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Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 23 September 1986, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. de ABREU SODRE (Vice-President)	(Brazil)
later:	Mr. CHOUDHURY (President)	(Bangladesh)
later:	Mr. FERM (Vice-President)	(Sweden)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Van Dunem (Angola)  
Mr. Kuranari (Japan)  
Mr. Andreotti (Italy)  
Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi (Algeria)  
Mr. Papoulias (Greece)  
Mr. Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark)

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In the absence of the President, Mr. de Abreu Sodre (Brazil) Vice-President took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. VAN DUNEM (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): At the outset allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the Assembly at this session, during which, we are confident, we shall be able to achieve the goals we shall propose in this important forum.

Allow me also to avail myself of this opportunity to express our admiration of your predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, whose insight and judiciousness greatly helped us to surmount a number of obstacles and made his mission successful.

We should also like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his efforts to find solutions to the many problems facing mankind. Mr. de Cuellar has shown great concern for the preservation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations notwithstanding the limited resources available and the adverse influence of certain Western Powers that are more interested in their own strategic interests than in joining forces to achieve international peace and security.

Every year in this same place the representatives of all the nations make a pledge of peace, disarmament, freedom and development, reflecting the determination of the great majority of nations to achieve those goals and thus strive for the survival of the human race.

Even given the strong will of the peace-loving countries, a paradoxical reality subsists: the world has never been as exposed as it is today to the threat of a nuclear war that could destroy its entire population.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

In spite of United Nations General Assembly resolution 3093 (XXVIII), which prescribes a 10 per cent cut in the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council for the benefit of the developing countries, the arms race has not been halted, and it has now reached outer space. While certain countries spend huge amounts of money on their military programmes, the majority of the developing countries face a critical economic situation that prevents them from achieving social and economic development programmes.

We feel that the international community should not remain passive. In the face of this situation, we call for intensified efforts on the part of all peace and freedom-loving countries to reverse the negative trend. Similarly, Angola welcomes the USSR's initiative unilaterally to extend the moratorium on nuclear testing and its recent proposal on the gradual banning and elimination of nuclear arms by the year 2000 and the creation of an international global security system. We also support unconditionally the proposal presented in May this year by the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs to the United Nations Secretary-General regarding the creation of an international organization for the peaceful use of outer space, and we urge all Member States of our Organization to join in this initiative, which undoubtedly would bring benefits to all countries, regardless of their stage of development.

Angola is a sovereign independent country situated in Africa, in the southern part of the continent. Since its independence 11 years ago, our country has actively followed a policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. Our Constitution is very clear about our country's willingness to maintain diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries and of non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States in accordance with the norms of international law governing relations between independent States.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

Unfortunately it is in that subregion of the African continent that is found the abhorrent and obsolete apartheid system condemned by the vast majority of countries. That system continues to be a destabilizing factor for the countries of the region, particularly South Africa's neighbouring countries, which are the victims of repeated violent aggression resulting from its arrogance and disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

In spite of its strong traditional inclination for peace, our people has not known a moment of peace since the very beginning of its independence, and our country is the victim of continuous armed aggression launched by South Africa from the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia.

The People's Republic of Angola continues to be faced with an undeclared war situation created by the South African racist régime, which has forced the Angolan people to endure enormous sacrifices as a result of the strain put on our country's financial, material and human resources, which seriously affected our economic and social development.

Defenceless children, women and elderly people are among South Africa's favourite targets and the racist forces constantly blow up our bridges, railways and roads and destroy our hospitals and schools, not sparing our industrial installations.

Material damage caused to our country has been estimated at \$12 billion. This figure does not include the money spent in youth mobilization and youth defence programmes. The South African regular army, with the collaboration of South African trained UNITA puppet groups, has perpetrated numerous atrocities and is responsible for a large number of deaths.

The Angolan people, who, under the Portuguese colonial rule during the 14 years of its struggle for national liberation to regain its freedom and dignity, usurped for five centuries by Portuguese colonialism, had already borne many sacrifices and lost many of its best countrymen, has longed for peace for its newly independent country, so that it could build a strong nation through its natural resources and make use of the country's huge potential for the Angolan people.

The imperialist world has always tried to show the current situation in our country as a civil war, while in fact it is rather a foreign invasion of a United Nations Member State, whose territory was partly occupied by the racist South

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

African armed forces. That is why Angola continues to insist on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African forces from its territory.

Racist South Africa uses the Namibian territory as a springboard for its attacks on Angola. The South African military bases in northern Namibia train the rebel and mercenary groups that infiltrate our territory. It is from those bases that the South African troops make incursions into our country and provide military support to the armed groups which operate in Angola under South African command.

South Africa's acts of aggression against Angola, encouraged by successive United States administrations, started soon after our country's independence. In 1975, the apartheid régime invaded our territory and occupied the south.

In the light of these facts and in conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the People's Republic of Angola requested help from friendly countries. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola has nothing to do with the independence of Namibia and consequently should not be seen as a threat to South Africa, which does not share any border with the People's Republic of Angola.

Conscious of the complexity of the international situation and desirous of seeing the impasse created by racist South Africa and the Reagan Administration resolved through United Nations implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the Government of the People's Republic of Angola presented, in a letter from President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, a negotiation package proposal, dated 17 November 1984.

The racist Pretoria régime responded to the well intentioned Angolan initiative with further violent attacks on the People's Republic of Angola. Their most recent acts of aggression were the attacks on the village of Xangongo and the commercial port of Namibe, with a significant number of Angolan casualties and heavy material damage.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

In the last weeks, we have seen the concentration of over 10 South African army battalions along our southern border, a sufficient signal for us to anticipate a new major offensive against our country.

By trying to make implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) depend on the removal of the Cuban troops from Angola, the South African Government, along with the Reagan Administration, resorts to an excuse an old misleading pretext in order to impede Namibia's independence and transform that illegally occupied Territory into a springboard to keep destabilizing Angola with sustained acts of aggression.

We could not comment on the world economic crisis without mentioning the problems that are at its origin. Notwithstanding the efforts already made by the United Nations, certain developed countries still adopt policies that will not do much to help improve economic relations between developed and developing countries.

In fact, as far as monetary and financial matters are concerned, the problem lies with the inadequacy of structures that no longer meet the exigencies of the world's economic recovery as a result of the selfish policies pursued by certain developed countries, which consequently worsen the balance of payments and the external debt of the developing countries. It is therefore important that, without delay, we concentrate on the task of restructuring the current monetary and financial system in order to enable the developing countries to share in decision-making and take advantage of eventual benefits.

It is important to reflect on how far the negative changes of the world's monetary and financial system have exacerbated the external debt crisis of the underdeveloped countries, forcing them into default. Such changes have frustrated the development prospects of those countries, bringing about critical political and social repercussions.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

While in the first quarter of 1984 the combined foreign debt of the developing countries already reached \$800 billion, today that debt is estimated at more than \$900 billion, which is a discouraging factor that frustrates all optimistic hopes for development as long as the developing countries are compelled to spend larger debt repayments amounts than their revenues allow.

The International Monetary Fund is far from having achieved the objectives set forth in its by-laws and we feel, therefore, that there is a need in the monetary and financial areas for the creation of a mechanism for South-South co-operation at the regional level to alleviate and ultimately eliminate financial dependence on that institution.

One of the causes of the present world economic crisis is, no doubt, the recurrent violation by the developed countries of international trade principles, rules and regulations. The proliferation of discriminatory measures imposed by the developed countries in their trade with their developing counterparts, a growing protectionist attitude and other restrictive measures are responsible for the decrease in the revenue from the exports of the developing countries, which limit their opportunities to invest in other areas more beneficial to their development.



(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

In this context, we wish to reiterate the need for all the underdeveloped countries to ratify the Integrated Programme for Commodities contained in resolution 93 (IV) of the Fourth United Conference on Trade and Development, and ensure the entry into operation of the Common Fund as soon as possible.

The lack of human, material, financial and technological resources in some of the underdeveloped countries should provide a reason for strengthening and improving the co-operation between those countries, and it should provide strong motivation for contributing to the collective and individual autonomy of our countries and strengthening their power to negotiate with the developed countries.

In southern Africa, despite the aggressive acts of the racist régime of South Africa, co-operation within the framework of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has made significant progress in several areas, as demonstrated by the adoption of a number of conclusions and resolutions adopted at the recent summit conference of Heads of State or Government held in Luanda from 18 to 22 August 1986.

We realize, however, that much remains to be done on the African continent, where we have to live and to survive despite our major problems. The United Nations General Assembly's special session on Africa in May 1986, where a Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development was adopted, constituted a positive step towards the adoption by the international community of measures to support the African countries in their struggle to emerge from the difficult situation in which they find themselves.

I have decided not to read out the entire text of my speech, but it will be distributed. However, I should like to take advantage of the last few minutes scheduled for my speech to comment briefly on what has already been said, especially the statement made about my country by the United States of America.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

I have already presented the views of my country on the international situation with respect to southern Africa. Angola is a peace-loving country whose people liberated themselves in 1975 through their own arduous efforts and the militant solidarity of friendly countries, and other Members of our Organization, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and of the OAU, in accordance with their principles and the rules of international law. Angola will continue its solidarity with and its unselfish aid to those people still fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. Its external policy is based on the principles of justice, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States.

I should like to take this opportunity to recall that Angola, as an independent and sovereign State, cannot accept the use of false and distorted representations of the real situation that exists in my country to justify attempts at interference and make false accusations against us of secret motives that my country has always rejected and fought against. My Government does not accept that type of policy, and I must reaffirm that in Angola, it is the Angolans themselves - and only they - who decide their own destiny.

The frequent declaration by the United States that Angola is governed by an anti-people and repressive régime is simply a blatant falsehood and an act of interference in the internal affairs of the Angolan Government. The truth of the matter is that facts themselves give the lie to such statements and demonstrate the true situation. The truth is that for over 10 years, Angola has suffered acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa, as a result of the help that régime has received from its allies - above all, the Government of the United States of America.

The presence of Cuban forces in our country is in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, and the result of an invitation by our Government. Cuban

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

internationalist forces are helping our people to defend themselves from external pressure exerted by the racist régime of South Africa, and for that reason will remain on our soil until our Government decides to the contrary.

I would like to recall the words of Comrade President José Eduardo Dos Santos, in his speech in Cape Verde on 22 December, when he said that the tension in southern Africa is tending towards a progressive aggravation because some of the Western Powers, instead of associating themselves with the efforts of the international community to allow Namibia to accede to independence on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to eliminate the apartheid system, which undoubtedly is solely responsible for the climate of destabilization, insecurity and conflict prevailing in that subregion, are seeking to protect their financial and economic interests, allying themselves with the white racist minority régime of South Africa.

Mr. KURANARI (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like first, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, to express my sincere congratulations to Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am certain that this session will be a truly fruitful one, benefiting immensely from his rich experience, keen insight and decisiveness as it deals with the many difficult problems before it. As a fellow Asian, I assure him that the delegation of Japan will co-operate in every possible way to help him in carrying out his important duties.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

At the same time, I must express our sincere appreciation to the President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, for the excellent manner in which he has discharged his responsibilities. Likewise, I should like to take this opportunity to pay high tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has been working tirelessly to resolve numerous international problems, and in so doing has traveled to all corners of the world.

