



General Assembly

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Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 26 September 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)

later: Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman)
(Vice-President)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Hameed (Sri Lanka)
Mr. Shanker (India)
Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. Bedregal Gutierrez (Bolivia)
Mr. Fall (Senegal)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): It gives me great pleasure to see you, Sir, a distinguished son of South Asia, presiding over this forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. The people of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh have a long tradition of friendship and co-operation. We are partners in the pursuit of peace and economic progress in many forums - not only at the United Nations, but also in the Non-Aligned Group of States, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Colombo Plan and, most recently, in the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, a grouping which held its first summit in your historic capital. Our congratulations and warmest good wishes go to you, and the General Assembly can look forward with confidence to a successful session under your guidance and wise chairmanship.

We also wish to express our appreciation to Ambassador Piniés of Spain for his exemplary conduct of the Assembly's work during the historic fortieth commemorative session.

We meet at a time when the basic needs of the millions of underprivileged in the developing nations are nowhere near being satisfied despite our determined efforts to adopt policies based on the realities of an interdependent world. The inequalities and imbalances of the existing economic situation act as a barrier to progress.

Primary commodity agricultural economies are faced with declining commodity prices which impose intolerable strains on their balance of trade and balance of payments. Newly industrialized countries, on the other hand, are checkmated by arbitrarily imposed protectionist measures derogating from the principle of free trade in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The transfer of

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resources is clogged by interest rates which are still too high for developing-country borrowers. Conditions imposed by lenders in their turn force adjustments the harshness of which creates social and political instability. The dominance of the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in the world economy is a reality, and we recognize it, but with that dominance must come responsibility to manage the world economy in such a manner as to ensure justice for all and the continued efficiency of the system for mutual benefit. A comprehensive view of the global economy must remain in sight if we are not to perpetuate the inequalities of the present system. If efficiency is the criterion, then let it be applied uniformly in the economics of production on a global scale without penalizing countries for their lower costs. If State subsidies give unfair advantages, then State intervention to bail out ailing corporations and multinationals must also be contrary to the proclaimed values of privatization. If free trade is championed in the services sector to allow open competition in all economies, then, equally, free trade in goods, without quota restrictions and other protectionist barriers, must prevail.

The problems facing the world economy and requiring urgent action arise from the inadequacy of the recovery of the economies of the Western industrialized countries. The over-expansion of some of those economies financed by foreign borrowings leads to a high level of indebtedness and a consequent loss of confidence. Expansionary action elsewhere in the OECD to compensate for problems within the United States economy is crucial because of its impact on the growth performance of developing countries and their capacity to meet the burden of debt servicing. The crisis also signifies an opportunity, if an appropriate redistribution of balance of payments surpluses and deficits takes place. Central questions regarding the character of an inflationary onset after expansion, the

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impact of higher real wages on employment, and the role of developing countries, need to be addressed in any policy context today.

Opportunities to correct the global economic situation are never lacking. At Punta del Este, the GATT Ministerial Conference has just concluded with the promise of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. Next year the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII) will be held, and we must approach that Conference with shared views on how we can restructure the world economy. The North-South dialogue has too long been a dialogue of the deaf.

Perhaps both sides need to modify their agendas, striving for immediately attainable goals involving some relief for the developing countries, leaving the more elaborate tasks for a later period when world economic conditions improve. Realism is not a sign of weakness. At the same time, it must be matched by a corresponding willingness to make some concessions in the global interest.

Let me now turn from economic co-operation to political co-operation.

The need for international co-operation in the current political scene is dramatically evident in respect of southern Africa and the Middle East, where the potential for peace available in ready-made proposals and plans remains tragically unutilized.

The question of Namibia is one such obvious issue, on which we met in special session last week. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted unanimously in 1978, provides a detailed plan for the independence of Namibia on which all parties are agreed.

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It is the intransigence of the apartheid régime of South Africa and the reluctance and political permissiveness of those who have the power of persuasion over that régime that has prevented the people of Namibia from enjoying freedom and independence.

It is the minority apartheid régime that is the tap root of the instability in the entire region of southern Africa. Within South Africa, the régime has reacted with increasing repression and brutality to the nation-wide mass agitation for freedom. Clearly, there cannot be any peace or regional stability until the hideous structure of apartheid is totally dismantled. An essential step towards this goal is the unconditional release of all political prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela, and the removal of the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), to permit the participation of South African patriots in any dialogue with the apartheid régime for the establishment of a multiracial democratic society based on majority rule.

The evil empire of apartheid extends its baneful influence over independent neighbouring States, committing acts of aggression and destabilization against those States. The minority régime has manipulated armed groups to carry out cross-border terrorism against Angola, even occupying portions of its territory.

The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris, reached a decision that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions was the most effective peaceful means of eradicating apartheid. At this session of the United Nations the General Assembly must mobilize international opinion against apartheid and co-ordinate a decisive consensus in order to prevent a bloody and violent climax in South Africa.

The States in the Middle East cannot expect to live in peace and security until and unless the central factor of regional instability, the core of the Middle East problem, the question of Palestine, is faced squarely and solved justly. The

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inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, including the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland in safety, their right to self-determination and their right to establish an independent sovereign State without external interference or coercion. It is our position that Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and that Israel must dismantle the illegal settlements it has set up in the occupied territories. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be a party to any negotiations leading to a settlement of the Middle East question. We support the peace plan adopted at the twelfth Arab summit conference held at Fez in 1982.

The agony of Lebanon is not an isolated phenomenon, but a part of the Middle East question. We declare our solidarity with the Government and people of Lebanon. We call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon to ensure the exercise of sovereignty by the Lebanese Government and people over its territory.

The presence of foreign forces in Cyprus has compounded an internal issue involving two communities on that island into one of great complexity involving the de facto division of the island. We call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic. It is our view that foreign interference or intervention cannot be justified on any grounds, least of all in defence of ethnic kinship. As a member of the Non-Aligned Contact Group on Cyprus, Sri Lanka is especially concerned with the situation in Cyprus, a State facing the threat of separatism aggravated by external factors. Any settlement of the question of Cyprus must be freely arrived at and must be acceptable to the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and its two communities. We support the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve a settlement based on the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

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Tension is a fact in South-West Asia because of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan. We have always expressed our support for a political settlement that would include the withdrawal of foreign troops, and in this context we welcome the Soviet Union's commitment to withdraw some of its troops by the end of this year. We hope that an early solution will be found which would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour so that the people of Afghanistan may be able to exercise their sovereignty without interference or intervention from any quarter.

In South-East Asia, collective security can be preserved only in an international environment in which nations can govern themselves freely and in which foreign troops do not violate the sovereignty of nations. We support all efforts to achieve a comprehensive political solution that would lead to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. This step is vital to the restoration of normalcy and the creation of a climate of confidence and understanding in South-East Asia.

The armed conflict between Iraq and Iran has brought great grief to the two countries, with tragic loss of life and destructive effects on their economies. Sri Lanka, which enjoys the closest relations with both countries, hopes that the various efforts to bring about a settlement acceptable to both parties will be pursued with all vigour and earnestness.

In Central America, the right of all nations to coexist peacefully despite differences in their political and economic systems must be upheld. We support the Contadora process and urge all parties to accept this as a viable regional initiative based on the true interests of regional peace.

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We support the right of Nicaragua to decide on its own political, economic and social system without outside interference. The basic tenets of international law and the application of these by recognized institutions must be respected in working out good-neighbourly relations with other countries in the region.

Great Power military presence and confrontation in the Indian Ocean have not abated, and tension continues to escalate in the area. The proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean was born of the determination of the people of the Indian Ocean area to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to resolve their political, economic and social problems in conditions of peace and tranquility.

Seven years ago, in 1979, the Indian Ocean States secured virtual unanimity in the adoption of 11 principles of agreement for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The United Nations functions on the basis of consensus, and what is now required is an exercise of greater political will and a sense of commitment to decisions already adopted which will ensure the establishment of a zone of peace.

Sri Lanka looks forward to hosting the conference on the Indian Ocean as soon as preparatory work for that conference has been completed, at a date no later than 1988,

I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to another initiative by Sri Lanka - the declaration by the United Nations of 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. An elaborate programme has been formulated, with strategies and over-all plans for national and international action for the period preceding and following that International Year. That programme is based on the belief that housing does not merely provide protection from the elements but also shelters all the diverse stabilizing components that together improve the quality

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of life. The success of that project will be determined largely by the degree of support it receives from the international community.

On a global scale, the area where our common destiny is most at risk is that of the failure to achieve general and complete disarmament. In this International Year of Peace, military expenditures are running at almost a trillion dollars per annum, and some 50,000 nuclear warheads are poised to destroy mankind and all its creative endeavours on this planet several times over. Disarmament issues, and the need to release the energy and resources now being expended on armaments for peaceful economic and social development, have figured prominently since the first Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade.

The messages sent out by that Summit to the leaders of the two super-Powers remain milestones in the endeavour by third world countries to promote bilateral negotiations to achieve peace. Since then, all third world declarations have attached great importance to disarmament, and the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978, when Sri Lanka was Chairman of the Movement, was an outstanding non-aligned initiative, culminating in the final document of that conference, which serves as a charter for disarmament negotiations.

