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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 2 October 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)
later: Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian SSR)
(Vice-President)
later: Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique)
(Vice-President)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Mugabe (Zimbabwe)
Mr. Poos (Luxembourg)
Mr. Mr. Iglesias (Uruguay)
Mr. Al-Dali (Democratic Yemen)
Mr. Blamo (Liberia)
Mr. Halefoglu (Turkey)
Mr. Bassole (Burkina Faso)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will first hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency The Honourable Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. MUGABE (Zimbabwe): I should like to preface my statement by discharging some special and pleasant duties.

First, Sir, on my own behalf and on behalf of my entire delegation, I wish to offer you our heartiest congratulations on your richly deserved unanimous election to preside over the forty-first session of this Assembly. Your own distinguished record as a skilled and experienced diplomat gives us justified confidence that under your guidance this Assembly will deal successfully with its long agenda. I pledge the maximum co-operation of the Zimbabwe delegation to you in your efforts to guide the Assembly to even greater achievements.

Your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, is equally deserving of our tribute for the able manner in which he discharged the duties of his office and we heartily thank him.

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

I am pleased, Mr. President, to see seated on your side our Secretary-General, my friend Mr. Perez de Cuellar, who, as I have learned, is rapidly recuperating from his recent illness. As we all also know, despite problems with his health, the Secretary-General paid full attention to the well-being of the Organization, as is amply illustrated by his analytical report for this year.

I should begin by noting that the long list of issues on the agenda of this session is truly reflective of the burning and pressing concerns of the international community. In many ways the questions before this Assembly are quite similar to those on the agenda of the recently concluded eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986. I shall crave the Assembly's indulgence to refer in my statement to some of the important decisions and pronouncements of that historic summit meeting over which I was singularly honoured to preside.

Since the adoption on 14 December 1960 by this Assembly of the epoch-making Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People's, resolution 1514 (XV), no less than 60 countries and many millions of people have successfully broken their colonial shackles and are now occupying their rightful places in the Assembly and other international forums. While the Harare Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries noted this impressive record with satisfaction and gratification, the leaders also expressed themselves as equally disturbed and disconcerted that the people of Namibia, New Caledonia, Micronesia and other dependent Territories continue to endure colonial domination and exploitation. Both the 1960 Declaration and elementary justice and morality demand that they be granted the right to shape their own destinies.

The question of Namibian independence, and in particular the refusal by the South African apartheid régime to grant that independence despite all the clear and unequivocal decisions and resolutions of the Assembly, constitutes nothing less

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

than a scandal. I do not propose to discuss this issue in any detail, having regard to the recently concluded special session of the Assembly, which yet again addressed it fully. I merely wish to reiterate the following aspects: the United Nations, through its Council for Namibia, is the legal administering authority until such time as Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is implemented and Namibia is free and independent. The racist Pretoria régime is illegally occupying Namibia by military force and entirely against the wishes and aspirations of the Namibian people. Even as we are gathered here, the racist occupation forces are not only exploiting that Territory and its people, they are also massively militarizing Namibia into a formidable launching pad for aggressive acts of State terrorism and military destabilization against neighbouring States, especially Angola. In this connection, this Assembly must, as did the recent Harare eighth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, condemn strongly the Pretoria régime for this and for recruiting, training, financing, directing and infiltrating bandits and mercenary elements into neighbouring countries to destabilize and overthrow their Governments.

Equally unacceptable to and condemned by us are the policies of linkage, whereby the independence of Namibia is, in effect, made conditional upon the exit of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

Our fears that the United States policy of constructive engagement was not in the interests of peace in our region were later justified by that Government's decision to resort to the arming, equipping and financing of Jonah Savimbi's counter-revolutionaries and bandits for the purpose of overthrowing the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola. This action, which clearly is State terrorism, must surely have the effect of undermining the possibility of a quick and peaceful resolution of the conflicts in our region. What is very urgently required is not criminal collaboration with the murderous Pretoria régime, which is

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already on the warpath, but the acceleration of its isolation until it offers unconditional co-operation with United Nations efforts to implement resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia.

Southern Africa is a region truly in crisis. The root cause of conflict in the region is obviously the apartheid system which, according to the eighth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, has already jeopardized the sub-continent's peace and security and is threatening international peace and security as well. Only positive and concerted action by the whole international community, not pious resolutions, will break the obduracy of the apartheid régime. The same international community which has declared apartheid a crime against humanity and an affront to universal conscience must also take concrete action against this international monster.

The Assembly must lend weight to the call already made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement, and recently by the International Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986 for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. But pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, I wish to commend for the serious consideration of the Assembly the following package of measures endorsed by the recent eighth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which includes, but is not limited to, the prohibition of the transfer of technology to South Africa; cessation of export, sale or transport of oil and oil products to South Africa, and of any co-operation with South Africa's oil industry; cessation of further investment in and financial loans to South Africa or Namibia, and of any governmental insurance or guarantee of credits to the régime; prohibition of imports from South Africa of agricultural products, coal, uranium and other mineral commodities; enactment of legislation, or adoption of other measures to comply with United Nations Decree No. 1 for the

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1974; termination of air and shipping links with South Africa; cessation of all academic, cultural, scientific and sports relations with South Africa and of relations with individuals, institutions and other bodies endorsing, or based on, apartheid.