Before beginning my formal remarks today, I should like to express Japan's heartfelt sympathies to the people of Cameroon, particularly those who have suffered as a result of the toxic gas released from Lake Nios. Itself a country of many volcanos, Japan immediately dispatched a survey team to see what could be done to alleviate suffering and to prevent similar incidents in the future. Japan stands ready to consider additional relief assistance as necessary.

I should also like to express our sincere sympathies to the many people who are suffering as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Soviet Union last April. This accident has served to highlight anew the very serious international responsibilities of all countries that use nuclear energy, and in this context I wish to commend the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has expeditiously drawn up draft conventions for dealing with future accidents of a similar nature.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations last year, delegates from around the globe spoke to the world from this podium of the founding principles of the United Nations, its raison d'être, and its problems. Having weathered four decades, the United Nations became the focus of renewed attention from all quarters.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

The major theme of the deliberations last year was a reaffirmation of the United Nations' increasingly important role in the search for world peace and prosperity. As was suggested by Prime Minister Nakasone, the United Nations is the perfect vehicle for promoting mutual appreciation and respect among the various cultures of the world and for building a new and harmonious civilization for the twenty-first century.

Yet, concern has been expressed that the United Nations might suffer functional paralysis should it fail to promptly achieve the reforms necessary to rectify the very serious administrative and financial situation, caused in part by organizational over-expansion.

At the fortieth session of the General Assembly my predecessor, Foreign Minister Abe, squarely addressed this problem and proposed that a group of eminent persons be established in an effort to revitalize the organization and functions of the United Nations. This proposal was based on our conviction that the United Nations is essential to the whole international community, including, of course, my country, and was an expression of Japan's steadfast support for this indispensable world Organization.

Happily, Foreign Minister Abe's proposal was accepted by the Member States, and the 18-member Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts was established. Bringing to their work superior wisdom, rich experience, and a thorough knowledge of the acute problems facing the United Nations, this Group has laboured intensively to produce the report it recently submitted to the Secretary-General. None of the similar efforts to reform the United Nations in the past has produced as comprehensive and constructive a report as the one submitted by this Group. I wish to pay sincere tribute to all its members. The determination and vigour with which they accomplished their task are, indeed, the very attributes needed for the revitalization of this Organization.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

The Group's report contains many constructive recommendations for making the United Nations a more efficient organization, and I wholeheartedly support them. I very much hope that at this forty-first session the Assembly will consider these recommendations and that they will be implemented as soon as possible with the support of all Member States. The United Nations should then be able to regain the trust of all the peoples of the world, gain the ability to respond promptly and effectively to any situation that may arise, and in this way serve as a model for all the bodies within the United Nations system.

What, then, should the United Nations do once it has begun to function more effectively and efficiently? What should it do to eliminate conflicts and famine, and to eradicate terrorism which has recently claimed so many victims, so that ordinary people throughout the world may live a peaceful and prosperous life, free from anxiety?

What the world today expects of the United Nations is, first, the maintenance of international peace and security, and, second, international co-operation for economic, social and cultural development. But as we witness these issues it is impossible not to address also the question of disarmament.

If members will allow me to interject a personal note, I was born and raised in the city of Nagasaki in south-west Japan. Nagasaki was well known as Japan's only foreign trade port during its two and a half centuries of national seclusion, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. In the final days of the Second World War, Nagasaki again became famous as the only other city besides Hiroshima to have been the target of an atomic bomb.

Returning home soon after the war's end, I was confronted with the rubble that was once Nagasaki and with the misery of its people. I joined the local government in order to put all of my energies into rebuilding the city. At the same time, having witnessed the effect of this awesome weapon, I began to give serious thought

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

not only as a public servant but also as a concerned individual, to the questions of how to maintain peace in the nuclear age and how to deliver mankind from the nuclear threat. When I think about the destruction wrought by nuclear weapons, I am unshakeable in my conviction: all nuclear weapons must be abolished.

Voicing such a belief is easy. Today's world would be different if statements or declarations in and of themselves could bring about true peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons. What is important are deeds. However modest, concrete and steady action alone can contribute to peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The nuclear super-Powers have especially grave responsibilities in this effort to save mankind from the nuclear threat. President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev at their summit meeting last November agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Before concrete action to reduce nuclear weapons can be taken, it is necessary to establish relations of mutual political trust between the States concerned. The East-West political dialogue, with impetus from last year's United States-Soviet summit, has begun to be held at a higher level and with greater frequency, and this is an important first step towards the establishment of such mutual trust. It has become a major responsibility of all countries participating in the East-West political dialogue, including Japan, to ensure that it bears fruit.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

For every country the issue of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, is inextricably linked to its own security; thus we must bear in mind that any special proposal for nuclear disarmament which does not give due consideration to the security interests of other parties would be counterproductive and would undermine mutual trust.

Moreover, we believe that a satisfactory system of verification must be established to ensure compliance with disarmament and arms control agreements and to strengthen relations of mutual trust. My country, in its efforts to achieve a comprehensive nuclear test ban, has proposed a step-by-step approach to the establishment of an effective verification system. Following up this proposal, Japan proposed at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva last April that more detailed seismic data should be exchanged in order to enhance verification capabilities and interested countries will begin doing so on an experimental basis this December. I hope that these efforts will greatly contribute to the goal of a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

In dealing with the nuclear problem, we must face the reality that the existing nuclear balance works as a deterrent. It is therefore necessary, while continuing the dialogue to build up mutual trust, to make steadfast efforts gradually to reduce nuclear stockpiles without upsetting a proper balance. I am convinced that that is the only way we can hope to abolish ultimately all nuclear weapons and ensure that the people of Nagasaki will be the last to experience the horror of a nuclear attack.

In view of the especially grave responsibilities of the two nuclear super-Powers on this issue of peace and disarmament, I sincerely hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will hold a second summit meeting soon, as agreed last November, and that major progress will be made towards resolving the various issues between them, including that of nuclear disarmament and arms control.



(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

We should also like to see a redoubling of international efforts at the United Nations, at the Conference on Disarmament and elsewhere, to reach concrete agreements in the field of disarmament, including especially a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a ban on the use of chemical weapons. We should strive also to preserve and strengthen the régime of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. I renew my pledge that Japan will contribute actively to such efforts in those forums, including this General Assembly session.

Having stated Japan's basic position on the issue of disarmament in general, I must here say a few words about the SS-20s that the Soviet Union has deployed in Asia. Japan very strongly hopes that the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces between the United States and the Soviet Union will deal with SS-20s on a global basis and lead to their total elimination, both in Asia and in Europe.

While Japan has long hoped to establish stable relations based upon mutual understanding with its important neighbour, the Soviet Union, it is essential first to resolve the territorial issue still pending since the Second World War and to conclude a peace treaty embodying that settlement. I am confident that resolving this territorial issue would contribute significantly to peace and stability in the Far East and throughout Asia.

Along with the issue of disarmament, the question of how to resolve regional problems and local conflicts has an important bearing on the issue of world peace. Although the primary goal of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, there have been over 150 local conflicts since it was founded, many of which still continue without any sign of abatement.

I should like to turn now to some of the regional problems that confront the international community and Japan's policy regarding them.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

One of the most urgent among those problems is how to induce the Government of South Africa to abandon its policy of apartheid. This is an issue on which the entire international community must focus its attention.

Barring the vast majority of the South African people from participating in the political process and subjecting them to numerous other forms of discrimination simply because of the colour of their skin, apartheid is absolutely intolerable to all who share mankind's ideal of respect for human rights. I am gravely concerned that the situation in South Africa is rapidly deteriorating because its Government not only persists in practising apartheid but also has taken to such reprehensible acts as attacking neighbouring countries and has declared a state of emergency throughout its territory. The situation in South Africa must be resolved by peaceful means, and it is imperative that all parties concerned make every effort to avoid further bloodshed.

The Government of South Africa has recently announced a series of reform measures but, regrettably, they are not the basic reforms needed to effect the abolition of apartheid. Japan has availed itself of every opportunity strongly to urge the Government of South Africa to have the courage to take decisive political action to abolish apartheid immediately, free Nelson Mandela, legalize the African National Congress and other political organizations and enter into discussions with black leaders.

Japan maintains no diplomatic relations with South Africa, limiting its relations to the consular level. It has imposed restrictions on relations with that country in a wide range of fields. For example, Japan prohibits direct investment; it prohibits the export of weapons and computers; it has adopted trade restrictions such as those on the import of South African gold coins; and it severely restricts sports and cultural contacts. On 19 September my Government

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

announced its decision to take additional steps until such time as the Government of South Africa announced clear and specific measures to abolish apartheid. These include a prohibition on the import of iron and steel, restrictions on tourist travel between Japan and South Africa, the continuation of the suspension of air links with South Africa and a prohibition on the use of international flights of South African Airways by government officials.

While taking these measures against South Africa Japan intends to step up its economic co-operation with other countries in the region which may encounter economic difficulties as a result of developments in South Africa. Japan will also expand and strengthen its co-operative efforts to enhance the status of South Africa's black population.

Similarly, Japan deplores South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and we believe that illegal situation must be ended as soon as possible. Namibian independence should be achieved in full accordance with United Nations Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which constitute the only acceptable basis for a peaceful, just and enduring settlement. Japan hopes that elections for independence will be held under United Nations supervision and that the day will soon come when we will be able to welcome Namibia to United Nations membership.

(Mr. Kuzanari, Japan)

As for the situation in Afghanistan, Japan strongly appeals to the countries concerned to come to an agreement, through positive co-operation, with the good offices of the United Nations, for the prompt withdrawal of all Soviet military forces, the restoration of the Afghan people's right to self-determination, and a safe and honourable return for the refugees. In this connection we support the efforts of the Secretary-General in the proximity talks for the resolution of this problem.

It is likewise most regrettable that the situation between Iran and Iraq remains tense, with hostilities between them continuing and even showing signs of intensifying and posing a major hazard to shipping in the Gulf. I appreciate the efforts made by the Security Council for a peaceful solution of this conflict, and call upon the Council to continue to play a just and more active role. I should also point out once again the need for both Iran and Iraq to respond to these Security Council efforts by appearing before the Council and stating their positions there. I support the efforts of the Secretary-General towards a solution of this conflict, and hope a way will be found to open a dialogue between the two parties. Japan intends to continue its efforts, in co-operation with like-minded countries, to create a climate conducive to peace between Iran and Iraq.

Peace in the Middle East is one of the oldest and most tragic of the problems with which the United Nations has grappled. In order that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace may be achieved in the Middle East, I strongly hope that all of the parties concerned will redouble their efforts with a view to peace. Japan appreciates the sincere efforts of the parties concerned to attain peace, efforts exemplified by the decision to make 1987 the year of negotiations for peace. I assure the Assembly that Japan will also do everything it can to realize peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

In Central America, Japan hopes that the regional efforts will soon yield a peaceful solution. In this context, we strongly support the efforts of the Contadora Group and other forces for peace in the region.

I find it most deplorable that, despite the resolutions adopted every year by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, the situation in Kampuchea remains unresolved and continues to pose a major threat to peace and stability in Asia. Japan has long called for an early and comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem, based on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and on the exercise of the rights of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. It strongly supports the efforts of the ASEAN countries to this end. At the same time, Japan will continue its dialogue with Viet Nam and all of the other countries concerned in an active effort to create a climate conducive to peace in Indo-China.

The situation on the Korean peninsula, just a short stretch of water away from Japan, continues to be tense.

Because this problem is one that should be peacefully resolved primarily through direct talks between North and South Korea, it is unfortunate that North Korea continues to be opposed to the resumption of talks. Japan hopes that substantive dialogue between the two sides will be resumed as soon as possible.