Regrettably, the ideals, agenda and machinery set out in that document have not been realized. However, the extension of the multilateral process to the field of disarmament negotiations and the active involvement of the non-aligned nations in that process are irreversible facts.

The conference on the relationship between disarmament and development is now scheduled to be held next year, in 1987. The conference is a global imperative, and we look forward to universal participation in the conference, with adequate preparation to permit the achievement of concrete results. In the field of disarmament, the agenda requiring action is urgent and will brook no delay. The

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overwhelming demand by the peoples and nations of the world for an end to nuclear testing is still being opposed, even after verification arrangements have clearly been shown to be adequate. We endorse the Mexico Declaration by six fellow non-aligned leaders and call on the nuclear Powers to call a moratorium before negotiating the nuclear test ban to which some of them have pledged themselves through international treaty commitments.

Sri Lanka has long associated itself with the prevention of an arms race in outer space. We call once again for early negotiations of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to ban weapons - including anti-satellite weapons - in outer space before the arms being developed in research laboratories are translated into destructive reality.

Twenty-five years ago, the non-aligned States met in Belgrade. In their Declaration, they asked that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and called for the establishment of an international agency to promote international co-operation in that area. That call has recently been renewed, and we support it.

Another form of violence to which humanity has been subjected in this century is the crime of terrorism, by which innocent human beings become the victims of sudden, indiscriminate killing. This problem has acquired an international dimension, as terrorists frequently operate from across State boundaries. Certainly, the underlying causes of terrorism must be eradicated, but in the meantime the international community must take decisive action to counter terrorism whenever and wherever it erupts.

Sri Lanka's position is that traditional international extradition legislation must be modified so that the political motivations advanced to justify certain terrorist actions will no longer suffice to deter the extradition of persons who have committed heinous crimes, including mass murder.

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Certain European States have entered into bilateral agreements which prevent terrorists from fleeing across borders to avoid punishment for their crimes. Within the regional grouping to which Sri Lanka belongs, the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), steps are being taken to promote regional co-operation in the eradication of this pestilence. At the Eighth Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare, Zimbabwe, Heads of State condemned all terrorist activities and called on all States to fulfil their obligations under international law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in other States or acquiescing in activities within their territories for the commission of such acts. Adherence to those principles is a precondition for combating terrorism in any part of the world.

Permit me to volunteer some observations on the domestic situation in Sri Lanka which has received publicity and projection in the international media. It has been the consistent view of my President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, that this issue should find a political solution, to which end he has striven hard during the past three years. In 1984 he set up a round-table conference which was attended by all parties concerned, except the Tamil terrorist groups. After one year's deliberations, presided over by the President himself, efforts to find a political solution acceptable to all parties were not successful because the main Tamil groups did not agree to the proposals of the majority. Again during the past two months negotiations have been resumed and the talks have progressed satisfactorily. The successful conclusion of the talks now depend on the willingness of the terrorists to be a part of the democratic process. We are thankful to those friendly countries which have been with us in this hour of trial and stress, especially India, our immediate neighbour. Any solution we arrive at

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must preserve the multi-ethnic, multilinguistic, multireligious and unitary status of an undivided Sri Lanka.

A memorandum has been circulated on behalf of the European Economic Community (EEC) by the representative of the United Kingdom in which reference has been made to Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka has learnt from the experience of some EEC countries facing similar problems that such complex issues concerning tensions between communities in any country are best settled without elevating them to the status of "grave world problems".

There are many situations elsewhere in the world comparable to that in Sri Lanka, and those situations have persisted for several years without being raised in the United Nations. It would be unreasonable to expect Sri Lanka to solve overnight a problem with a major terrorist dimension. We are keener and more anxious than anyone else to find an early solution to this problem and are confident that we have the will and capacity to do so, provided all the parties in Sri Lanka co-operate to create the necessary atmosphere of peace and security to implement a political solution and all countries committed to the eradication of terrorism extend to us their unqualified and unreserved support.

It is not Sri Lanka's intention to permit this problem to reach the size and status of a world problem threatening international peace and security. Therefore, we would appreciate it if the EEC countries wishing to see a political settlement in Sri Lanka also place this problem in its proper perspective.

The fortieth session, as the President of the General Assembly himself observed in his introductory comments last week, was a time for both celebration and reflection. Never had so many world leaders gather together to participate in a session of the United Nations General Assembly and never had such impassioned commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and the United Nations

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system been expressed. However, hardly had those voices died down when the United Nations began to reel under what is described as its worst financial crisis. It is clear that what we are confronting is a fundamental crisis of political proportions far beyond a financial shortfall. At the root is antagonism towards multilateralism and a tendency to lapse into myopic unilateralism, which appears as an attractive and convenient path to those with economic or political might, or both.

Wisely, long-term and medium-term remedies were sought, attacking the cause rather than the symptoms. During the current session this crisis is likely to affect the consideration of all issues on the agenda. Let us be realistic. If we reform the United Nations structurally, administratively and financially to present a model of rectitude, wise management and good husbandry, we will still need to deal with this tendency that seeks to drift away from multilateralism and global co-operation. This is the base of the new challenge that this body must face.

Is there a crisis of confidence in the United Nations and its inability to settle the major outstanding issues of the day? As a parliamentarian of more than 20 years' experience, I view the world as our electorate or our constituency. The media have focused on the United Nations administrative and other weaknesses which have been examined by an Expert Group. Unfortunately, not much light has been thrown on how the Organization has failed to implement its own decisions. Let us examine the record - in respect of apartheid in South Africa, in respect of Namibia, in respect of the Middle East, in respect of Central America, in respect of disarmament issues, and in respect of international economic issues.

(Mr. Hameed, Sri Lanka)

I referred earlier to the question of Namibia as a glaring instance of the impotence crippling this Organization. Most of us are more transgressed against than transgressing. Yet we are collectively answerable for the failure to implement our own decisions. We have a collective responsibility to heed the injunctions in the document to which we all profess allegiance, the United Nations Charter.

Let us be fair to the Organization, now caught up in a mood of self-analysis and introspection. The fault lies not in our Organization, but in ourselves. Our obligations under Article 103 of the Charter are of a higher priority than any other international obligations. For small States like my own, nothing would better guarantee our security and our independence than observance of the Charter. History will judge us by our performance, not by the piety of our pronouncements.

Mr. SHANKER (India): At the outset, Sir, I extend to you once again the felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. It is a matter of immense pleasure for me and the rest of my delegation that a distinguished diplomat from a close and friendly neighbour country has been elected to that high office. You bring to your position rich and varied experience. We are confident that you will guide the deliberations of this Assembly with distinction.

I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, for his skilful leadership during the deliberations of the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

I should like to convey our greetings to the Secretary-General, whom we are happy to see once again actively discharging his many onerous responsibilities. I hope that our Organization will continue to have the benefit of his experience and guidance for many years to come.

In the past year the United Nations - indeed the entire multilateral system -

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has been subjected to severe strain and challenge. I am glad that, as he states in his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has found notable unanimity in the recognition of the continuing validity of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the need to strengthen the United Nations so that it may better meet the needs of the future. India is a founder Member and its allegiance to the Organization and commitment to the principles of the Charter remain firm and unswerving.

As all of us are aware, the United Nations came into being in the wake of unparalleled death and destruction. The founding of the United Nations reflected the hopes and aspirations of humankind, which saw the need for a more rational world order. That vision is even more relevant today.

The international situation remains tense. The nuclear arms race and its extension into outer space, conflicts around the world and the world economic crisis endanger peace and international security. Nuclear weapons no longer threaten only States and nations, they threaten the very survival of man. In her address at the seventh summit of non-aligned Heads of State or Government, in New Delhi in March 1983, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi warned that

"Never before has our earth faced so much death and danger. The destructive power contained in nuclear stockpiles can kill human life, indeed all life, many times over and might well prevent its reappearance for ages to come."

(A/38/132, p. 146)

What is at stake is civilization itself.

Last year, at the Geneva summit, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States declared that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought. We call upon those two nations, which bear the major responsibility with regard to disarmament, to reinvigorate their dialogue and take the logical follow-up steps to that assertion. We are glad that after a period of anxiety the two countries

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appear to have resumed their efforts to make progress in this vital field. Their decisions will have consequences not only for their own peoples but for humanity as a whole. We trust that at their next meeting President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will reach important and meaningful agreements.

Other nuclear-weapon States must not shirk their responsibility either. A decision on their part in favour of nuclear disarmament could only have a positive effect. They should no longer take shelter behind the position that they will disarm only if the two super-Powers do.

The desire for peace is universal. There is increasing articulation of that feeling around the world, including in nuclear-weapon States, in legislatures and deliberative bodies, in universities and peace movements, among scientists and professionals - indeed, among all citizens.

