intact to succeeding generations."

(A/39/PV.22, p. 46)

We salute this Organization, created to spread peace and security and to promote the advent of a world where life will be better. Our gratitude will go out to it when brave words are accompanied by deeds, when fine professions of faith prove to be more than mere words. That will indeed be a blessing for a nation enriched by its past, courageous in facing the dangers of the present, and looking to the future with hope.

Mr. PENGIRAN BAHRI (Brunei Darussalam): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, I offer you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election to this high office reflects the respect and the esteem that the international community has for you personally and for your country, Bangladesh, with which Brunei Darussalam has always enjoyed warm and brotherly relations. I am confident that with the wealth of your experience and the wisdom of your views to guide it, this session of the General Assembly will be able to achieve its objectives.

I also wish to offer my profound appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, who successfully presided over the proceedings and affairs of the historic fortieth session last year. I would also like to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, who has put so much effort into ensuring the effective and smooth running of this Organization.

Almost a year has gone by since we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. At that momentous gathering here last year, many world leaders spoke, expressing varying appreciations and perceptions of the performance and effectiveness of the United Nations. Whilst some expressed satisfaction at the achievements and successes, others spoke of the failures and of the inability of the United Nations to act decisively. They also spoke of the weaknesses of the United Nations. But on the whole they came to the same conclusion, which we share, that the United Nations is necessary for achieving the ultimate goal of world peace and stability, and the United Nations can do much more than it has done to date towards achieving this cherished goal. However, the United Nations at this moment is facing a serious challenge to its very existence. Brunei Darussalam earnestly hopes that the problem can be quickly resolved.



(Mr. Pengiran Bahrin,  
Brunei Darussalam)

We are meeting again at this annual session of the General Assembly in order to consider together the problems of our time. We are meeting because we all feel that we have a responsibility and an obligation to our countries and to the human race to exert our influence to make the world a safer and better place for ourselves and for successive generations to live in. We have an equal responsibility to make our contribution to the achievement of the lofty purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We cannot hope to achieve world peace and stability unless and until we are able to accept and translate into action this responsibility that we share. Why is it so difficult to achieve this objective? It may be, as one leader said last year, that we have ceased to listen to one another.

Every year we make our statements in this splendid Hall, each of us saying and declaring that we want a better world, a just world in which people can live in peace and harmony. Brunei Darussalam urges Member States to renew their belief in the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their commitment to them.

At this forty-first session we are faced once again with the same unresolved issues. There are regional problems still waiting to be resolved. Cases of colonial and foreign domination still exist and need to be rectified. The arms race and the growth of nuclear arsenals continue to cast a dark shadow over the very future of mankind. There is an ever-widening gap between the poor and the rich. There is hunger and poverty. There is misery and deprivation;

World peace will remain elusive as long as the nations of the world continue to ignore the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. As long as the powerful nations continue to use force with impunity and to impose their will on smaller nations, the future of small nations cannot be made secure and their territorial sovereignty and integrity cannot be guaranteed.

(Mr. Pengiran Bahrin,  
Brunei Darussalam)

Brunei Darussalam believes that it is crucial to world peace that the security and sovereignty of small nations should be guaranteed. Their right to exist as independent and sovereign nations must be respected and ensured in an international environment of peace, stability and progress.

Of late, much of our attention has been focused on the events in South Africa. This problem has been with us for a very long time. It is regrettable that it is still on the agenda of the United Nations. We have all condemned the system of apartheid. It is an evil system. It is degrading to the dignity of mankind. We have supported past efforts to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa and the dismantling of the apartheid system. Brunei Darussalam joins other like-minded nations in expressing its conviction that there is an urgent need to bring world-wide pressure to bear on South Africa through the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, since there is no other way.

The situation in neighbouring Namibia is by no means less disturbing. The racist Pretoria régime continues to impose its will on Namibia. Brunei Darussalam deeply regrets the continued refusal of the Pretoria régime to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as it has promised to do. Brunei Darussalam believes that the only way to solve the problem is for the international community to continue to increase pressure against the Pretoria régime.

In the Middle East, the situation remains serious. The resolution of the Palestinian issue is still not in sight. The Palestinian people continue to be deprived of a homeland of their own. We have said many times before that the situation will continue to deteriorate unless Israel withdraws its forces from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. Peace continues to elude Lebanon. The war between Iran and Iraq also continues unabated.