The 10th Asian Games are currently being held in Seoul with the participation of a large number of young people from throughout Asia. Prime Minister Nakasone's attendance at the opening ceremonies is a demonstration of Japan's full support for the Games, in the belief that their success, as a prelude to the 1988 Seoul Olympics, will contribute to the stabilization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Japan has often indicated that if both North and South would consider joining the United Nations as a step towards the reunification of the Korean peninsula, it

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

would welcome and support their membership. This would contribute to relaxing tensions and enhancing the principle of universalit\_ the United Nations. Considering that both North and South have already joined a number of United Nations specialized agencies, I believe the time is ripe for the Organization to admit both North and South as Members.

Each of these regional disputes and local conflicts has its own distinct cause, its own complex history, and it would be extremely difficult to solve them all at once. However, the United Nations must by no means remain a bystander. It is true that the United States and the Soviet Union play a major role in the maintenance of international peace and security. This does not mean, however, that these super-Powers are the only determining factors and that there is little the United Nations can do.

Just as it would be a mistake to overestimate the ability of the United Nations as peace-keeper, so would it be wrong to disregard or underestimate its potential as an effective force in this field. In fact, the United Nations has already contributed to preventing and containing conflicts in a number of critical situations.

Japan believes that the peace-keeping role of the United Nations should be strengthened, and in this regard I wish to make two points.

First, it is imperative that all the Member States of the Organization continue to work seriously to revitalize the Security Council. In particular, I appeal strongly to its permanent members to join together to take positive steps to strengthen its functioning and to fulfil the grave responsibilities that go with their privileges.

Secondly, we the Member States must reaffirm the role that the United Nations organs can play in the maintenance of peace and security, and seek ways in which

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

each of our roles can be integrated with those of the United Nations. Given the way the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the Secretary-General have contributed to the prevention of conflicts through their fact-finding, informal contacts and good offices, it would seem that the most practical approach to strengthening the United Nations peacekeeping role would be to enhance these functions.

In this connection, I should like to refer to the working paper on the prevention of conflicts, which Japan and five other Member States prepared in response to the appeals by the Secretary-General, particularly in his annual reports. The working paper, which has been studied for three years by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations, is aimed at enhancing the role which the main United Nations organs can play within the framework of the Charter for the purpose of preventing conflicts from arising and eliminating the threat of conflict, thereby promoting the fullest possible use of the peacekeeping functions of the United Nations as a whole. I sincerely hope that this working paper will be adopted as a declaration of the General Assembly as soon as possible. In this way, every Member State would reaffirm the importance of world peace and its own commitment to the role of the United Nations.

It is by no means easy to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping functions. Yet I would recall here the words of Mr. Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State during the Second World War and a founding father of the United Nations, who said that what this Organization needed was time, perseverance and a spirit of co-operation.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

It is precisely in these trying times, when the interests of countries are so intertwined, that we must, as suggested by Mr. Hull, seek to make the United Nations not a forum for acrimonious debate but a place where through tenacious effort we can explore, devise and implement solutions to the many problems that confront us.

Along with its peace-keeping functions, the United Nations also has an important role to play in promoting social and economic development world-wide, especially in developing countries. Given that many regional conflicts are sparked by poverty and starvation, it is impossible to overemphasize the importance of that role. The developing countries of Latin America, Asia, Oceania and Africa are facing severe economic difficulties as a result, for example, of the collapse in commodity prices and their burgeoning external debts, and I am concerned that those difficulties may endanger political stability in those regions. Japan is determined to extend as much assistance as it can to those developing countries as they strive to overcome their economic difficulties.

On the question of multilateral trade negotiations, I am pleased to report that agreement to launch a new round was reached at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Ministerial Conference held just last week at Punta del Este. Steady expansion of exports is of primary importance for the sound economic growth of developing countries, and I am confident that improvements in the trading environment resulting from progress in this new round will work to their benefit. As for Japan, we are continuing our positive efforts to further improve market access and to stimulate domestic demand. Our imports of manufactures and other products from developing countries are on the increase, especially with the recent appreciation of the yen, and we intend to step up our efforts for economic structural adjustment and to expand our trade with those countries.



(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

Despite its difficult financial straits, Japan has committed itself to disbursing at least \$40 billion over the seven-year period from 1986 to 1992, and in 1992 to providing double the amount of official development assistance it extended in 1985, in accordance with its Third Medium-Term Target. That commitment was made in keeping with Japan's policy of actively supporting the self-reliant efforts of developing countries towards economic and social growth and improved standards of living and welfare. Japan stands ready to offer all possible support to ensure that the economic difficulties in developing countries do not seriously hinder their development plans.

In order to ensure that our co-operation with the developing countries' self-reliant efforts is managed properly, effectively, and efficiently, it is imperative that they themselves draw up development plans consistent with changing conditions and their development needs. It is also important that there be in-depth policy dialogue on those development plans, and that arrangements be made to facilitate dynamic co-operation between the donor and recipient countries in a genuine partnership. It will then be possible for Japan and the developing countries to draw up assistance and co-operation programmes best suited to the development needs and conditions of the latter and establish a genuine partnership between them.

Humanitarian relief assistance to peoples in danger of starvation or suffering from natural disasters is another important part of Japanese official development assistance. Based on our experiences in connection with last year's earthquake in Mexico and the volcanic eruption in Colombia, Japan has strengthened its system for providing overseas emergency relief in order to respond faster and more fully to major natural disasters, including the despatch of teams of experts, and in addition to extending financial assistance. We shall work to further improve that system. At the same time, Japan has in recent years rapidly expanded its assistance to the famine-ravaged countries of Africa.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

The United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development adopted unanimously at the special session on Africa last May provided useful medium- and long-term guidelines for the self-reliant development efforts of African countries and for international support for those efforts. I am particularly encouraged that the members of the Organization for African Unity have expressed their determination to stand on their own feet and overcome Africa's economic difficulties. Taking fully into account that Programme of Action, Japan is determined to contribute positively to Africa's medium- and long-term development by supporting, in particular, efforts to promote agricultural development and to make Africa self-sufficient in foodstuffs. We also very much hope that the constructive and realistic attitudes of all the countries concerned demonstrated at the special session on Africa will be followed up in the future North-South dialogue.

Japan has also sought to enhance its voluntary contributions to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other programmes for economic and technical co-operation within the United Nations system. As a result, Japan is now the largest or second largest contributor to many of the leading assistance organizations. For the future, we intend to continue our efforts to better co-ordinate our bilateral co-operation with multilateral programmes such as the UNDP in order to enhance not only the quantity but also the efficiency of our assistance. We will do all we can to tailor our contributions to the real needs of the recipient countries.

This year commemorates the 30th anniversary of Japan's admission to the United Nations. In the three decades that have passed since then, the Government and people of Japan have consistently sought, in light of our bitter experience, to make co-operation with and support for the United Nations a key part of Japan's foreign policy.

(Mr. Kuranari, Japan)

We recall that all Member States, upon admission to the United Nations, solemnly pledged to act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, accept the duties and responsibilities set forth therein, and use all the means at their command to fulfil those duties and responsibilities. Yet we see today conflicts in many parts of the world that probably could have been averted had the parties rigorously observed those purposes and principles. I should like therefore to appeal most strongly to those countries to remember their vows to the United Nations, to renew their commitment to the principles of the Charter, to resolve their conflicts peacefully, and to direct their energies to the creation of a better world.

In less than 14 years, we shall enter the 21st century. We can either co-operate to bequeath to posterity this United Nations, which is the most universal organization ever created by mankind, or in clamouring for our own interests we can let the Organization crumble like the Tower of Babel. The choice before us is clear.

Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all, Sir, to convey to you my most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You represent a continent that plays a primary and increasingly authoritative role on the world scene and a country with an ancient civilization and traditions to which Italy is bound by ties of warm friendship and co-operation. I also wish to extend my warmest thanks and congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés.

Once again from this rostrum I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, with whom we enjoy relations of profound trust and esteem, and reiterate the Italian Government's appreciation of his persevering efforts to promote the principles of the United Nations Charter and strengthen the role and machinery of the Organization.

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, in his capacity as current President of the European Community, illustrated this morning the views of its 12 member States on the major issues today facing the international community. Those views, which we share, are the expression of policies which are aimed at promoting greater stability and co-operation in international relations.

The dramatic and sometimes tragic events we have witnessed in the past few months have made us acutely aware, perhaps as never before, that the world in which we live is one of interdependence. We have seen how the effects of conflicts and tensions can jeopardize global security and gained a better understanding of the interrelationship of the economies of different and even distant areas. We have also had direct proof that man's achievements in science and technology, both positive and negative, know no frontiers.

It was for this reason that we decided to make co-operation and dialogue the central theme of the celebration of the International Year of Peace which took

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

place in Rome last July. That celebration was, in fact, marked by a meeting devoted to "dialogue as the universal foundation of peace". I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for agreeing to participate in the meeting and address it.

Dialogue is needed more than ever before in the field of science. If any lesson has been learned from the tragic events of Chernobyl it is that science, in releasing new and unforeseeably powerful energies and resources, has certainly opened up possibilities for progress, but has also liberated forces which could destroy us. We therefore need intensive collaboration among scientists, which will prove possible only if we are able to translate fully into reality the idea of an international scientific community without frontiers.

We should, however, harbour no illusion that this scientific community will materialize spontaneously. As Government leaders, we must, rather, work to encourage its realization. We must therefore think of new instruments better suited to present needs. At the scientific meetings which took place in Erice, in Sicily, and which Italy not only hosted but fully supported, participants put forward ideas, proposals and concrete programmes, such as the programme for open laboratories, which are, in our view, a step in the right direction and which are starting to attract the attention of Governments.

The establishment in Geneva of the World Laboratory is a concrete example of the extent to which the scientific community can make a concrete contribution to the East-West and the North-South dialogue and to the building of peace. Renowned scientists, academicians and Nobel Prize winners, including numerous representatives of the third world as well as prestigious institutions, have signed the constituent act of the Laboratory. Their goal is to promote science without secrets or frontiers, in the just belief that the free circulation of scientific

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

information is a powerful instrument capable of creating a climate of safety and mutual trust in East and West and in North and South.

In the most important negotiations on arms limitations, in which the main participants are the United States and the Soviet Union, the parties have put forward at the negotiating table various proposals which, in our view, indicate their common determination to achieve reductions in the most destructive weapons. A new summit meeting between the two major Powers, while responding to the expectations of so many countries, could give an irreversible impetus to this trend.

A balance of forces at levels lower than those existing today must be achieved, but essential requirements must be respected: such a balance must be established at the global level, taking into account the interrelationship which exists between the various components of military equilibrium. The Italian Government, for its part, attaches great importance to the prospects which seem to be opening up for negotiations aimed at achieving balanced reductions of conventional forces in Europe.

A decisive role in the pursuit of disarmament agreements is also being played by the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. We hope that the work of the Conference will result, inter alia, in the speedy conclusion of a convention for a total and verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

In the same spirit we welcome the constructive compromise agreement that was reached at the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, held in Stockholm. We hope that this agreement will be the basis for a new and more constructive approach to a problem which is of primary concern to European countries. This agreement augurs well for the future, in our view, because it signals a more general willingness to seek compromise.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

We hope in particular that the third follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in Vienna, will result in a qualitative change in East-West relations affecting not only dealings between States but the situation of their citizens.