Early this month, Heads of State or Government assembled at Harare for the eighth summit of non-aligned nations appealed to the two most powerful nuclear-weapon States to arrest the trend towards confrontation and conflict. Earlier, the leaders participating in the six-nation, five-continent peace initiative urged an immediate moratorium on nuclear tests and offered a concrete programme of verification. A large number of Governments have welcomed this; many Parliaments have expressed enthusiasm and support. We welcome the positive response of the Soviet Union to the appeal by the Six in the Mexico Declaration by extending its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing for a third time, now until January 1987. We hope the United States will respond positively.

The United Nations has a unique role to play in all issues of disarmament. Regrettably, the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament have failed to bring about any positive steps on the vital issues of a nuclear test ban, the cessation of the nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war. It is thus more urgently necessary for the General Assembly to put forward new ideas and mobilize support for disarmament measures.

(Mr. Shanker, India)

Many issues that were before the United Nations at the time of its inception continue to linger on its agenda. Our pride in the freedom achieved by formerly dependent peoples is abridged by the failure to remove the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa and the still unfulfilled promise of a homeland for the Palestinian people.

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Last week we focused on Namibia at a special session of the General Assembly. Namibia, which is solely the responsibility of the United Nations, mirrors a situation where every value enshrined in the Charter stands challenged. Efforts towards freedom there have been continually frustrated by those who had concurred in the plan for independence of Namibia charted in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This is the bitter twist of irony. Necessary consequent action by the Security Council has received support from all Members except those that have direct commercial stakes in the area and that also have the power to annul the collective will with their veto. It is not Namibia that is isolated; it is those who have sought to isolate Namibia that are.

In South Africa apartheid survives and is the root cause of violence and instability in the region. Every initiative for a peaceful resolution has been rejected by the Pretoria régime. Since the last session of the General Assembly a major effort was made by the Commonwealth to bring about a dialogue between the minority who rule and the majority who are ruled in South Africa. An Eminent Persons Group comprising distinguished personalities from seven Commonwealth countries visited South Africa for this purpose. However, the authorities in Pretoria live in a world all their own. Every meaningful proposal was spurned. The international community has no option but to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter as the only peaceful means to compel the South African régime to dismantle apartheid. The alternative would be too ghastly to contemplate.

South Africa cannot withstand the tide of history. The abhorrent system of apartheid will collapse. In the words of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi:

"Racism cannot last. People's aspirations cannot be engaged in a prison.

Nelson Mandela and his people will be free".

(Mr. Shanker, India)

The presence of great Powers continues to increase in the Indian Ocean. Formation of command structures and other forms of outside military presence and pressures negate the decision of the General Assembly to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo has been inordinately delayed because of the unhelpful attitude adopted by some. The Non-Aligned Movement has suggested 1988 as a finite target at which we must aim, and we hope the early convening of the Conference no longer remains an illusion.

We remain deeply concerned over the situation in West Asia. The people of Palestine continue to languish without a homeland of their own. Israel's arrogant defiance of the will of the international community, the consolidation of its stranglehold over the occupied territories: all constitute sad chapters in a seemingly endless tragedy.

We call for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. We support the exercise of the right by the people of Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to self-determination and the establishment of an independent sovereign State in Palestine. The right of all States in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, including the independent State of Palestine, must be assured.

We would like to underscore once again the importance of the early convening of the International Conference on the Middle East in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C; that would constitute a major contribution by the United Nations towards the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq causes us deep concern and anguish. Both these nations are heirs to great and proud civilizations. Both are

(Mr. Shanker, India)

endowed with the riches of nature and talented peoples. Yet for six long years death and destruction have prevented the channeling of their resources to productive activities. As a country which has friendly ties with both, we have had and shall continue to have close consultations with them to bring this tragic conflict to an end.

Of late, we have seen a disturbing trend of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States by powerful nations. Nicaragua has the right to follow its national policies without outside intimidation or interference. All differences must be settled through negotiations. We have extended our full support to the Contadora process. Whether in Central America and the Caribbean or in the Mediterranean, the security and independence of non-aligned countries must be respected. No nation has the right to take the law into its own hands. Policies of domination must give way to greater understanding and respect for the aspirations of the States.

Cyprus remains divided, with part of its territory under foreign occupation. We reiterate our solidarity with its people and reaffirm our support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a non-aligned and unified Republic. We have noted the efforts made by the Secretary-General to bring about a satisfactory resolution of this issue.

In relation to Afghanistan and South-West Asia, I reiterate that the situation can be resolved only through an overall political settlement based on the principles set out in the New Delhi Declaration. We support the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The differences in South-East Asia call for a political solution. There can be no military solution. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account security and other considerations of all the countries in the region and

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eliminates outside interference. We urge all States in the region to undertake a dialogue to resolve the differences and establish durable peace.

The menace of terrorism is spreading. Assassinations, hijackings, bombings have meant the death of hundreds of men, women and children and have resulted in the loss of innocent lives, the mindless destruction of property and the jeopardizing of fundamental freedoms. I wish to reiterate the total opposition of my delegation to all acts of terrorism, whether committed by individuals, groups or States. All countries must co-operate in fighting this common scourge within the framework of internationally accepted norms.

At the same time, we support the struggle of people under colonial and racist régimes and all forms of foreign domination and occupation and of the national liberation movements against their oppressors. Their struggle is legitimate and must not be confused with terrorism.

The process of regional co-operation in South Asia, with which you, Mr. President, have such a close personal involvement, culminated in the formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). The seven nations of the region, which face similar problems, are determined to nurture and foster this process of regional co-operation. SAARC will provide a vehicle for this purpose. India will have the privilege to serve as host to the second summit of SAARC leaders this November.

(Mr. Shanker, India)

Tensions and instability can arise also from the unsatisfactory state of the world economy. The economic situation continues to cause concern and is fraught with uncertainties which carry grave implications for the future. Expansion of world output and trade has slowed considerably, and developing countries in particular continue to be confronted with exceptionally difficult circumstances. Mechanisms of international co-operation which might have helped to mitigate their problems have been rendered largely ineffective. The international economic system remains inherently iniquitous.

The developing countries have been urged to undertake drastic adjustments in the face of an unhelpful international economic environment. Their efforts are hampered by intensified protectionist barriers, sharply declining prices of commodity exports and an increasingly intolerable debt burden. The severity of adjustment measures demanded of them has not only affected development prospects but has in many cases led to social and political tensions and unrest. Such adjustment to an adverse environment, which the developing countries have had no hand in shaping, really means accommodation by them to the policies and national interests of developed countries. There is thus a real danger that outside pressures may lead to an infringement of the economic sovereignty and be inimical to the political stability of developing countries. While it is obviously necessary for the developing countries to implement economic policies which will restore momentum to their economic growth, they must resolutely reject so-called solutions which would have the effect of undermining stable, democratic political structures.

Along with the economic slow-down that has characterized the first half of this decade, there has been a marked change in the attitude of the developed countries, to the detriment of the interests of the developing countries. This attitude can be described as apathy with regard to the fundamental problems of

(Mr. Shanker, India)

poverty and development. It is, therefore, necessary to restate the basic consensus that has guided the international community in the post-war period; namely, that the development problem is a common concern of mankind and requires the co-operation of rich and poor nations alike. A retreat from that consensus and from the responsibilities associated with it will lead to an even deeper economic crisis. Enlightened co-operation in our interdependent world is no longer a luxury of choice but a necessity.

The uncertainties of today can be turned into the opportunities of tomorrow. This would, however, require breathing new life into mechanisms and modalities of economic co-operation. On their part, the developing countries are ready in the most pragmatic and constructive spirit to resume such a dialogue. In this context, we have noted with interest the proposal of the Secretary-General to convene a ministerial-level meeting of the Economic and Social Council to reach an agreement on the issues which need to be addressed most urgently. We are willing to explore all avenues which could lead to a resumption of meaningful dialogue and co-operation in the areas of vital economic concern.

The major economic imbalances which exist in the world economy also reflect the choices before us. If traditional approaches are continued, the vast surpluses and the corresponding deficits which are accumulating in some parts of the world could have a dangerous destabilizing effect. Alternatively, with bold and imaginative measures, they could be used to expand the productive capacity and the potentially vast markets of the developing countries, which could lead to a quantum increase in trade and growth rates around the globe. Low inflation rates and the benefits which industrial countries derive from the low commodity and energy prices should make it easier for them to undertake such measures. It is our firm belief that sustained growth in the world economy for the benefit of all would not be possible without a reactivation of the development momentum of developing

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countries. It is not sufficient merely to promote growth in the developed countries. Any significant improvement in the material conditions of life - which is the fundamental purpose of development - cannot come about entirely through the trickle-down effect of growth in industrial countries. We have to face the development issue squarely and evolve co-operative action to deal with it.

The major imbalances in the world economy, the mounting burdens of external debt, the intensifying protectionism and the falling commodity prices reflect deeper structural deficiencies in the international economic order which need to be urgently addressed. In this regard, we support the proposal made by the Group of 24 in Washington to constitute a representative committee of ministers to examine further the different proposals for monetary improvement and reform. Such an examination could be an important preparatory process leading towards the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development. The forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) would also provide an important opportunity to consider in an integrated and comprehensive manner the interrelated areas of money, finance, trade and development; and we would urge all countries to co-operate fully in reaching an early agreement on the agenda and other issues related to it. It is particularly important that the role and mandate of UNCTAD in dealing with trade and development policies should be pursued and further strengthened.