(Mr. Pengiran Bahrin,  
Brunei Darussalam)

In Afghanistan, although there is a glimmer of hope, the situation is not very much improved from what it was a year ago. Brunei Darussalam, however, welcomes the recent development, although it is a slight one, and hopes that early settlement of the problems can be achieved. We applaud the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, for their untiring efforts in the search for a peaceful settlement of the problem consistent with the principles upheld by the United Nations. We also commend the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for its patience and its contributions. As a neighbour of Afghanistan's, Pakistan has to shoulder the very heavy burden of looking after several hundred thousand Afghan refugees.

We have been saddened, however, to learn that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan have been violated many times, with resulting damage to property and loss of human lives. These violations are contrary to the rules of international law and a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Brunei Darussalam joins other nations in condemning these acts of unprovoked aggression.

In South-East Asia, the situation in Kampuchea has not changed. Kampuchea is still occupied by foreign forces. Viet Nam continues to be intransigent. Hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people are still encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Not only does this impose hardships and difficulties on Thailand but it has become a burden to this Organization and to the international community.

As a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, Brunei Darussalam wishes to see a peaceful political settlement of this problem. We wish to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces so that sovereignty and territorial integrity can be restored to the Kampuchean people. We wish to see a process of national reconciliation and the restoration of unity and freedom to the people of

(Mr. Pengiran Bahrin,  
Brunei Darussalam)

Kampuchea. We wish to see the return of peace so that the people of Kampuchea may be allowed to determine their own future and destiny free from all external interference or pressure.

Brunei Darussalam supports the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the wise and able leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has wide international support. Recently that Government put forward an eight-point proposal for a solution to the Kampuchean problem. We see this as a reasonable and constructive proposal inasmuch as it addresses the core issues of the problem: phased withdrawal of all foreign troops, national reconciliation and self-determination. It offers a constructive framework for negotiation. The Kampuchean problem can be resolved only by peaceful negotiations in which all the Kampuchean people are represented. A peaceful Kampuchea would lead to a peaceful South-East Asia, and this could benefit all the countries of the region, including Viet Nam.

With regard to the Korean Peninsula, we wish to state that Brunei Darussalam continues to welcome any development that would lead to the lessening of tension in the region. We urge the two countries concerned to resume the suspended dialogue. We feel that the Korean question should be resolved peacefully through dialogue and negotiations between the South and the North. We also wish to reiterate our support for the admission of the Republic of Korea to membership of the United Nations and indeed urge the admission of both Koreas, consistent with the principle of universality.

The world today is faced not only with political problems but also with a severe economic crisis. The economies of many developing countries suffer from massive unemployment, depressed commodity prices and a heavy burden of debt repayment. The protectionist policies adopted by many developed countries have prevented goods from third-world countries from gaining access to their markets.

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Brunei Darussalam)

The resulting dislocation of the economies of the third world can only bring about political instability. This in turn will inevitably bring economic chaos to an already fragile world economy. Brunei Darussalam joins other third-world nations in urging the developed countries to be more open-minded. We urge them to be more receptive to proposals put forward by the third world. They must be more sensitive to this issue. They must be made to understand that their protectionist policy is seriously undermining our political stability.

(Mr. Pengiran Bahrin, Brunei Darussalam)

While conscious of the worldwide tensions caused by armed disputes, we are also aware of the increasing threat and danger of drug abuse. Drug abuse and illicit trafficking in drugs have reached an alarming stage. The implications for socio-economic security and for the cultural aspects of human life are evident. Brunei Darussalam recognizes that this social epidemic can be eradicated only through concerted national, regional and international efforts. We have taken appropriate steps in Brunei Darussalam by establishing an anti-drugs unit to co-ordinate such drug-related programmes and activities as the enforcement of narcotic laws, the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts and the implementation of drug-prevention programmes. At the regional level, Brunei Darussalam has worked closely with its ASEAN partners. We welcome the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, which will be convened in June next year and hope that that Conference can suggest positive steps to combat this social disease.

In conclusion, I wish once again to assure you, Mr. President, of Brunei Darussalam's full and unstinting support to you and to the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.