Another area in which dialogue and international co-operation are necessary, is that of terrorism, which is the very antithesis of dialogue, reason and persuasion. Terrorism is a grave threat to peace. No political situation, however unjust, can justify any departure for even a moment from the principles of law. Nor can there be any justification for the conduct of those who deliberately disregard their obligation to seek political solutions to their problems, thereby jeopardizing the well-established supremacy of law over force. If we stray from the path of law we have anarchy and the triumph of irrationality.

I believe, nevertheless, that there is a growing consensus on the need for a joint, organized response to that phenomenon of such alarming dimensions, beginning with the determination and identification of responsibilities. Solidarity in the fight against terrorism can already be seen at the regional level within the framework of the European Community and that of the summit meeting of the seven industrialized countries in Tokyo, as well as in the broader framework of the United Nations.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

In this context may I recall the initiative taken by Italy - in association with other friendly countries - in proposing a convention on the safety of shipping and our support for the Canadian initiative on airport security. Moreover, Italy is convinced of the need for stricter compliance with the norms of general international law, including the Vienna conventions on diplomatic and consular relations. For this reason we recently adopted measures for the control of diplomatic pouches. We hope that other countries will follow our example, thus contributing to international co-operation in suppressing the traffic in arms.

It is essential also, in my view, to work to remove those causes of tension that offer terrorism alibis which are in some cases far too easy. I am thinking in particular of those areas where crises are most acute, such as the Middle East. Throughout the area there are manifestations of a profound desire for peace, justice and attempts at dialogue which are even breaking through the traditional psychological barriers between the Arab world and Israel, and between Israel and the Soviet Union. However, we note with regret that certain preconditions are still being maintained and that there is no prospect of their being reconsidered in the future. This prevents achievement of the two necessary bases for a just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict: the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to a peaceful and secure existence and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

A dialogue must finally be started on that basis and in pursuance of those objectives, with the indispensable participation of all the parties concerned and the constructive support of those countries which are in a position to play a significant role in the region. Italy, together with its European partners, remains determined to contribute to that dialogue, to the best of its ability and with the utmost dedication.



(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

We must also work to bring to an end the state of blind and chaotic violence prevailing in Lebanon and to promote a frank and sincere dialogue between all the communities of that country. Italy is contributing to the stability and security of at least part of that country through its participation in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). We believe that United Nations forces still have an important role to play in that area. That role is, first of all, the one decided by the Security Council in its resolution 425 (1978), which must be respected and implemented in its entirety. At the same time it would be unjust to ignore the positive effects of the presence of the peace-keeping Force in southern Lebanon, even under present conditions. For this reason we must carefully consider whether withdrawal of the Force would not entail the risk of further jeopardizing chances for a positive evolution of the situation.

We would like to see the method of dialogue applied to other situations in areas adjacent to the Mediterranean region where distressing and dangerous crises persist and in some cases are escalating. I am thinking in particular of the conflict between Iraq and Iran which continues to cause tragic losses of life and large-scale material damage.

Our Organization has repeatedly issued resolute and specific calls for peace, and no effort has been spared to initiate peace negotiations. We all remember the efforts deployed to this end by the late Olof Palme. We believe that the Security Council should make another solemn appeal for a cease-fire and a return to peace. Should such an appeal go unheeded, it would be necessary to use all the means available under the Charter of the United Nations for the restoration of order in a situation in which it was clearly violated.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

At the special session on Africa held last May, Africa's problems were confronted in a spirit of constructive realism. The African Governments recognize that they themselves bear the primary responsibility for the continent's economic take-off and have undertaken to pursue policies designed to start an autonomous development process with the co-operation of the international community.

Italy intends to make a contribution to follow-up action to the special session. In regard to the central problem of external indebtedness and its consequences, I intend to inform the ministers for foreign affairs of sub-Saharan Africa of our intention when the Italian delegation meets with them later this week. Our purpose is to try to move to the stage of concrete operative solutions, which may also serve as an experiment and an example.

While the method of dialogue is making headway, for example, in the direct talks between Ethiopia and Somalia, unfortunately we find that within South Africa repression and violence are being stepped up and the prospects of peacefully eliminating a system based on racist principles are receding. The international community must continue to exert every effort to promote favourable conditions for the initiation of a dialogue between the Government and the political and social forces in the country aimed at building a society based on justice, equality and the full realization of the legitimate civil and political rights of all South Africans.

The South African Government cannot continue to ignore the unanimous reprobation of the international community. The Twelve recently decided to send a clear signal to the South African Government by moving from the stage of restrictive measures to that of sanctions in the full sense of the term. At the same time they will continue to assist the black population of South Africa and neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The process of restoring and strengthening free and democratic institutions in Latin America certainly offers grounds for hope, in spite of the fact that freedom continues to be denied in a country like Chile where democratic traditions are among the oldest in the region. Political gains are, however, in danger of being nullified by a widespread economic crisis, with all its disruptive effects. We must therefore exercise constant vigilance and concretely commit ourselves to preventing social forces hostile to democracy, and the economic situation, from jeopardizing results that have been achieved at great cost.

In Asia, a crisis like the one prevailing in Afghanistan has repercussions which are felt well beyond the regional context. We hope that the proximity talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General will lead to positive developments. Italy continues to believe that a negotiated solution of that crisis must lead to a genuine and speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and the restoration of the independence and self-determination of that country.

A similar solution should be sought for the question of Kampuchea. We are therefore deeply concerned at the absence of even the first signs of a dialogue capable of leading to a just and peaceful settlement of that problem.

The system of dialogue and multilateral co-operation, in which we believe, must go hand in hand with a healthy development of international economic collaboration.

Many problems remain to be resolved in this field. Among them, besides the problem of indebtedness - which I have already mentioned - is the need to ensure that international trade enjoys a sustained and balanced growth, which will require the elimination of protectionist practices, the removal of non-tariff barriers, and also a redefinition of national policies to support agriculture.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The tasks confronting the United Nations affect not only relations between States but, in the current circumstances, also the well-being and progress of peoples owing to problems such as terrorism and drugs that tend to erode the very fabric of our societies.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The problem of drugs, for instance, is an international phenomenon with complex structures and manifestations. It therefore requires an international response. For this reason Italy puts high hopes in the action of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), in this field and is making a substantial contribution to it in terms of efforts and financial resources.

If the United Nations system is to meet appropriately such a vast range of responsibilities and commitments, it must constantly improve the efficiency of its machinery. We therefore support the action taken by the Secretary-General and the General Assembly to ensure sound, effective administration of this Organization. In that spirit we welcome the proposals contained in the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts. However, our goal must be clearly understood: we want to strengthen the United Nations system, certainly not promote a reduction in its role.

Italy is a member of the two great, free political systems of the West, the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community. In our view this strengthens our capacity to participate fully in the life and activities of the broader multilateral system represented by the United Nations. The process of European integration, which Italy pursues with particular conviction, has the purpose of increasing the capability of European countries to contribute to stability in international relations and to removing tensions and conflicts, promoting economic and social development and co-operation and, lastly, reaffirming those values of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights that are an integral part of European civilization.

It is in this spirit that Italy is participating in the building of a Europe which we believe is bound in the not too distant future to become the main partner of all States Members of this Organization that share the same objectives of peace and progress.

Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic): Your accession, Sir, to the presidency of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly is a source of pleasure and pride for Algeria - pleasure because it is a choice that rewards you for your qualities, experience and wisdom as an accomplished diplomat, which provide our Organization with good reason to expect our work to be accomplished successfully; and pride because in electing you this Assembly has paid a tribute to Bangladesh, a brother country that has found recognition in the United Nations and identifies with its ideals and values.

The Organization that has entrusted you with one of its most responsible posts and paid you the highest honour is aware of the difficulty of the present and the uncertainty of the future. Your mission is not an easy one; we are all aware of that. The tasks that have been given to you are difficult ones; we are clearly aware of that also. You will need our understanding, support and co-operation, and you can expect to receive them. You may be assured of mine and those of my country.

You have succeeded Ambassador Jaime de Piniés. In his brilliant career he has been a respected representative of his country and a far-sighted and dedicated servant of this Organization, to which he has given so much. I hope he will accept my congratulations on work well and successfully done and my cordial wishes for his health and happiness.

I am very happy to see the Secretary-General fully recovered and again at the helm of this Organization, which has a secure present and future because of the courage and self-sacrifice of men of goodwill like him, who share his devotion and enlightened convictions. I can testify that the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, works not only for what the United Nations must be but also, and especially, for what it must be as a vision of the future order of the better world that is desired and expected. Against that historical background, we shall,

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

with him, be the builders of a new stage, and we shall also stand at his side as he strives to maintain the role of the United Nations today and expand it for the benefit of the changing world it must serve.

A year ago the United Nations celebrated its fortieth anniversary. A few days ago, in Harare, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its emergence in contemporary international relations. The United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement share the same historical path. Their roads have frequently converged and their plans have always centred on oppression that must be abolished, peace for the world, and co-operation that must be established and developed between nations. The United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement are advancing together patiently on the long road to freedom, peace and progress. Non-alignment is thus part and parcel of the whole range of values and ideals of the United Nations. It is completely committed to those values and to the collective work that must be done to ensure their triumph. The collective work that has not been completed is considered incomplete by the Non-Aligned Movement also. What has yet to be accomplished is an integral part of everything for which the Non-Aligned Movement is still working.

A year ago here the United Nations and a few days ago in Harare the Non-Aligned Movement, in identical summaries, noted that the present world order is not the best possible one. The present order is in crisis. An order that is not prepared and has not the means to respond to the challenges of the latest outrages inflicted upon it by colonial or racial oppression is not the best order. An order that shows neither the imagination nor the capacity to conceive the security of those it protects except in terms of terror, which in turn generates all kinds of excesses, is not the best order. An order which, when it comes to the essential needs of our time - peace and development - can offer no alternative to this tragic

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

and frightening situation of an armaments race fed by \$1,000 billion and a total indebtedness of another \$1,000 billion, an order that, ironically, equates resources for destructive purposes with resources for constructive purposes is not the best order.



(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Finally, an order in which privileged wealth is paid for at the highest price by the deprivation of the greatest number is not the best order. Such an order is neither tolerable nor acceptable. It is an order of insecurity, instability and imbalance. It is an order of division and confrontation. It is not an order of law and equity. It is not an order which has a vision of mankind gathered together in solidarity. This order must change.

The United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement share this determination to seek change, because the present order has clearly demonstrated its inability to be the creator and guarantor of an authentic collective security system. Similarly, it has offered boundless testimony of its inability to create the conditions and to provide the means for growth and development for the benefit of all. In this order, the principles which we, for a long time, believed had been laid down once and for all and enshrined and, therefore, respected, are still unfulfilled. The sovereign equality of States is challenged even here. Recourse to force in any form whatsoever in the settlement of disputes is internationally prohibited yet, it is still looked upon with some favour. Interference or outside intervention in regional or national affairs is present and serious. The freedom of people and of States to choose their political, economic or social systems is still challenged.

At their meeting in Harare, the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement reaffirmed the validity and justice of the policy of non-alignment as well as the importance of its contribution to balance and stability in the present system of international relations while bearing in mind what is being done by its detractors. The Non-Aligned Movement follows an independent policy, a policy without military, political or strategic alliances, an autonomous policy in its initiatives and actions. Having decided on the measures taken and the measures yet to be taken, the Non-Aligned Movement is determined to come to grips with the great problems of our time and to deal with them.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In so doing, the Non-Aligned Movement has never considered, nor will it consider, itself as a fortress isolated from the affairs of the world, nor has it ever considered itself to be a simple observer merely taking note of developments.