In Punta del Este last week agreement was reached on the launching of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations to be called the Uruguay Round. We hope that these negotiations will result in the removal of protectionist barriers against the export products of developing countries.

One of the most critical issues as regards the development problem in the years ahead was highlighted by the 1986 report of the United Nations Committee on Development Planning, namely, that developing countries face a serious financing

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gap over the next decade and that, without the restoration of development finance, prospects for growth would remain negligible and unable to satisfy even minimum aspirations for employment creation and higher living standards. We fully support the proposal of the eminent persons comprising the Committee on Development Planning for the doubling of development finance to provide an additional \$25 billion per year, which they have contended is the minimum necessary condition for restoring moderate sustained growth in the developing world.

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The General Assembly has decided to put on its agenda a separate item entitled "External debt crisis and development". This is an appropriate recognition of the severity of the debt and development crisis. We believe that in our search for a solution to this important issue measures to prevent the recurrence and spread of this problem should form an important element.

The developing countries and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries remain deeply concerned about the critical economic situation in Africa. Within their capacities, the developing countries, including India, are doing their utmost to help the African countries overcome the critical situation. On earlier occasions my delegation has outlined the concrete steps that we have taken. These are being continued and further expanded. In the context of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirteenth special session, we shall continue to do our utmost to support the efforts of the African countries in areas where the skills and capabilities that we have acquired in our development experience have particular relevance.

We are concerned that the current financial crisis facing the United Nations remains acute, despite the efforts made by many Member States to expedite their payments. Thus, the United Nations faces a situation in which it will not be able to carry out the work programme mandated by its legislative bodies. The crisis is above all a political crisis, arising from disregard for obligations flowing from the Charter and from lack of agreement among Member States on how to finance the Organization and its activities. We hope that wisdom will prevail and that a consensus will be achieved.

At the same time, it is also necessary to pay due heed to economies which can be achieved without undermining the Organization itself. In that context, we express our appreciation of the work done by the Group of High-level

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Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations. The United Nations must continue to play its vital role in the maintenance of international peace and security and in the promotion of development and international co-operation. We pledge our full co-operation to that end.

In his very first address to the General Assembly Jawaharlal Nehru warned that it was becoming increasingly apparent that if we did not move with speed towards a world order, we should be left with no order in the world. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in his first report to the General Assembly similarly warned of the approach of a "new international anarchy" (A/37/1, p. 1). Nearly 40 years separate us from Jawaharlal Nehru's warning; only four years from the caution addressed to us by the Secretary-General. But their strength and relevance endure. A stable world order can only be one which is founded on ethics and international morality. Political stratagems divorced from morality may hold out the promise of short-term advantage, but they cannot provide the basis of any enduring settlement. The durable world order to which we aspire must be based on justice, equity and mutual advantage. That is the goal to which the United Nations and all countries individually must dedicate themselves.

Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic) (spoke in German; English text furnished by the delegation): It was the unanimous decision of the States Members of the United Nations to proclaim 1986 the International Year of Peace. That decision has inspired millions of people. Witness to this is borne by the Soviet plan to free the world from nuclear and other means of mass destruction by the year 2000, the Soviet Union's unilateral - and several times extended - renunciation of nuclear tests, the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty States for atomic and conventional disarmament, with adequate verification, the proposals put forward

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in Mexico by six Heads of State or Government and the latest initiatives taken by the non-aligned countries, at Harare. All meet with the full approval and support of the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic. The socialist German State joins hands with all for the sake of peace.

Living up to its historic responsibility and aware of the dangers to which mankind is presently exposed, the German Democratic Republic is consistently engaged in the world-wide peace movement. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, declared last spring at the Eleventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the socialist order in the German Democratic Republic is a guarantee that

"through its policy of co-operation and businesslike dialogue aimed at tangible results, the German Democratic Republic will continue to work for the normalization of the international situation and a return to détente".

Today's world is far from being a world of peace; a turn-about to greater security has not yet occurred. On the contrary, the arms race has reached a point where it threatens to get out of control. The hopes which the peoples placed on the results of the Geneva summit between the Soviet Union and the United States of America have not yet been realized.

The atom has changed the world; as Albert Einstein once demanded, it must ultimately change the human mind. Wars, earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, epidemics and other disasters still take their toll. But only nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction have brought mankind to the brink of self-annihilation.

Nuclear weapons rule out thinking or acting on out-dated patterns, with old concepts of war, military superiority and deterrence. Today's world has become too fragile to sustain a policy of strength. Security can no longer be achieved in

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confrontation, it can be achieved only through co-operation. Jointly with the other States of the Warsaw Treaty, the German Democratic Republic holds the view that only an all-embracing system of international security can provide for a durable and stable peace. For who would not agree that peoples would have been spared untold suffering if in the 1930s proposals had been implemented to prevent war and establish a system of collective security?

The proposal submitted by the socialist States to put just those issues on the agenda of the General Assembly at its forty-first session, is therefore fully in line with the goal set forth in the Charter:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures ...".*

*Mr. Al-Ansi (Oman), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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An all-embracing system of international security would mean the following: all regions of the earth should be included, since a nuclear conflict would spare none of them; all spheres of State-to-State relations should be covered, since security today is far from being limited to things purely military, good political, economic, scientific and cultural relations based on sovereign equality are apt to encourage confidence and invigorate peace, and vice versa; all States, irrespective of their social order, size, alignment or non-alignment, should participate. This is the aim of the United Nations Charter which, born from historical experience, and for the very reason of preserving peace, has placed the legal equality of States above their factual inequality.

The United Nations should, as stated in the letter from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of socialist States addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General, take up the challenge of our times and adopt a fundamental document that would spell out the basic principles of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and provide guidance for the practical work of endowing that system with material, political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees.

Not least, the German Democratic Republic would like to point to the experience gained in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process. The Helsinki Final Act, that code of peaceful co-operation, now as before provides a stimulus to relations of peaceful coexistence beyond the region. At the Stockholm Conference it was possible to stipulate in concrete terms military confidence-building as an essential new step towards the required comprehensive renunciation of force. This is a triumph of common sense and realism as well as an expression of the mighty quest of people for making peace more secure. For the German Democratic Republic the Stockholm accord is an encouragement to continue and multiply its efforts for the cause of peace, security and détente in Europe and the world at large.

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The German Democratic Republic supports all efforts aimed at a relaxation of the strained international situation. Through its resolution entitled "Need for result-oriented political dialogue to improve the international situation", which the German Democratic Republic will submit to the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, it intends to contribute to: the political dialogue and negotiations being conducted with a sense of responsibility and a desire for results that promote peace, international co-operation and accommodation of interests, and to the strengthening of the United Nations as a forum of collective efforts designed to promote arms limitation and disarmament, to develop equal international economic relations, to eliminate all forms of racism, apartheid and terrorism, and to settle other urgent world problems.

The German Democratic Republic appeals to the United Nations Security Council to meet as soon as possible on a high, or preferably the highest, level to decide on measures to deal with the basic problems of safeguarding peace. Such a move would promote security and confidence, and quite certainly would help to restore predictability to international relations.

For the German Democratic Republic, situated in the heart of Europe on the dividing line between the two most powerful military coalitions, it is particularly vital that all States act on their responsibility arising from their obligation to maintain peace and that they assist in diminishing and finally removing the material means of war. And this is the ultimate key to the resolution of other global and regional problems - economic, social and humanitarian.

In the International Year of Peace the allied socialist States have submitted an integrated programme for gradual disarmament in both the nuclear and conventional fields, including effective verification. The programme covers all types of armaments and envisages global and regional solutions, including partial

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ones, so that faster or better progress could be made. Respect for the equality and equal security of all would continue to be the basic principle.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are and remain crucial for world affairs. The German Democratic Republic would welcome the further pursuit of the political dialogue begun in Geneva.

A summit meeting with results - that is what States and peoples desire and need. The principles agreed between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva on 21 November 1985, namely, to prevent any war between them, not to seek to achieve military superiority, that a nuclear war must never be fought because it can never be won, and to continue their political dialogue - provide sound bases for the improvement of Soviet-American relations and, consequently, the international situation.

The Soviet Union is offering a specific, verifiable programme of disarmament. It has unilaterally forgone nuclear testing for more than a year now. By contrast, the other great nuclear Power conducts nuclear tests time and again. The German Democratic Republic associates itself with the view of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, whom I should like to wish the best of success in his endeavour, namely, that an agreement on the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests would be a clear signal of a willingness to confront the nuclear challenge. The General Assembly should demand with all due emphasis that the unilateral moratorium be turned into action by all nuclear-weapon States in order speedily to achieve a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear testing.

The offer made by the six statesmen in the recent Declaration from their summit in Mexico to help ensure adequate verification deserves high appreciation.