Non-alignment has its position to take and its judgement to make wherever the freedom of people is challenged, where States are threatened or harmed in terms of what they have chosen to do for themselves, or where peace and international security are to be established, or where development is to be protected against the predatory dangers of others. Some wish to identify non-alignment with a false and antagonistic logic of alliances - to say what one believes to be the correct law is not alignment; to say what one believes to be justice, order and the best thing to do with regard to local or regional conflicts, tensions and global problems which the world faces, is not alignment either.

Non-alignment has never meant surrender, silence or complacency. It is to the honour of non-alignment; it is its asset, its merit and its strength that it has never yielded to those temptations. This is especially true because it is difficult to succumb to the temptation to surrender, to be silent or to be complacent, given the present state of the world. No matter from what angle we look at the world, all we can see are increased signs of agony, danger and destitution.

Simply to note that the valuable resources of mankind are still being used to destroy rather than to build is in itself an eloquent summary of the situation. The spiraling arms race is growing more diversified, more sophisticated and developed. Neither the earth nor the sea lanes, nor outer space has been spared.

It is not the fault of the policy of non-alignment, which has ceaselessly and unrelentingly declared that all living space is the common heritage of mankind. Nor is it the fault of the policy of non-alignment that it has tried everything to draw attention to the stupidity of a situation where man prefers instruments of

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

death to satisfaction of the most essential unmet needs of mankind. If the common ideal is to be - and indeed is of a single, united, indivisible mankind, there should be no room for anything that threatens its survival. The nuclear age given over to military purposes is the greatest of the dangers looming over the future of the human species. No doctrine, strategy or goal can justify the existence or the improvement of such a nuclear age.

Today is the best time to want to curb the arms race. As limited and weak as this approach may be, it is none the less a respectable approach. However, one must say again and again that there is no salvation for mankind without general and complete disarmament, conceived as an integral part of an authentic democratically organized and established collective security system. Belief in peripheral, selective systems of security have had their day; have shown their faults and have demonstrated their limits. The truth is that the new system of international security will be genuinely collective and democratic or there will not be a system at all. That is the only peace alternative, which is an absolutely essential condition for international relations to be fair, stable and sound.

The question of peace and security cannot be separated from the question of development. Indeed, each day the development crisis acquires new dimensions which point to insecurity and instability in today's world relations. In some areas this crisis takes the form of survival; in other areas it is the laborious, costly development efforts which are being challenged or compromised.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

There are facts to be stated or restated in regard to that crisis. First, we should note that the crisis is structural in nature and global in impact. Indeed, the foundations and functioning of the current system of international economic relations are not adapted to current requirements for growth and development. The same is true of the central parameters of currency and finance, trade and raw materials. If we were to point to the most glaring signs of this inability to adapt, they would be indebtedness, the contraction of world trade and the acute stagnation in the raw material and commodities markets.

Secondly, the recovery that has been presented as a cure-all to the crisis has shown itself to be fragile, precarious and without lasting force. The same is true of the chain-reaction effect that it was thought could be attributed to that recovery.

Thirdly, the structural disfunctioning of the current system of international economic relations, with its negative consequences for the developing world, is on the one hand destroying what has so laboriously been acquired on the other, including severe internal adjustments.

Fourthly, experiments attempted and carried out have, moreover, strongly proved the senselessness of any solution that separates growth from development. It has now become clear that there is no effective role to be played and no possible solution other than those that include growth and development as interconnected and interdependent elements. From this comes the necessity for a renewed North-South dialogue sustained by the resolve of all and directed towards the achievement of all those global adjustments that the present crisis has shown to be so vital.

Fifthly and finally, in the context of the general development of international relations, the North-South gap, which is growing and deepening, is fraught with danger. The growth and deepening of that gap is not measured merely by quantitative size; the main concern should rather be qualitative in nature.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

What will the configuration of international relations be tomorrow as the result of an evolution by which some people move towards the post-industrial revolution while others remain subjugated by pre-development? That question encompasses the major political dimension of the present world economic order and of the crisis it has brought about. Mankind is thus facing other choices, and there is only one that is valid - that of orderly and obstacle-free changes and transformations.

To say that the new international economic order is the necessary choice is not to sin by utopianism or lack of realism. As the expression of a will and of an attempt to bridge the North-South gap, the new international economic order offers a path, which some still hesitate or refuse to take but which remains the only path assuring the stable and orderly development of world relations and leading to a universally shared prosperity.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which has the double misfortune of counting among its members peoples who are still under domination or oppression and regions caught up in conflict or tension, was obliged to make its voice heard so that what needs to be corrected will be corrected with all due respect to their purposes and principles and to those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

This is the case in southern Africa, where apartheid still imposes its outrageous laws. But the pace of history is accelerating in southern Africa, and apartheid no longer has a future there. It is the collective responsibility of the international community to hasten the end of a system that has been branded a crime against humanity. To that end, there is no way other than that of global and mandatory sanctions, commensurate with such a crime.

For the national resistance movements - in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and in Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - as well as for the front-line States, which have known acts of aggression and occupation, we must provide some small comfort to their just struggle.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

The same law of aggression, occupation and persistent spoliation applies to the Middle East and Palestine. There, there is injustice to be corrected and national rights to be restored. No lasting peace can be established without the Palestinian people, outside the Palestinian people and, a fortiori, against the Palestinian people. The national rights of the Palestinian people must be respected. That people has the inalienable right to an independent State in Palestine, its historic land. The occupied Arab territories, including Al Quds Al Sharif, must be vacated. Ravaged Lebanon must once again be able to live in a climate of national understanding and unity and to enjoy its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

There can be no solution to the crisis in the Middle East other than a global solution centring round the tragedy of the Palestinian people. For well known historical reasons, the United Nations has a special responsibility in this respect.

An international conference under the auspices of the United Nations remains the sole framework that would be possible, feasible or credible. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, must take its place and make its voice hear.

Not far from that region, the distressing conflict between Iraq and Iran is continuing and intensifying, to the detriment of the interests of the two fraternal peoples, and is threatening security and stability in that part of the world.

In the need for good neighbourliness and for a responsible, clear and courageous identification of the true interests of the two countries we can find the resources to put an end to the state of conflict and hostilities and to open negotiations leading to a peaceful solution.\*

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\* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In an identical approach and assessment the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and, most recently, the Non-Aligned Movement, at its eighth summit meeting, described the conflict in Western Sahara as part of a decolonization process yet to be completed by the exercise of the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence.

In this regard the African peace plan, which has now become a universal plan, sets out the framework, the conditions and the means for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the conflict. The principal political guidelines of this plan concern the appeal for direct negotiations between the two warring parties - in this case Morocco and the POLISARIO Front - direct negotiations between those parties on the conditions for a cease-fire and for a referendum on self-determination and the requirement that that referendum be free from any administrative or military constraints.

Within the framework of the political guidelines which the Assembly laid down at its previous session, the outgoing Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have striven to carry out their mission of peace. My country salutes their goodwill and persistence, and congratulates them on what they have achieved. Similarly, my country will encourage the mission of good offices in everything it may do, so that Western Sahara, too, may see the cause of freedom triumph.

If that cause is to find its final expression and its ultimate satisfaction in a referendum on self-determination, that referendum must be orderly and genuine. A referendum on self-determination whose primary purpose is to confirm and codify a fait accompli is not a true referendum. A referendum on self-determination carried out and sanctioned by the occupying force is not a referendum. A referendum on

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

self-determination which confines the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to a declamatory role is not a referendum.

The referendum on self-determination proposed and decided upon now by the international community as a whole is something quite different. It is precisely that kind of referendum which must prevail, in the name of justice, law and peace in the Maghreb.

In this matter it is precisely the building of a unified Great Maghreb that is at stake: the area as a whole is an important geostrategic zone. Therefore, we do not doubt that it is the object of ambition and greed. Algeria has no alternative but to work for a unified, stable, secure and non-aligned Great Maghreb.

The ill-conceived initiative in introducing the aggressive, destabilizing Zionist factor does serious harm to this worth-while enterprise, which has brought together all people of goodwill in the region.

In my country we venture to believe that the course of unification of the Maghreb is irreversible. No obstacles, whatever their variety, nature or form, can stop it.

Resort to force has caused a brutal outburst in the Mediterranean, filling that region to overflowing with crisis and tension. The acts of aggression committed there are inadmissible and intolerable and must be condemned. That aggression damages the collective enterprise of the coastal non-aligned countries, which have set for themselves the noble goal of making the Mediterranean Sea a zone of peace and co-operation. However, those countries find in the acts of force carried out new testimony to the need for all the things they have proclaimed and what they are working for - that is, to free the Mediterranean from the conditions of war imposed upon it and to restore to it the peaceful status of a place of friendliness, meeting and enjoyment.



(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Central America is the subject of this same logic of force and its effects. The rights of peoples and States and international legality have not been observed and respected. The peoples and States of the region must be able to live in harmony among themselves and with others, free from unjustifiable foreign intervention. The Contadora Group still enjoys our confidence and support.

The United Nations is experiencing a decisive crisis in its history. It is our common responsibility to understand correctly the facts of that crisis in order to deal with it in the best interests of our Organization. In this context I reaffirm my country's faith in the United Nations and, further, our overriding obligation to protect the Organization. The United Nations must be maintained, preserved and protected. International relations without the United Nations not only are inconceivable, but would be dangerous. The United Nations is the order of dialogue and co-operation; to harm it is, directly or indirectly, to harm the order of dialogue and co-operation itself. Finally, the United Nations is the most promising augury for the world of tomorrow. If it is challenged or weakened, that long-desired better world will be compromised.

It is our shared goal to ensure that the United Nations becomes more efficient, effective and influential in the conduct of world affairs. If this means the rationalization of structures, better use of available institutions, the elimination of unnecessary expenditure and the abolition of overlapping of functions and duplication, no one will object.

On the other hand, if all it means is challenge multilateralism and the central role therein of the United Nations, there will be reason to question the implications of such a fatal cycle. None of us will benefit if that happens; we shall all be the losers.

Mr. PAFOULIAS (Greece) (spoke in Greek; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like, at the outset, Sir, to offer you my delegation's warmest congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. Although our two countries are geographically far apart they nevertheless maintain close ties and sincere friendship. Your wide experience is the best guarantee that you will successfully deal with difficulties which might arise and that you will guide the work of this Assembly in the most effective way.

The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, has presented the Community's position on various important international issues. Greece, obviously, fully shares those views. I shall therefore confine my statement to my Government's position on major world issues as well as on those which are of particular interest to Greece. A more detailed presentation of the Greek views is included in the text of my statement.

Last year we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of our Organization. Much was heard on that occasion of the ability of the United Nations to contribute effectively in dealing with the multiple problems facing our world today. At the same time all speakers stated their intention to contribute effectively to that purpose. Unfortunately, the festive atmosphere was marred by the fact that the Member States were not able to agree on the text of a common declaration. It is a matter of regret that national considerations proved to be stronger than the effort to reaffirm the purposes and principles of this Organization.

This year we are observing another significant occasion, namely, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement, which since its foundation has played a significant role on the international scene. The Prime Minister of Greece, in his congratulatory message to the new Chairman of the Movement, Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe, stated:

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

"Greece particularly appreciates the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in international affairs and acknowledges its important contribution to the strengthening of world peace, stability and development and to the promotion of international détente."