Plans to carry the arms race into outer space run counter to all this. The

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history of mankind, notably that of the two world wars, disproves the assertion that new weapon systems, whatever their form, could serve to avert wars. The credo of "peace through strength" has always stood for the attempt of a few profiteers to manipulate nations for war. Today, in view of the existence of nuclear weapons that threaten all life, acting according to that credo means death to all. Since no side will allow the other to gain military superiority, common sense and realism call for disarmament and nothing but disarmament.

In that regard, deployment of weapons in outer space is the obstacle to the cessation of the arms race on earth. Even eloquent advocates of arms in space cannot demonstrate convincingly how the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) objective of making nuclear weapons superfluous in the first place can be attained if they have to admit, at the same time, that nuclear weapons and further nuclear tests are prerequisites for SDI. Would it not be simpler, safer and more logical to renounce "Star Wars" and any type of nuclear weapons from the outset?

We in the German Democratic Republic expect the Soviet-American negotiations to lead to accords on ways of preventing an arms race in outer space. The German Democratic Republic supports relevant multilateral negotiations at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. Peace on earth and in space is the goal.

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It has been made painfully clear by accidents or human errors - such as, in connection with space travel, the Challenger disaster, with regard to nuclear power production, the Chernobyl accident and the Harrisburg accident in 1979, and, in the chemical industry, the accidents in Bophal and Seveso - that man must never lose control of what he has created. The secure future of our planet and the advances in science and technology make it essential to ensure that the weapons devised by man must never be used.

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev warned that the detonation of even the smallest nuclear warhead would release radiation of an intensity three times greater than did the Chernobyl accident. One need not be an expert to realize that the explosion of a fragment of the nuclear-weapon stockpiles would spell certain self-destruction for mankind. Even at the present level of weaponry, it will take the highest-level scientific achievements - indeed, all of human genius - to devise ways and means of liquidating the existing weapons of mass destruction without risk to mankind. Every new weapon makes that challenge even more difficult.

The German Democratic Republic fully supports the proposals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the establishment of a world space organization and an international régime for the safe use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the control of that energy.

Like the great majority of States, the German Democratic Republic is of the view that verification must not serve as a pretext for blocking concrete disarmament steps. It is not verification of the arms build-up that is needed, however; verification must be a constituent part of all arms limitation and disarmament.

With each passing day, the peoples are realizing more clearly from experience direct link between super-armament and underdevelopment and, consequently, between

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disarmament and social progress. The magnitude of the material and intellectual resources squandered for armament purposes is indeed unparalleled. If that trend were to be checked, immense sums would become available for combating underdevelopment, hunger and poverty. The German Democratic Republic deplores the fact that the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which was to have addressed those vital issues, was not convened as planned.

Where debt is concerned, the developing countries have a heavy burden to carry, brought about by an accumulation of political, economic and social problems. The German Democratic Republic supports and will continue to support an early and equitable settlement of that problem, as well as the practical proposals submitted by the Group of 77 at the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

As a European State, the German Democratic Republic has an overriding interest in cutting down the weapons stockpiles heaped up on the continent and in preventing the creation of new ones. No European can feel safer with the missiles deployed. Even before the deployment of those weapons, Erich Honecker, Head of State of the German Democratic Republic, urged: "Stop that devilish stuff." Further, the German Democratic Republic regards as most timely the creation of a corridor free of battlefield nuclear weapons along the border between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries - a task to which the Swedish statesman the late Olof Palme devoted his life.

Europe is the continent with the highest concentration of warfare capabilities. It is the region where the two major alliances and social systems are confronting each other, and it is particularly vulnerable. There, not even the smallest flare-up must be allowed, for that would be the beginning of mankind's end. The establishment in Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons would be

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conducive to regional security and to the early conclusion of a world-wide ban on chemical weapons. For that purpose, the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have proposed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany the principles and main guidelines for negotiations between those three States on the establishment of a such a zone. Other States have also indicated their interest. Regional and global solutions are certainly not mutually exclusive. There is no reason why we should not seek the one while not abandoning the other.

The German Democratic Republic attaches immense importance to the Vienna follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in promoting propitious State-to-State co-operation. What the world needs is an environment in which peaceful work can succeed. As was underlined in the joint statement issued by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, on 12 March 1985, the inviolability of frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States in Europe within their present borders is a fundamental pre-condition of peace. Those principles must not be shaken.

This also implies desisting from taking part in new arms build-ups. To do otherwise would be in no way consistent with the general obligation to promote peace. That obligation includes for the two German States a duty to develop their mutual relations in such way as to serve détente and disarmament.

The German Democratic Republic acts in conformity with its highest policy precept, which is to do everything to ensure that no further war, but only peace, shall ever emanate from German soil.

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European post-war developments have corroborated the fact that unqualified respect for the existence of two German States, sovereign and independent of one another, and normal relations between them on the basis of international law are crucial conditions of peace on the continent.

In a world in which the security and survival of mankind can only be ensured through co-operation, a just and lasting settlement of international conflicts cannot be postponed. The German Democratic Republic supports the convening of an international Middle East conference, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as well as the establishment of a preparatory committee composed of the five permanent members of the Security Council, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Aggressive onslaughts in pursuit of State terrorism highlight the need to stabilize the situation in the Mediterranean and ensure respect for the right of all States and peoples to develop their society and way of life without any interference.

The German Democratic Republic invariably supports Cyprus in its just struggle for national independence and territorial integrity.

The inhuman régime of apartheid must be eliminated once and for all and Namibia must immediately be granted independence. South Africa's policy is no longer merely an obstacle to the development of the African peoples: it has become an acute danger to world peace.

The situation in Central America is alarming. Policies of terror, outside intervention, dollar injections for contras, all prevent the peoples of the region from exercising their right to self-determination. The German Democratic Republic demands an instant end to the undeclared war against Nicaragua and to support for the counter-revolutionary gangs. It pays a sincere tribute to Nicaragua's prudent

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policy and welcomes the endeavours of the Contadora Group and its Support Group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The German Democratic Republic strongly endorses the efforts to bring about a political solution of the situation that has emerged around Afghanistan.

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Our country is sympathetic towards the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for an improvement of the situation on the Korean peninsula, including plans to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone there.

The proposals made by the States of Indochina in July of this year require a constructive response in the interest of peace in South-East Asia.

The German Democratic Republic favours economic relations that are based on equality and free of discrimination. It pleads for utilization of the possibilities of the world Organization as regards an international economic order that would guarantee all States equal economic security. It would be timely to prepare, within the framework of the United Nations, a global programme on international co-operation in the fields of science and technology.

During the International Year of Peace, the fact that the right to peace is the determinant human right deserves special mention.

The twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the two human rights Covenants should be an occasion to conduct human rights activities more extensively, in keeping with the United Nations Charter. Both past experience and current requirements indicate the need for intensified action against systematic mass violations of human rights and neo-fascist tendencies.

The year 1986 should witness a new departure in the coexistence of States and peoples. It should be a year of efforts to contain the arms race and gradually to settle international conflicts. Experience shows that the United Nations has been and can be successful only to the extent that its Member States are ready to act along those lines.

To banish the threat of a nuclear inferno once and for all, to replace the terrifying vision of Star Wars by a well-founded prospect of lasting peace on earth - these are challenges that still call for greater and, above all, common efforts.

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From this rostrum the German Democratic Republic reaffirms its will to do everything, within the United Nations and in all its international activities, that will help preserve mankind's life in peace.

Mr. BEDREGAL GUTIERREZ (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. This was a wise choice and represents a tribute by the international community to you and to the noble people of Bangladesh.

At the same time I wish to express the deep gratitude of my country to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for the sincere and effective way in which he has shown his concern about and understanding of the difficult situation in Bolivia. This is evidence of the outstanding human qualities and high degree of responsiveness of the holder of the highest executive position in the world Organization.

I also wish to point out the fruitful work done by Ambassador Jaime de Piniés as President of the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

In celebrating the International Year of Peace my Government joins all the other nations of the world in striving to promote and consolidate international peace and security.

The expansion of nuclear and conventional arsenals and the improvement of the technologies of death presents a monstrous and terrible threat, that is becoming increasingly dangerous to world peace, and inimical to the urgent development needs of the countries located in the hemisphere of backwardness.

The waste of the resources that we need for the economic and social development of most of mankind is constantly growing. Aware of that, Bolivia firmly supports all disarmament initiatives aimed at preserving international peace

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and security, and it urges the world Powers to do everything they can to maintain dialogue and creative thinking that could lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

We also support the strengthening and consolidation of a new international global order of peace and well being for all the peoples of the world, an order in which the goal of international social justice is an attainable goal and not merely a utopian dream.

The world economic situation has resulted in the loss of substantial resources that could have been used in the development of third-world countries, which are sinking to the ground under the heavy burden of foreign debt, which has reached insupportable levels. The economic recession that has resulted from the extreme austerity measures many of our Governments have had to adopt has widened the enormous gap that separates us from the industrial countries in world economic relations. Furthermore, external debt is more than a financial matter; it is above all an ethical and political question.

It has been recognized that there is an imperative need to adopt urgent measures to bring about new forms of coexistence and world economic relationships. We must demand that responsibility be shared by debtors and creditors, and that there be fairness and symmetry in bearing the cost of economic adjustments within a global framework in order to bring about the revitalization of the process of effective and continuous development in our countries. However, ironic as it may seem, despite all our hopes we see economic chauvinism and protectionism in world trade taking a stronger hold.

The Republic of Bolivia wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its commitment to the principles of the Charter, which are fundamental to the defence

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of national sovereignty and the right of self-determination in the context of a world of peace and security. Unfortunately those principles are constantly being violated as international laws are flouted.

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The predominance of power for power's sake is reckless and yet prevails, and the ethical principles which make peace the very essence of civilized life become ever more distant.

In Central America we must put an end to courteous rhetoric on the part of leaders who talk while people are dying and while the economic future of Salvadorians and Nicaraguans is being dealt a crushing blow. We are treading a dangerous path where lack of feeling and callousness put the whole human race to shame.

My Government considers that peace alternatives must be strengthened. It supports the action of the Contadora Group and the Support Group since this is what Latin America wants in order to find a peaceful and lasting solution in the region. But this solution must come here and now. The main characters in this tragedy must sit together and ultimately negotiate without entering into ideological confrontation and motivated solely by a love of peace.

Developments in the Middle East are another intolerable disgrace. Bolivia, while maintaining its principled position in favour of the full exercise of sovereignty and self-determination of peoples, reiterates its support for resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. Nevertheless, this does not imply disregard for the State of Israel, which must have secure and recognized boundaries in the international context.

We wish to highlight the intensive work done by United Nations bodies in seeking peaceful and definitive solutions, which must be complied with by the opposing States.

Bolivia also wishes to urge Iran and Iraq to end the military conflagration which has been dragging on since 1980 and which has only brought about serious economic losses and unspeakable human tragedy in both countries.

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Another problem which is cause for concern at the international level is the tense situation in the Mediterranean. Despite the Secretary-General's efforts to find a solution through dialogue between the parties to the conflict, he has so far not succeeded. On this question the Government of Bolivia recognizes only the legally established Government in Cyprus and reaffirms its respect for that country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The tragic situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan offer sorry proof of irrationality and insensibility on an international scale, with serious implications for peace and stability on the Asian continent. The United Nations must therefore further endeavour to bring about a permanent settlement of disputes and a zone of security in these regions.

My Government is opposed to foreign interference in the internal affairs of States and, accordingly, urges the countries concerned to engage in effective negotiations aimed at finding a permanent political solution based on the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for independence and territorial integrity.

When it is a matter of defending the freedom of peoples subjected to a system which is an affront to human dignity, such as apartheid, my country once again wishes to express its strong condemnation of all forms of discrimination among human beings. This has been proved in our support for United Nations resolutions on this subject.

I wish further to reiterate Bolivia's categorical support for the struggle waged by the people of Namibia for its freedom and independence. My country recognizes the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the only present legitimate representative of the Namibian people and respects the heroic struggle it wages in defence of its natural resources and all the rights inherent in a sovereign, free and independent State.

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Our Organization has played a major role against colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The harsh and exhausting road to liberation and the independence of peoples still under colonial régimes must be a constant objective of the international community if it is to be more just.

In this context we must also include the question of Gibraltar, the last colonial enclave in Europe. My country welcomes sincerely the announcement of negotiations between the Kingdoms of Spain and Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Likewise, Bolivia has always recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands. Firm in its commitment to peace, we support all negotiations between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom aimed at reaching a just and peaceful settlement of the dispute. On the other hand, we oppose the militarization and nuclearization of that area of the South Atlantic.

Bolivia, my country, has fallen victim to the greatest economic catastrophe of its life as a republic. In recent years it has suffered, for the seventh time, the highest rate of inflation ever known in the history of man, the most devastating in this century. Its effects are similar to the damage caused by international war or a terrible internal civil war.

Upon taking over the reins of our constitutional Government in August 1985, President Victor Paz Estenssoro had to face a 25,000 per cent annual rate of inflation, a shattered industrial economy and a constantly and recklessly growing informal economy tainted by criminal links, such as drug trafficking.

Bolivia thus became a country in ruins, without monetary reserves and with growing unemployment. It seemed that it had been placed in a state of siege by dual Powers sponsored by a dogmatic, extremist, maximalist and aggressive left.

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The reconstruction of the country was begun without any international assistance. Through our own efforts and through severe austerity measures, the national Government carried out a new economic policy of which the first, and surprising, results - unprecedented in Latin America - were to curb hyperinflation, bringing it down from an incredible 25,000 per cent to practically zero at present.

However, that political action of true national salvation fell victim once again to international aggression. First, this was due to the fall in the price of tin as a result of the collapse of the International Tin Council in October 1985. Secondly, our foreign trade and international payments, because of this crisis and that affecting other minerals, suffered damage amounting to more than 60 per cent, which meant a real reduction in the over-all economy of the country. Thirdly, to all this must be added the crisis in oil prices which, while favouring the rich, deals mortal blows to producing countries, which are generally among the poorest countries of the world.

The case of Bolivia is a cruel and clear example of international injustice, of the awesome power of the market-place and of the lack of responsiveness on the part of powerful plutocratic centres. These are not rhetorical assertions. They are born of the experiences of a country that has been wounded both physically and biologically by the actions of a self-satisfied and hegemonistic world system.

Beginning with the difficult and aggressive therapy that my people and their economic policy have applied to the cancer of hyperinflation, we have managed in some degree to sensitize world public opinion. In that regard, I should like to stress the generous and courageous personal actions of our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

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That very dramatic proof has led in concrete terms to bilateral co-operation with friendly countries which, in fraternal solidarity, are supporting Bolivia. We wish to thank them and to express our deep satisfaction.

Furthermore, our programme has been well received and taken seriously by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). We trust that, with its co-operation and any other co-operation we may receive, we shall be able to initiate a process of economic recovery while maintaining the democratic system currently prevailing in Bolivia, in the midst of this Dantesque picture of suffering and destruction.

It is precisely in the context of this hyperinflationary chaos that Bolivia has had to bear the additional malignancy of drug trafficking which, as an important element of the informal economy, had been growing and spreading its tentacles of vice into the economic, social and moral institutions of the Bolivian people. As a result, President Paz Estenssoro took the historic decision to fight ruthlessly against this form of organized crime.

At this time, the Republic of Bolivia, with technical and logistical support from the Department of Justice of the United States of America, is waging a real war against that outrage - against that new form of slavery, as drug crime was wisely defined by His Holiness John Paul II. This effort is also an inescapable duty for countries in which the consumption of narcotic drugs is considerable. Otherwise, countries like Bolivia would be powerless in the face of the domestic expansion of this reprehensible product.

For these essentially ethical reasons, Bolivia most strongly encourages the success of the international conference that has been convened by the Secretary-General for next year in Vienna. We are certain that this world gathering will mark a starting-point for the elimination of this terrible scourge from the face of the earth.

(Mr. Bedregal Gutierrez, Bolivia)

On behalf of my country I urge the entire international community to take an active part in this crusade. In particular, I urge the industrialized countries, whose young people have to a greater or lesser degree been suffering from this terrible vice and organized crime, to take an active part in this struggle. If the community of nations does not become aware of this global curse, we will be jeopardizing the ethical bases of contemporary civilization and allowing the financial strength of the mafias to enslave our institutions, our way of life, our families and our very human ethic, which is deeply rooted in our souls and which we wish to recover, above all other considerations of the moment.

We also wish to warn of the need for joint action to curb terrorism regardless of its ideological motivation.

Furthermore, the global crisis of our universal organization - the United Nations - requires the most careful attention of all Member States, if we wish to ensure its survival, which we consider essential to the maintenance of peace and coexistence among all the countries of the earth. We cannot allow a manifest and unworthy conspiracy to try to damage by various means the validity and force of this beacon of world peace and security, our Organization.

Bolivia confidently supports the arduous efforts of the Secretary-General to overcome the serious obstacles we have cited and calls upon all States, particularly the large industrial countries, to lend active understanding and backing to the structural consolidation of the United Nations and its permanent institutional values.

The law of nations, the very essence of civilized life, based on dialogue and understanding between States, is based, in doctrine and in historical practice, on the maintenance of a moral order embodied in the principle of peace and plenty.

(Mr. Bedregal Gutierrez, Bolivia)

This aspect of respect for international instruments also finds affirmation in the principle that the review of treaties, their updating and modernization and consideration of future implications must be the subject of negotiation. These treaties must also be enriched, improved and perfected so that there may be more harmony and understanding in inter-State relations.

This consideration of principle is of special application in Latin America, which is undergoing an intensive process of renewal with regard to inter-State relations. Proof of this is the recent conclusion of treaties between industrialized Powers and developing countries, which supersede old, anachronistic statutes born of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In this context, Latin America is keeping a watchful eye on the faithful and timely implementation of one of those treaties - that which returns full sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone to its legitimate owner.

The international community, and basically the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Non-Aligned Movement, has in recent years faced a problem of dramatic significance for the very essence of Bolivia's history and life. I am referring to the maritime problem of our situation of inferiority because of our having become a land-locked country, and to the significance of this situation in hampering and impeding our possibilities of development.