It was a pleasure and an honour for my Government to be asked to participate as a guest, for the first time, in such an important world event as the Harare Summit Conference. That invitation reflects the excellent relations we enjoy with the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, relations we wish to promote even further.

During the year that has elapsed no significant development was marked on the major issues our Organization is dealing with. We have observed with pleasure, however, that the two super-Powers have broadened the areas of their dialogue with the prospect that those contacts may culminate in a high-level meeting whose realization and success we all wish for. We are fully aware that peace on earth depends to a large extent on the quality of the relations between the two super-Powers.

International security and disarmament constitute two major goals of our foreign policy. In a spirit of collective responsibility for world peace, the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, together with the leaders of the States which participate in the initiative of the Six, has continued the efforts for nuclear disarmament. The Declaration of Mexico recently adopted in Ixtapa, calling again upon the two super-Powers to cease nuclear tests as well as the production and development of all nuclear weapons and to avoid their deployment in space, reflects the agonizing concern of our peoples on the eventuality of a nuclear holocaust.

As far as nuclear weapons are concerned Greece supports their gradual and mutual reduction by both alliances, to the lowest possible level. The complete abolition of nuclear weapons remains for us the immutable ultimate goal. Similarly,

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

the question of a balanced reduction of conventional arms should be dealt with. In the search for principles which could strengthen international security we should not lose sight of the close relationship between nuclear and conventional weapons. We believe that on these issues viable agreements could be reached, the implementation of which could be monitored through an effective verification system. May I at this point welcome the positive outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which we hope will contribute to diminishing the danger of war between the two blocs.

I should like also to stress that the Greek Government attaches great importance to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The improvement of the political atmosphere, both regionally and internationally, the renunciation of violence as a means to resolve differences and the development of a wide sense of security are, of course, prerequisites for the abolition of arms systems, particularly those of nuclear weapons.

It would be remiss of me if I did not refer, at this point, to the consequences of disarmament on economic development, particularly in a world with limited natural resources.

My Government is equally interested in promoting the idea of the creation of nuclear-free zones. We have consistently supported the proposal to make the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

At this point I should like to refer to the concern of the Greek Government arising from the growing proliferation and use of chemical weapons, in contravention of existing international rules. We believe that the international community should set amongst its priorities a complete ban on the production and use of chemical weapons as well as the destruction of existing stockpiles.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

It is only natural that my Government attaches particular importance to the sensitive area of the Mediterranean. Greece, a Mediterranean country with an ancient tradition, considers developments in the Mediterranean as critical, not only for international relations but more specifically for reasons pertaining to its own security. We have therefore sincerely and consistently supported all genuine efforts to promote peace in the area, not only for the benefit of the Mediterranean peoples but also for the sake of world stability. We look forward to seeing the Mediterranean become an area of peace, friendship and co-operation among its peoples.

Within the context of problems of wider significance which transcend the limits of regional relationships, the case of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be stressed, as well as the need to promote social, economic and cultural rights. We are unswervingly convinced that strict compliance with the international rules adopted in this respect is an obligation of States, not merely an option.

The Greek Government has also repeatedly declared its commitment to the improvement of the status of women, aiming at the total eradication of discrimination based on sex, at the national, regional and international levels. We therefore attach particular importance to the implementation of the strategies adopted at the Nairobi Conference.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

Let me now turn to the problem of terrorism, which has become a present-day drama. My country is situated in a geographical region where international problems have remained unresolved for decades, creating a psychology of desperation. Greece has been particularly afflicted by acts of terrorism, despite its efforts, within its means, to prevent them. We have repeatedly and unequivocally condemned terrorism and adhere to international treaties aimed at combating it. The peace-loving Greek people abhor actions which can harm innocent people. The consensus achieved in the United Nations with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 40/61 should be used to this effect. I would also like at this point to stress that one should not combat terrorism with illegal acts. Otherwise we enter into a vicious circle leading to a dangerous escalation.

There are, unfortunately, a number of subjects with which our Organization has repeatedly dealt, without any progress towards their resolution.

The situation in southern Africa remains explosive, with unforeseen consequences for peace, security and the stability in the area. Its prolongation entails broader repercussions on international relations.

Greece watches with particular interest developments in the area, not only because of the overall impact of the problem, but also because a sizeable Greek community lives in South Africa.

The recent grave deterioration of the situation in South Africa, together with the failure of the well-known mediation efforts of the missions of the Commonwealth and the European Community render prospects highly unfavourable. There is obviously no intention on the part of the South African Government to abolish the abhorrent apartheid system, which Greece has repeatedly, consistently and firmly condemned.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

I would also like to strongly condemn once again the military interventions of South Africa against its neighbouring countries. Greece expresses its unequivocal solidarity with the front-line States, which should receive full international support in order successfully to cope with the threat against them.

Unfortunately, the problem of Namibia is also in a complete deadlock. South Africa continues the illegal occupation of the Territory and refuses to proceed to the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, which we consider as the sole internationally accepted basis for a peaceful solution of the problem.

My Government follows with great attention the developments in the region of the Middle East. Last year, from this very rostrum, I stressed the principles guiding our policy with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Allow me to reiterate them, since it has not been possible, during this past year, to promote the peace process effectively despite a degree of movement.

The withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 is the basic prerequisite for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. This occupation has been repeatedly deplored by the international community through numerous resolutions of the United Nations, which, unfortunately, have not been implemented. We support the fundamental and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to create their own State. At the same time we fully support the right of Israel to exist within secure, internationally recognized borders. We believe that it is only through negotiations that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the dispute can be reached. These negotiations should therefore start without further delay, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has a significant role to play in the peace process.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

An international conference could offer much to this effect. It is, however, difficult to imagine how such a process could start in a climate marked by tension and efforts to impose faits accomplis. As in the case of Cyprus, we reject the policy of faits accomplis and of unilateral measures, as well as any attempts at altering the demographic and geographical conditions in the occupied territories. Such actions are contrary to international law and undermine the prospects for peace. For reasons related to the religious tradition, we attach particular importance to the status of Jerusalem.

In Lebanon, the recurrence of the crisis and the repeated acts of violence take us farther away from the goal to which all interested parties, as well as those who exercise influence, naturally aspire: that is to say, to the re-establishment of the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. We also call upon all parties to assist the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), so that it can fulfill the highly important task for which it has been established.

The war between Iran and Iraq has now been going on for six years, bringing destruction to both sides. My country, because of its friendly relations with both parties, calls upon them to demonstrate a conciliatory spirit so that hostilities might cease and negotiations start within the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The situation in Central America continues, unfortunately, to remain tense. Greece is not the only country which has stressed that the problems of the area, problems deep-rooted in the past, cannot be dealt with, let alone be solved, except through peaceful procedures. My Government sincerely regrets that despite the help offered by the Group of Support, the Contadora process has not yet produced the expected results. We still hope that it might do so and continue to fully support it.



(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

The courageous efforts of many Latin American governments to find a solution to the long-lasting problems of their countries should be particularly praised. We wish that the democratization process in those South American countries which still lack democratic institutions will be expedited. We are therefore irritated by the recent deterioration in Chile of an already intolerable situation of suppression of political freedoms and human rights. We condemn the barbarous methods of the military dictatorship and express our solidarity with the people of Chile.

Greece, as I have already mentioned, has consistently condemned all cases of invasion and occupation of countries by third Powers, as well as the policy of faits accomplis. We adopt the same position regarding the situation which persists in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, bringing great hardship to the peoples of those countries. We firmly consider that the foreign troops which are in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea should withdraw fully, as soon as possible, according to the resolutions of the United Nations.

The area of the Balkans is, for obvious reasons, one of vital interest to Greece. A long tradition determines the constants in the relations between the Balkan countries. Therefore, my Government has undertaken all efforts in order to improve relations with our neighbouring countries as well as the overall political climate in the Balkans. We have noted with satisfaction that our endeavours have yielded positive results in all cases save one. Though self-evident, it is worthwhile stressing once again that where mutual respect exists, where no claims are raised, where established sovereign rights are not questioned, then all peoples, even those which in the past were split by long-standing and deep differences, can easily find the road to co-operation and friendship.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

In my speech I touched upon certain major international issues. Allow me now to expand on the question of Cyprus. It is of the utmost concern to my Government, not only because it is a major international problem, but also for historical, national and cultural reasons, since 80 per cent of the island's population are Cypriot citizens of Greek origin who share the Hellenic heritage.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

Furthermore, apart from its special relationship with the Republic of Cyprus, my country is also one of its guarantor Powers. Therefore, our interest in developments in Cyprus, and more particularly in the illegal presence of the Turkish army there, is particularly strong.

The question of Cyprus is one of those rare international problems on which the world community has expressed itself practically unanimously, not only on how it should be resolved but also on what specific arrangements should be included in any solution. I would refer, indicatively, to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), Security Council resolution 365 (1974) and paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 37/253, according to which:

"The General Assembly ... considers the withdrawal of all occupation forces from the Republic of Cyprus as an essential basis for a speedy and mutually acceptable solution of the problem of Cyprus".

That statement is crystal clear and unambiguous. The question of Cyprus is a problem arising from invasion and continuing military occupation. Therefore, the withdrawal of the Turkish troops constitutes a necessary prerequisite for any solution. I would point out that very recently the summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare reiterated that all foreign troops and Turkish settlers, who already number more than 60,000, should leave Cyprus as an unconditional pre-condition of a solution.

We are firmly convinced that a just and viable solution of the Cyprus question presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus before any new constitution enters into force. Such a solution should also provide for a system of international guarantees, non-military in character, which should preclude the possibility of unilateral intervention, so that the security of the people of Cyprus in its entirety is effectively assured.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

I shall not elaborate on the details of the latest initiative of the Secretary-General, both because that falls within the competence of the President of Cyprus and because the facts are more or less well known to all. I should simply like to stress that the draft framework agreement presented by the Secretary-General covers exhaustively all the constitutional aspects of the problem, practically to the sole benefit of the Turkish side. At the same time, the questions of the withdrawal of foreign troops, guarantees and the so-called three freedoms, that is to say, the main elements of the Cyprus problem, subjects of vital interest to the Greek Cypriots, are relegated to vague and uncertain future procedures. Let me point out in this respect that the Turkish side has cynically declared that under any solution part of the Turkish Army would remain in Cyprus and that Ankara would insist upon a system of guarantees which would give it the right to unilateral military intervention. It is therefore obvious that the framework agreement is one-sided and incomplete. It is inconceivable that one could evaluate, let alone make comments on, that draft without first hearing, officially, the position of the Turkish side on the questions of the withdrawal of the Turkish troops, the guarantees, the three freedoms and the Turkish settlers. In view of that situation, President Kyprianou submitted his well-known proposals of 10 June, whose substance is that these pending points should be discussed as a matter of priority before he would be able to take any position whatsoever regarding the draft framework agreement.

My Government fully and strongly supports this position taken by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, which is entirely rational, constructive and fair. We believe that these proposals of the President of the Republic of Cyprus include all the elements which would guarantee progress without prejudice to the vital interests of any side.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

Any overview of international affairs would be incomplete without a reference to economic problems.

In 1986 a number of important developments took place on the international economic scene. They ranged from the fall in the price of oil and lower interest rates to changes in perceptions with regard to the formulation of the economic policy at a global level.

Within the framework of international efforts to resolve the external debt problem of developing countries we have consistently supported the significant initiative undertaken in 1985 at the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We follow with keen interest the evolution of the issue. None the less we are concerned by the slow pace of progress.

I should also like to refer to the question of world trade: Its development, the reduction of protectionism and joint entrepreneurial activity constitute one of the most secure means of rapprochement and understanding between States with different points of view and political systems. I hope that the recent Ministerial Conference at Punta del Este, where the spirit of compromise prevailed, will mark the starting point of a difficult process for the progressive resolution of the complex and multidimensional problem of the liberation of international trade.

The international community is called upon to eliminate the persistent imbalances in the world economy through effective multilateral co-operation. The recent special session of the General Assembly on Africa, at a moment when the role of the United Nations is being reviewed, proved once more the importance of international co-operation.

Another recent pertinent example of the value of international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations is the Treaty on the Law of the Sea, which was signed in 1982. Greece, as a maritime nation, expresses the hope that it will soon enter into force.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

During the past year our Organization has been tried by a serious, ongoing economic crisis. This cannot be attributed to a single cause. It is the result of many factors and must be dealt with effectively and substantively to avoid more serious difficulties in the future.

Greece actively follows efforts for greater rationalization and streamlining of the finances of the Organization. We have studied with great interest the conclusions and recommendations of the Group of 18 governmental experts. I think we all agree that the Group carried out its task effectively and that its recommendations should be studied with particular attention.

Our thanks should also be directed to the Secretary-General, who, with his usual zeal and devotion to his mission, has worked untiringly in order to deal with the crisis. I should like to express my Government's pleasure at Mr. Perez de Cuellar's complete recovery.

It is only natural that we feel frustrated, since for many years the major international problems have continued to appear on the Organization's agenda without any substantial progress being made towards their solution. This disappointment, however, is counterbalanced to a certain extent by the realization that those issues are being discussed by the international community, which we hope will, as time goes by, become all the more conscious of the importance of those issues for humanity's peace, progress and prosperity, all of which are mankind's everlasting wish and eternal aim.

Mr. ELLEMANN-JENSEN (Denmark): Mr. President, allow me, first, to offer to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. I can assure you of the full co-operation of the Danish delegation in the performance of the duties of your high office.

Denmark's strong and persistent support, in deed as well as in words, of the United Nations is well known. Over the years Denmark has been a major contributor to United Nations efforts in the economic, social and technical fields as well as to United Nations peace-keeping forces. Our contributions have steadily increased also in relative terms. This increase reflects our strong belief that in a rapidly changing world of growing interdependence, multilateral co-operation remains indispensable.

The focus of attention of the General Assembly is on what is widely seen as an acute financial crisis of the United Nations. We commend the Secretary-General for having taken the measures approved by the General Assembly in April. They have served to alleviate the situation in the short run. It will be a main task of this session of the General Assembly to address the question of appropriate medium and long-term measures. The viability of the Organization itself is at stake.

It is essential that all Member States fulfil their part of the responsibility for financing the United Nations. Unilateral action by Member States in contravention of the Charter undermines the authority and work of the Organization.\*

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\*Mr. Ferm, Sweden, Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

We welcome the report of the Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations. It contains a number of valuable recommendations which, it is to be hoped, will initiate a process of reform.

As I see it, we must pursue two objectives simultaneously: first, we must make a determined effort towards administrative and financial reform; second, and probably more important, we must seek a more realistic common understanding of what can be expected from the United Nations.

As in previous years a number of important international issues are before the General Assembly. Turning first to developments in the East-West relationship, I am encouraged to note that there has been some improvement. The United States and the Soviet Union are preparing for a new summit meeting.

Denmark hopes that the negotiations will provide a better climate and renewed confidence and dialogue between East and West.

We should not assume that dialogue can remove all differences between East and West. It cannot. But the dialogue must address itself to the real problems and aim at concrete solutions. The extent to which we achieve such solutions will be the proper measure of the attainment of genuine détente.

Thus, détente must not be limited to efforts towards relaxation of political and military tensions. It must be comprehensive and comprise also a dialogue on humanitarian issues of direct relevance to individuals in East and West alike as well as on economic co-operation, trade and environmental problems.

It is of overriding importance that all countries in East and West should participate in this dialogue. In difficult times for the East-West relationship, contacts between the smaller and medium-sized European countries of East and West have helped the dialogue along. After the summit meeting in Geneva in



(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

November 1985, contacts between the two great Powers have taken on a new dimension. But all countries in Europe, allied or neutral or non-aligned, have something to contribute to the dialogue between East and West.

The process initiated by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe forms a focal point for dialogue and confidence-building among the participating Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) States in Europe and North America.

The recent successful conclusion of the Stockholm Conference with the adoption of new confidence and security-building measures has laid the foundation for improving confidence in the military field. Confidence-building is, however, a subject that cannot be limited to the military area. Compliance with the commitments which the participating States have undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, not least within the human dimension, is equally important for creating confidence between East and West.

The CSCE follow-up meeting due to open in Vienna this autumn will be a most important forum for efforts to intensify dialogue and improve confidence between East and West.

At the Vienna Meeting, there will be a particular need for progress towards the solution of humanitarian questions. Countries which are still lagging behind should be persuaded to improve their standards in, above all, family reunification.

No State should deny a citizen the right to go abroad to be reunited with his relatives there. As a Polish philosopher has said:

"I can respect a no-entry sign, but I am disgusted when I see a no-exit sign."

In the field of arms control and disarmament no effort must be spared to halt the current arms race. Only through concrete verifiable arms control agreements can a new and improved security be created at a lower level of armaments.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

The current arms control negotiations in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union must lead to effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability.

The Danish Government attaches the utmost importance to the ongoing deliberations at the Conference on Disarmament. In particular, I wish to urge the Conference on Disarmament to speed up its endeavours to reach agreement on initiating negotiations for an early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Similarly, we believe that there is every reason for the Conference to step up its efforts to achieve early agreement on a global and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

The upsurge of terrorism represents an alarming aspect of the international situation posing a mortal threat to the very fabric of our societies as well as to orderly and friendly relations between nations. The world-wide nature of the problem requires concerted international action to stamp out this evil. The proper forum for dealing with international terrorism is the United Nations, and we were therefore gratified by the adoption last year of resolutions both by the General Assembly and the Security Council on these problems. The entire international community agreed to condemn as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, wherever and by whomever committed. We urge all Member States to intensify international co-operation to apprehend, prosecute and punish the perpetrators of such acts. There must be no safe haven for terrorists.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

Among the positive elements in the work of the United Nations, and a source of great inspiration and satisfaction, is the fact that over the years the Organization has been able to agree on an impressive body of internationally recognized human rights standards. These standards command the universal acceptance of the world community. Unfortunately, we are witnessing daily violations of these standards.

Various mechanisms have been set in motion to supervise the implementation of these standards and in our opinion it is vital for the credibility of the relevant human rights instruments that these mechanisms be used. It is the responsibility of Governments to respect and ensure the enjoyment of human rights for their citizens, and Governments which shrink from fulfilling this obligation should constantly be reminded of their duty through the appropriate organs of our Organization, including from this General Assembly rostrum.

May I now turn to another serious subject which must be of concern to all of us - the world refugee situation. It is a gloomy picture we are faced with, and our public rightly expects this universal Organization, the United Nations, to live up to its responsibility as laid down in the Charter. In the United Nations Charter we have pledged ourselves to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to let the world Organization be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common goals. It follows from this solemn undertaking that when human rights violations force people to leave their country of origin and become refugees all other countries must take steps to alleviate the sufferings of those people and thereby secure respect for their human rights.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

My Government wishes, during this session of the General Assembly, to share with all representatives some concrete ideas that we have developed with a view to establishing a mechanism whereby the international community, basing itself on the principles of burden-sharing and solidarity, could take a major step forward in solving the world refugee problem. The key elements in that mechanism are: voluntary repatriation, regional integration, increased United Nations presence in different regions of the world, and allocation of quotas based on a United Nations scheme. We shall present our more detailed views when the relevant agenda item is discussed in the Third Committee.

Racism and racial discrimination are flagrant violations of human rights. One Government in the world not only condones racial discrimination on its territory but has made racism the very essence of its social order. To maintain its abhorrent apartheid system the Government of South Africa pursues atrocious repression at home, brutal aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States, and an illegal occupation of Namibia which openly defies decisions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly.

It is incumbent upon this Organization to reflect and act upon the deep concern and indignation of the entire international community at the persistence of such serious violations of fundamental human rights as are being committed by the apartheid régime. But apartheid and what goes with it are more than a violation of human rights. The provocation which that system presents to the neighbouring countries, to other African nations and to the whole world is a threat to international peace and security - a threat that will persist until apartheid has been totally eliminated and replaced by a system based on democracy and equality for all South Africans.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

It is a basic feature of Danish policy that we believe in and strive for peaceful solutions to international conflicts. We believe that mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should be imposed on South Africa. They are the most effective instrument available to the international community to promote peaceful change. As a member of the Security Council, Denmark has worked actively for the adoption of such measures and will continue to do so.

In the absence of agreement in the Security Council on sanctions under Chapter VII, Denmark has decided to take measures, together with our Nordic and European Community partners and on our own, on a voluntary unilateral basis. In fact Denmark has gone further in this regard than any other Western country. Nearly all Danish contacts with South Africa, including trade, will come to a halt before the end of this year. Our diplomacy is engaged in a systematic effort to encourage other countries to increase their contribution to reinforced and more effective international pressure against apartheid.

Outside pressure is not only intended to be a signal to the South African Government; it serves as a sign of solidarity with the South African population and as encouragement and an indication that an alternative can be found to violence and destruction.

Let President Botha's new rigid position on what he calls "outside interference" and his increasingly oppressive policies be a warning to the international community. Delay in making the message clear to those in South Africa who hold the key may soon place the situation beyond reach. We must act now.

As for Namibia, the Danish Government remains convinced that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian question. Delaying tactics on South Africa's part cannot be tolerated. Namibia's independence is long overdue and should be pursued by all peaceful means, including sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

The countries in southern Africa have for many years been important partners in Denmark's development co-operation programme. The priority given to that region is a natural correlate to the restrictive measures which we have adopted against South Africa. Together with the other Nordic countries, we will work actively at the United Nations to obtain agreement on a contingency plan for economic assistance to South Africa's neighbours in the event of South African reprisals against those countries.

In fact, approximately one third of our bilateral development assistance is provided to the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). At the SADCC meeting in Harare in January, Denmark pledged a 100 per cent increase to 400 million Danish kroner in its assistance to regional SADCC co-operation. Together with the other Nordic countries and the SADCC member States, a Joint Declaration on Expanded Economic Co-operation was signed on the same occasion.

The Joint Declaration between the SADCC and Nordic countries reflects the mutual determination of the two regions to intensify co-operation and constitutes the framework for new avenues of collaboration extending beyond the traditional donor-recipient relationship.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

The economic difficulties facing the African continent remain staggering, and profound changes in domestic policies are required to turn the situation around. Against this background, the special session of the General Assembly on Africa took place at a crucial point in time. The courageous approach of the African countries reflected their readiness to seek new avenues and make a firm commitment to policy reform. Denmark regards the adoption of the programme of action by consensus as a very positive outcome of the Conference, both for the United Nations as an organization and for the Member States. But now let us not lose momentum. The real achievement is not the adoption of the programme but its implementation. Donors and recipients must both shoulder their responsibility.