We will not reiterate once again the origins of this unfair situation; nor will we bring up background details or precedents from a past of more than 100 years, which since the Pacific war of 1879 have not contributed to a solution of the matter. But I wish to take this opportunity to say that Bolivia and its people express their gratitude to all the nations of the world which have become aware of this matter, expressed interest and, in various forums and debates,

(Mr. Bedregal Gutierrez, Bolivia)

advocated efforts to find a satisfactory solution through peaceful negotiations carried out sincerely and responsibly.

It was precisely in response to those brotherly exhortations that President Paz Estenssoro, in a historic act of openmindedness, expressed his desire that this important problem be the subject of negotiations and be dealt with in valid and clear political terms.

At the intellectual level, based on precept of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, the founder of Bolivia, regarding understanding and complementarity among Latin Americans, we have initiated with the Government of the Republic of Chile the first contacts aimed at finding a negotiated solution to a problem that must be resolved, a question the handling of which requires the greatest measure of political will and oecumenical spirit on the part of peoples committed to justice and world peace.

It is our hope that this beginning between Chile and Bolivia will lead to sure progress, because we think we have found in the present circumstances the right moment to achieve objectives of mutual benefit to our countries, based on the philosophy of the unity and integration of Latin America.

The dialogue that we advocate is based on understanding and brotherhood, without rancour, without vengeance, without yearning for a past which is history, albeit true and relevant history. That history teaches us not to repeat mistakes, not to fall into the trap of irrational prejudice, but, rather, with vigour and imagination, to open up and pursue new possibilities of finding a peaceful solution to this important problem. This is what we are undertaking and announcing with satisfaction to the world community.

Mr. FALL (Senegal) (interpretation from French): In conveying to Ambassador Choudhury our heartfelt congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly, the delegation of Senegal wishes to reflect our feelings of respect and admiration for his great human qualities and pay a tribute to the abiding commitment of his country to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples. At a time when we are all discussing our Organization's future prospects, it is fortunate that he was chosen to guide the work of this important session. In assuring him of its complete goodwill and genuine co-operation, my delegation expresses the conviction that, given his characteristic patience and intelligent authority, he will guide the 1986 session to outstanding results.

His predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, commanded the admiration and gratitude of all members of the Assembly. During a particularly busy year he certainly lived up to his reputation as an outstanding diplomat and once again gave proof of his wide, profound knowledge of the problems of our time, as well as his perfect mastery of the rules and procedures of the United Nations.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose whole-hearted devotion to the promotion of peace and harmony among nations is known throughout the world. A man of conviction, courage and action, he deserves the international community's trust and support in the immense endeavour that he is directing and in the reforms he is proposing so that this Organization, which is so dear to our peoples and Governments, can be adapted to the greatest extent possible to the needs of today's world and remain the hope of humanity.

There are years in the history of the United Nations that cannot be passed over in silence. The 12 months that have just elapsed were one such period, so filled were they with events of great political significance.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, which we commemorated here last year, provided an opportunity to reaffirm our faith in and devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter and thus to renew the commitment of our peoples to greater co-operation in bringing about a better world.

Despite differences in our ideological preferences, social and political systems, cultural traditions and levels of economic development, we are aware that our civilizations are complementary and that there is a need for solidarity among all mankind as we face the many challenges threatening mankind and its environment, and the despair, pessimism and anguish aroused by the proliferation and persistence of pockets of tension, the exacerbation of conflicts, intolerance and blind violence, and the ever-increasing imbalance in political and economic relations among nations.

I am addressing this Assembly on behalf of His Excellency President Abdou Diouf, and I wish to speak of the spirit of international solidarity and co-operation, and of the ardent desire that the work of this forty-first session may make a meaningful contribution to the common effort of nations in the inspiring task of building a world of peace, justice, freedom and prosperity.

The crisis facing the community of nations is the result of the international order established some 40 years ago, after the Second World War. That international order, which continues today to govern relations among States, contains anomalies and contradictions that have been denounced in this Assembly many times. I wish to discuss some of these anomalies and contradictions, which include the persistence of colonialism and racism and of foreign intervention and occupation, increasing poverty in the third world, and attempts to upset the multilateral system.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

In this framework, if there is an item on our agenda whose consideration requires of us more openmindedness, boldness, collective discipline, honesty, generosity and dignity - all qualities common to our civilized values - it is without a doubt the developments in the situation in southern Africa, where time is running out. In fact, attempts to consolidate the policy of apartheid, whose brand of logic and whose effects are so well known, are a threat to peace and a serious attack on the ideals of mankind: peace, justice, freedom and equality.

Faced by the valiant resistance of the anti-apartheid militants to an odious, inhuman policy imposed in violation of all legal rules and ethical standards, the minority racist Pretoria régime has enacted a whole array of arbitrary laws, regulations and practices. Using these, and under the cover of a state of emergency, it is intensifying and refining its repression of the legitimate demands of the people of South Africa for equality and democracy.

The South African régime has given new proof of its arrogant position of systematic rejection of all offers for a negotiated solution by scorning the initiatives of the Commonwealth group of seven eminent persons and of the European Economic Community. It has increased its blind repression, which is marked by arrests and deliberate murders of members of the anti-apartheid forces, and by the muzzling of the national and international press.

Pretoria has adopted a deliberate policy of destabilization, aggression and invasion towards neighbouring African States, trampling underfoot the principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law: sovereignty, the territorial integrity of States, non-intervention, and the non-use of force. But the march of history is irreversible.

At Paris, from 16 to 20 June this year, in response to an appeal from the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the international community

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met at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, which coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacres. On that anniversary the suffering South African people determined to spare neither its blood nor its very life to pay a tribute to those who died at Soweto, sacrificed on the altar of freedom and human dignity.

The Paris Conference reflected the general, irreversible trend in favour of sanctions to make Pretoria end its anachronistic policy of apartheid, and the participants advocated the adoption of joint, comprehensive, mandatory and binding measures against South Africa. Realism and a genuine devotion to human rights require the Western Powers that are still reluctant to adopt sanctions against South Africa to join the rest of the international community in imposing such sanctions, which is the only peaceful way to root out apartheid, that blot on our era. That would enable the Security Council to shoulder the primary and historic responsibility entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter in the sphere of the maintenance of international peace and security, which would include action under Chapter VII of that basic instrument.

Reason tells us that the only way to ensure a viable future for southern Africa is to establish a régime of equality, democracy and brotherhood. All of us must demonstrate our genuine commitment to the ideals of the world Organization by ensuring the triumph of its universal principles, of reason and of wisdom. The United Nations must formulate a coherent programme of assistance to the front-line countries and to the combatants of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in order to reflect in our actions the solidarity with those freedom fighters which is the duty of the international community.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

Deeds reflecting that duty of solidarity are eagerly awaited in Namibia as well. South Africa has occupied that Territory illegally for 20 years now, ever since it was decided to terminate its Mandate over the Territory and make Namibia the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

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Although, at the time, it stated its support for the settlement plan contained in resolution 435 (1978), adopted by the Security Council eight years ago, the South African Government - with its attitude of defiance and arrogance towards the United Nations - persists in its expansionist designs and is seeking to impose, through a so-called tripartite conference, an "interim government"; it tries to conceal its annexationist objective behind the introduction into the peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem of alien and unacceptable considerations, and it uses Namibian territory as a base for launching acts of aggression against the front-line countries.

Senegal reaffirms here that all the Members of the United Nations must show greater determination to ensure the total, and not the watered-down, implementation of resolution 435 (1978). That has been stressed by various international meetings and conferences held on Namibia, the most recent being the Vienna Conference and the last special session of the General Assembly. In that connection, it should not be forgotten that the Namibian question is, in actual fact, a problem of pure decolonization emanating from resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Just as in southern Africa - where the hateful system of apartheid sows terror, violence and oppression - in the Middle East, for almost 20 years now Arab territories have been occupied and the Palestinian people have been reduced to the status of wanderers. Despite two wars and several settlement plans, the situation remains grim and is a constant threat to international peace and security. Lebanon remains beset by chaos, while in the Arab territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip the resistance by the people is being stifled by ferocious repression. In spite of everything, the Tel Aviv authorities persist in their policy of establishing settlements and annexing Palestinian and Arab territories - all of

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which reduces the chances of the establishment of a Palestinian State and therefore of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

But the Security Council, like the General Assembly, has long since taken a stand against the acquisition of territory by force and has been demanding Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupies. Moreover, there are the numerous recommendations by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as well as the Geneva International Conference on Palestine, held three years ago, which advocated a peace conference on the Middle East as a framework for negotiations on a comprehensive peace. Those recommendations were approved by the overwhelming majority of States Members of this Organization. But Israel stubbornly ignores them and drags out the Palestinian tragedy through short-term ploys which cannot in any way change the fact that there will be no peace in the Middle East so long as the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), does not effectively exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence in the land of Palestine.

It is appropriate to stress once again the duty of all the Members of the Organization - and particularly those to which the Charter has given special responsibilities - to promote the creation of conditions that can assist the various parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, to negotiate a just and lasting peace on an equal footing, within the framework of a genuine international conference.