In the Middle East three major conflicts remain of serious concern to the world community, and not least to the countries of Europe, which have close and vital links with the area. Guided by the general principles set out by the countries of the European Community in their Venice Declaration, we have in the past year continued to support initiatives aimed at bringing the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute together in talks for peace.

We were encouraged by the efforts made by King Hussein of Jordan to open the path to a constructive engagement of authentic Palestinian representatives in the peace process, and we were correspondingly discouraged when the King concluded that he had not been able to secure the necessary commitment from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

If the peace process is to move forward, it will be necessary for those who are most directly involved and who have the welfare of the Palestinian people at heart to put their political differences aside and unite in support of a realistic and constructive engagement aimed at a negotiated peace. In this context I should like to pay a tribute to those courageous leaders in the Middle East who are showing the way by realistic and constructive initiatives to widen the dialogue.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

In Lebanon sectarian strife continues to exact a terrible price in human life and suffering. We can only appeal once again for moderation and reason and a will to compromise, without which it appears the very existence of Lebanon is threatened. When the Lebanese themselves choose to build on their common humanity and engage in true national reconciliation they shall find our ready support for the full restoration of Lebanese unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which is now in its seventh year, presents us with a picture of untold human carnage and suffering. Both parties, as well as the world community and the standards of civilization, stand only to lose by further continuation of this appalling war. From this rostrum I appeal to both parties to respect Security Council resolution 582 (1986) and use the United Nations and the good offices of the Secretary-General to work out a compromise on this conflict, which need never have escalated into war and which by its nature is negotiable.

In Afghanistan another war is taking place. There Soviet forces continue with undiminished determination their brutal attempts to suppress popular resistance within the country, with horrifying consequences for the civilian population.

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan must be brought to an end. Might does not make right, no matter how strong the Power. The Danish Government hopes that the talks held under the auspices of the United Nations, which have made important progress, will lead to an early agreement acceptable to all parties concerned and provide for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops.

The situation in Kampuchea also remains an issue of grave concern to the international community. It is Denmark's long-standing position that a solution to the Kampuchean problem must be found on the basis of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. In this spirit Denmark supports the endeavours of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) with regard to Kampuchea. We see merit in the



(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

eight-point proposal of the coalition Government, which in our view represents a positive contribution to the search for a just and durable negotiated settlement of the conflict.

As to the complex problems of Central America, the Danish Government fully understands and supports the aspirations of the peoples of Central America to a life in peace and dignity, a life in countries committed to democratic systems of government, free elections, freedom of the press and respect for human rights and a life in communities that strive for a more just and equitable distribution of much too scarce resources.

In our view the discrepancy that exists in most Central American countries between those aspirations and the hard realities is at the root of the present conflicts. Only the countries of Central America themselves can, within their respective borders, eliminate the fundamental causes of the current strife.

What the outside world can and must do is to offer its co-operation, economic and political, to the countries of the region and encourage and support initiatives designed to fulfil those aspirations.

The Danish Government continues to believe that there is no realistic and acceptable alternative to the Contadora peace process. At the core of that process lies the belief that the Central American countries themselves are responsible for solving their differences and that a lasting solution must be achieved by peaceful means without any kind of military pressure or other forms of coercion.

The global economic situation has improved in important respects over the last few years. In general, growth has resumed, inflation been brought down and interest rates reduced. Exchange-rate patterns have been brought more in line with fundamental economic conditions. However, difficult problems and uncertainties remain and pose a threat to global economic development and stability. Let me mention some of the problems that can be addressed only through international co-operation for the benefit of industrialized and developing countries alike.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

Since ancient times international trade has been the most powerful transmitter of growth, development and civilization that we can conceive of. But international trade is crucially dependent on the maintenance and further strengthening of the free-trade system. I should therefore like to congratulate our colleagues in Punta del Este on their success in launching a new round of trade negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The result is immensely important for international economic co-operation, but also for the political climate as a whole.

Most developing countries continue to face serious debt problems, which in many cases are aggravated by persistently low prices for their exports of commodities. True, though varying in size and composition between different countries, the debt burden remains a serious obstacle to growth and development. Measures to relieve this burden are therefore indispensable. But at the same time it must be ensured that debt relief measures are adapted to the circumstances of individual debtor countries and utilized in a context of economic policy reform and structural adjustment. In this spirit Denmark has responded positively to a large number of requests for the cancellation of official development assistance (ODA) debt from least-developed countries.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

Denmark's commitment to the developing world is reflected in our official development assistance. This year sees an extraordinary rise in Danish development assistance, which has long surpassed the international 0.7 per cent target. Denmark will increase its aid volume further in each of the coming years, reaching the 1 per cent target in 1992.

The multilateral development system is an important element of United Nations activities. The call for improved efficiency in the work of the United Nations applies also to activities financed by voluntary contributions. Important progress has already been achieved, not least within the United Nations Development Programme. Denmark expects all development organs and organizations to intensify their efforts to ensure the necessary flexibility, efficiency, co-operation and co-ordination in their work.

If such efforts are to succeed, the international donor community must respond by maintaining and increasing voluntary contributions. Denmark is prepared to fulfil its responsibility in this regard. We expect all donor countries to live up to their responsibility and to make voluntary contributions to the multilateral development system commensurate with their ability to contribute. We have watched with growing concern the tendency in industrialized countries to solve problems in domestic economies at the expense of development aid.

The world of today is a world with bitter conflicts rooted in opposing ideologies, competing interests and rivalling claims to influence and power. Naturally, all Member countries seek to use the United Nations for the advancement of their aims, to strengthen their ideology, their interests and their claims. So the activity of the Organization is characterized by struggle and confrontation, because it faithfully reflects the world we live in, and because the substance of its work is considered by its Members to be of fundamental importance.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

But even bitter debates come to an end, and mostly the end reflects recognition of the overriding need for co-operation to solve our common problems to which there can only be common solutions.

The present crisis of the United Nations can be overcome if we strengthen the tendencies of co-operation and restrain the tendencies of confrontation. The crisis is also an opportunity.

We must do our utmost to preserve and fully utilize the potential for action inherent in this much needed Organization. We must see to it that it not only survives, but constantly develops as a universal forum for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends and purposes. Such, in brief, is the challenge to the wisdom and imagination of this session of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. Three representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, in his statement on behalf of the European Economic Community and its members, referred to my country, to its political process and to the human rights situation in Chile.

We were surprised by his reference to this issue in plenary Assembly. The question of human rights in Chile will be taken up in the Third Committee. In this connection - and the representatives of the United Kingdom are aware of this - the Government of Chile, in its determination to work closely with the Special Rapporteur, has provided him with broad-ranging, exhaustive and complete replies bearing on the charges that have been voiced as well as on the recommendations made

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

by the Rapporteur. I venture to say that throughout the history of the United Nations there has never been so well founded a response provided as the one put forward by my country.

We were entitled to expect that such an attitude by Chile would have met with a serious-minded approach to the question of human rights, particularly from the countries of the Community that uphold respect for law and justice as a fundamental value.

The statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, singling out my country and, at the same time, painting a distorted picture of what is happening in the world in the field of human rights, in a manner merely of a kind of unburdening of conscience, amounts to a political undertaking aimed at satisfying the positions of domestic groups within the member countries of the Community that have nothing to do with the cause of human rights.

This attitude serves the purposes of those who do not want the problem of human rights to be dealt with in this Organization in a responsible manner but, rather, wish it to be used as a device for facile and inconsistent political action. His intervention thus becomes a source of new assaults upon a great moral cause.

Silence is often more misleading than are explicit false presentations. These days, whoever mentions Chile without pointing to the escalation of terrorism that threatens the country is distorting the reality in Chile by silence. The member countries of the Community are aware that a cache of armaments was discovered recently in Chile containing matériel and explosives of a magnitude unprecedented in Latin America. Those armaments were introduced into the country with foreign support and were aimed at fostering violence and terrorism in Chile, as it came to pass in the attack against the President of the Republic in an ambush that took the lives of five persons and injured many others.

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

The need to combat terrorism and to maintain calm in Chile is the reason for the implementation of the legal and constitutional provisions for the establishment of a state of siege in the country. The Government has been very clear in pointing out - and I repeat it here - that it intends to maintain the state of siege only for as long as it is deemed prudent in order to permit the required investigation and clarification of the facts to proceed.

Beyond that, however, the Government has been very emphatic - and I repeat it here - in declaring that no terrorist or subversive assault shall interfere with the programme of institutionalizing democracy, as provided for in the Constitution, which has precise terms and deadlines.

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

Moreover, in order to make progress towards full democracy, Chileans do not need either advice or advisers, nor do they need to be urged to proceed. Democracy is for us an historical imperative, as we have demonstrated in over 150 years of existence as an independent nation, and it is an imperative of destiny, on which the thinking of the vast majority of Chileans, the Government and Chilean institutions is in agreement.

Mr. REED (United States of America): Notwithstanding the assertion made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola that the current conflict within his country is principally a foreign invasion, I would remind representatives that the present régime in Luanda came to power as a direct result of its breach of the 1975 Alvor Agreement, which, under the auspices of the withdrawing Portuguese colonial administration, was to have created a coalition Government of national unity comprising the three major liberation movements: the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Despite the agreement of the three groups, the MPLA broke the agreement, expelled the other two movements from Luanda and precipitated the civil war that still besets Angola.

The United States Government desires an end to the civil war and to all foreign interference in the region. To achieve that result requires national reconciliation between the warring parties - the MPLA and UNITA. I would suggest to fellow representatives that no guerrilla movement such as UNITA could continue to exist without clear popular support.

But the United States of America recognizes that national reconciliation can only be the final product of an agreement that all foreign military components,

(Mr. Reed, United States of America)

including 36,000 Cuban troops and other Soviet bloc military personnel, as well as any residual South African forces, must leave Angola.

I wish to reiterate, however, that the United States does not expect any involved participant to act against its own interests. We do not believe that there can be a military solution to the Angolan conflict. We remain committed to reaching a timely agreement on all issues related to Namibian independence and peace in Angola. To that end, the United States is ready to meet with all those whose consent is a prerequisite to any final agreement.

Mr. FIGUEIREDO (Angola): The Assembly has just heard some terminological inexactitudes on the part of the United States representative. The MPLA certainly never broke any accord prior to our independence. The United States was supportive of those two puppet groups, the FNLA and UNITA which, at the present time, continue to be financed, trained and protected by the racist régime in South Africa.

My Foreign Minister was quite clear in his statement. The United States today stands on the side of apartheid. There are ten battalions of South African racist troops inside southern Angola. South African troops of varying strength have been in illegal occupation of my country since 1981. Angolan civilians continue to be brutally murdered by racist troops. Angolan air space continues to be violated and Angolan property continues to be destroyed. Our social infrastructure continues to be sabotaged.

Meanwhile, the Pretoria régime and the United States of America continue to finance, arm, supply, protect and rescue a handful of Angolan traitors, whose links with the former colonial Power's intelligence service are a matter of official record, backed by incontrovertible documentary evidence. It was that gang of traitors who were welcomed and feted in Washington by the United States Government, whose policy of "constructive engagement" has been an abject failure, whose



(Mr. Figueiredo, Angola)

negotiated agreements in southern Africa were being violated by the racist régime as they were being signed, whose policies have been unfriendly towards much of Africa and whose Administration provides assistance to traitors, in contravention of international law and all the norms of behaviour that govern, or should govern, relations between sovereign States.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.