It looks as though the question of Afghanistan and the situation in Kampuchea will be on the General Assembly's agenda for a long time to come. In both cases, foreign occupation continues, subjecting the peoples of the countries concerned to an intolerable and unjust situation imposed by Powers that are full-fledged Members of this Organization. In both cases, under the relevant resolutions adopted by the

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General Assembly, the appropriate conditions must be created to enable the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to exercise their right to decide their own future. In both cases, the constructive and responsible dialogue that has been urged, on the one hand, by the Ad Hoc Committee on Kampuchea, of which my country has the honour to be Chairman, and, on the other hand, in the United Nations resolutions on Afghanistan, represent both an organizational and a guiding framework of overriding importance.

We take the same approach to the conflict between Iran and Iraq and to the situation in Central America.

With regard to Central America, the political settlement of internal and external conflicts should go hand in hand with regional guarantees of security and non-interference and with absolute respect for the sovereignty of States, as advocated by the Contadora Group.

With regard to the situation in the Gulf, the international community has no choice but to persevere in its efforts to persuade the leaders of the two warring countries to use peaceful means to put an end to their dispute, in keeping with the wishes of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations.

Finally, with regard to the Korean peninsula, we still hope for peaceful reunification of the two sides, within the framework of sincere and fraternal co-operation, duly reflecting the free will of the Korean people as a whole.

World peace cannot be restored and maintained merely by defusing pockets of tension and eliminating conflicts. Because of the increasing interdependence of States, resolute commitment and sustained effort by the community of nations are also required in the joint search for appropriate solutions to the serious economic challenges. This necessitates intelligence, knowledge and know-how throughout the world, more specifically in the developing countries.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

Much has been said and written about the crisis in the international economic system, particularly its manifestations and the measures likely to alleviate them. Hence, I need not go into that again here. But allow me to stress one particular aspect of this problem in which my delegation is particularly interested, for reasons well known to everyone here. I have in mind the problems relating to the critical economic situation in Africa, which has mobilized so much energy and imagination throughout this year and particularly during the special session that the General Assembly devoted to the question from 27 to 31 May last.

Once again, on behalf of President Abdou Diouf and all my African colleagues - whose spokesman I was during that special session on Africa - I pay a tribute to the Members of our Organization, which, in a spirit of genuine partnership, made an invaluable contribution to the battle for the development of the African continent, by giving unreserved support to the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery, 1986-1990. The adoption by consensus of that Programme of Action, the main points of which are familiar to everyone here, should not be an end in itself but, rather, the point of departure in a process marked by active solidarity, a process that should lead to the rehabilitation of African economies in a healthier world climate.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

Senegal would like, through me, to state once again that it is determined to respect scrupulously its commitments towards the other African countries, such as those it has entered into, along with the rest of Africa, towards the international community concerning the implementation of that programme in the areas designated as priority areas for the period from 1986 to 1990. The international community cannot renege on its obligations either. It must, as it has freely promised, support and supplement the individual and collective efforts of the African States and take the additional measures needed in order to improve the international climate, particularly with regard to the problems of debt, commodity prices and protectionism. In this regard, after the decision by Canada to suspend repayment of African debt for the five years' period of implementation of the United Nations plan for the recovery and economic development of Africa and that by Netherlands to cancel the debts of the least developed African States - measures that we welcomed at the time - we were pleased to hear the announcement by Mr. Andreotti, the Foreign Minister of Italy, that his country had decided to allow African States indebted to Italy to convert the debts to be repaid over a certain number of years into aid credits at reduced interest rates of not more than 1.5 per cent, with reimbursement periods of 20 years, with a 10-year period of grace.

Proper implementation of the recovery programme will require a substantial increase in the financial resources of the international organizations concerned with the development of Africa, both by building up and increasing their capital and by supporting the African programmes of those international development financing organizations. The process that has thus been started must spark a true resumption of North-South dialogue and provide a privileged area for testing South-South co-operation. Africa's active participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) conference at Punta del Este, the concerted

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preparations it intends to make for the next session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and its positive contribution at the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Cairo from 18 to 23 August 1986, and also at the eighth summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Harare, attest to our continent's loyalty to that commitment.

Concerted implementation of all the recommendations contained in the programme for the rehabilitation of the African economies would specifically reflect the awareness, which is now universal, of the interdependence of the economies of the North and the South and also the ability of mankind to meet the major challenges it faces.

My delegation has great pleasure in paying a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for the important steps he has taken to ensure that the decisions taken at the special session on the economic situation in Africa are acted upon. He has done so by setting up a high-level multidisciplinary team within the United Nations Secretariat and by arranging the forthcoming meeting in Africa of the secretariats of the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa on the one hand and, on the other, the various regional and subregional African organizations involved in the implementation of the five-year programme.

The international community is confronting serious difficulties which affect many intergovernmental organizations. These difficulties, which are commonly referred to as a "crisis of multilateralism", are clearly viewed as constituting one of the most serious threats of our time to international co-operation and solidarity.

At a time when the scope and complexity of the challenges confronting the international community call for greater unity of thought and action from States,

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at a time when scientific and technical progress, which considerably increases not only scientific but also economic and political exchanges of all kinds among nations, offers mankind enormous possibilities of communication, mutual understanding and solidarity, the multilateral system that was established after the Second World War, the positive evolution of which made it universal and democratic, is being seriously challenged by the re-emergence of political chauvinism, economic protectionism, social selfishness and imperial faits accomplis.

The United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary last year gave all the Member States and opportunity to assess it positively, is now going through the most serious crisis of its existence. It is unnecessary to go once again into the administrative and financial aspects of this crisis, for the fortieth session of the General Assembly, which recently ended, debated that question sufficiently.

When the causes of the malaise are analysed, stress is often placed on the crisis of confidence of the third-world countries with regard to the effectiveness of the United Nations. It is a fact that the enthusiasm that the birth of the United Nations aroused in the peace-loving and justice-loving peoples has gradually diminished as the Organization encountered increasing difficulties in ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security and in helping young nations in their enormous tasks of national reconstruction and economic development. There has often been great frustration among the States of Africa, Latin America and Asia which, emerging from the long dark night of colonization, being poor and confronted with difficulties of all kinds, placed great hopes on the ideals of peace, solidarity, justice and equity enshrined in the San Francisco Charter.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

The slowness with which the Organization reacted to certain emergency situations, and also the structural obstacles to its actions, in southern Africa and the Middle East, to mention only two cases, led to certain doubts on the part of some small States. However, this crisis of confidence is really more like a lovers' quarrel than a rejection. It reflects the profound and sincere commitment of the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia to the United Nations. The most serious threat comes from the larger States, which, unable to continue to control the decision-making process in the Organization, are trying to remove particularly important questions from its consideration, adopting a position of systematic obstruction in its agencies or trying to deprive it of any real meaning by systematically denigrating its procedures and continually violating its rules and principles.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

An examination of the present situation of our Organization must make us think back to the situation faced by the League of Nations in the 1930s. The crisis that paralysed the work of the League, faced as it was with the increased dangers of authoritarianism and its attendant attacks on justice and human dignity, was preceded by a depression that plunged the world, from 1929 onwards, into unprecedented economic and social chaos.

The present crisis is but a reflection of the divisions, tensions and injustices of today's world. Let us therefore be careful not to imperil the Organization's existence, as happened in the 1930s in the case of the League, at a time when its framework and principles are more necessary than ever to resolve those contradictions.

Because it believes in the ability of nations to face up to the challenges of history, my country remains confident in the Organization's future. It is convinced that the crisis may even have a healthy effect, if together we can learn the lessons it has to teach us.

The international community must avoid a repetition of the unhappy experience of the 1930s, when policies based on acute nationalism, massive and systematic violations of the most elementary human rights and a cult of force at the expense of law, led directly to fatal breaches of the peace. We must recall how indifference towards international co-operation and short-term political calculations threatened the framework of the League, contributed to the economic and social chaos and led the world to what was almost its self-destruction.

On the other hand, let us reread and remember the passionate speeches at the first session of our Assembly. The United Nations, founded after the most deadly war in mankind's history, was then seen as both a symbol and an indispensable tool. As a symbol, the United Nations embodied the profound aspiration of the international community for a more democratic, more egalitarian, more just and more

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stable world, in which all States, big and small, would feel a common responsibility for the well-being of mankind. As a tool, our Organization offered the best framework for promoting international co-operation in the service of peace and security, reconstruction and development.

That is why since their accession to independence the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America have en masse become members of the Organization, thus confirming its universality and giving it the dynamism and diversity that have enabled it to write the finest pages in the history of multilateral co-operation.

Just as the need for international co-operation to

"save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"

was clear in 1945, when the United Nations was founded, today it is still essential strongly to reaffirm and strictly to apply with the principles of our Charter.

Senegal solemnly reaffirms its unswerving devotion to the principles of the Charter and its unshakeable faith in international co-operation as a way to promote peace, justice and equality and as a tool for understanding between nations in the service of the higher common goals of mankind at this threshold of the second millennium.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.