Equally disturbing to the international community is the situation in the Middle East, at the core of which is the question of Palestine. Since they were deprived of their land and were callously dispersed in a heart-rending diaspora, the Palestinians have been hounded and even massacred at the hands of Israel and its agents, yet their fighting spirit of resistance continues to rise and soar from the ruins and ashes of enemy brutality and destruction.

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

No Middle East settlement can be just and comprehensive unless it is based on Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, followed by the full restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. These rights include the right to unimpeded return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State in their own territory. In this regard the idea of an international conference on peace in the Middle East that would include the PLO as a full participant must be pursued with vigour.

Many speakers have already referred in detail to other hotbeds of tension and conflict characterizing the world scene today. I think it is a frightening observation that, at a time when these persistent regional conflicts are threatening to erupt into a conflagration of global dimensions, faith in multilateralism as a central and effective mechanism for resolving international tensions and conflicts by peaceful means is on the retreat.

I should like to suggest very strongly that this is the time to intensify and reaffirm our commitment to such principles of the United Nations Charter as non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in settling international disputes and crises.

Loss of faith in the efficacy of those fundamental principles of multilateralism was responsible for the beginning and perpetuation of the dangerous situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the tragic Iran-Iraq conflict and the situations in Central America, including Nicaragua, the Korean peninsula, Western Sahara, and the Mediterranean region, including Libya and Cyprus. In all these situations we demand that recourse to the theory and practice of "might is right", which can never be justified, be abandoned, for it negates the principles of the Charter and imperils international peace and security.

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

In the same vein, I wish to commend for its good work the Group of High Level Intergovernmental Experts established by the General Assembly at its fortieth session in accordance with its resolution 40/237 to review the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations. The Group's observations, analyses and recommendations as contained in its report, which is submitted to the Assembly as document A/41/49, are a realistic attempt to find solutions to the problems besetting our Organization, and I sincerely trust that the Assembly will see them in that serious light.

The world economic scene is just as grim and critical as the international political scene. For the third world in general the international economic environment has been terribly unfavourable, and for Africa in particular it has been and continues to be disastrous. We are all familiar with the problems of high interest rates, plummeting commodity prices, the crushing debt burden and the very low levels of external concessional assistance. To these we must also add the devastating effects of such natural disasters as drought and the encroachment of the deserts, which not only threaten the viability of our agricultural sector but also make economic recovery even more difficult.

African Governments and peoples are becoming increasingly aware that they more than anybody else must play a major role in their continent's economic regeneration. They are aware of their responsibility to effect and ensure the success of painful structural adjustment measures which may not be without serious political and social consequences. However, there can be no denying that unless our efforts are generously supported and complemented by the international community, and especially the industrialized countries, Africa's economic recovery, growth and development prospects will continue to be remote. This position was made clear in the Africa Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, submitted to the

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

Assembly at its special session earlier this year on the critical economic situation in Africa.

The economies of African countries are of course an integral part of the world economy. Moreover, most of the economic problems confronting the African countries are also shared by the majority of third-world countries in Asia, Latin America and Oceania. That is why the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries paid attention to those problems during the recent Harare Conference. The non-aligned leaders rightly observed that the persistent world economic crisis underlying the importance of fundamental structural adjustments in international economic relations in order to create a just and equitable economic system promoting rapid and sustained economic growth and development throughout the world, especially in the developing countries.

It is now time that we reaffirmed our commitment to, and reiterated the continuing validity and relevance of, the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic order as enshrined in General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), of 1 May 1974, as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX), of 12 December 1974. The lack of progress in the implementation of these and similar resolutions, despite the flexible and constructive attitude adopted by the developing countries, is deplorable. The Group of 77 must be commended for its tremendous efforts aimed at stimulating the stalled process of international negotiations through the implementation of the proposals of the seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which include the launching of global negotiations in two phases: first, a programme of immediate measures in areas of critical importance to developing countries, including the International Conference on Money and Finance for

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

Development, and, secondly, a comprehensive reform of the existing inadequate, inequitable and outdated international monetary and financial system.

We cannot but regret the fact that no progress has been made in the implementation of those proposals, thanks to the intransigent positions adopted by some developed countries. This Assembly should stress the urgent need for the implementation of the programme of immediate measures for the reactivation of the world economy.

For our part, we in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have requested the Group of 77 to continue its efforts to reactivate negotiations for the launching of global negotiations as soon as possible. We urge reciprocity and a demonstration of the necessary political will on the part of the developed countries to enable negotiations to be launched. These negotiations, in our view, should be of a global character and should be conducted within the framework of the United Nations.

At its fortieth session this Assembly, by its resolution 40/3, proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. That proclamation was specially designed to provide all the people of the world, through their Governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and as individuals, with a special opportunity to think about and do everything possible for the promotion of world peace.

(Mr. Mugabe, Zimbabwe)

This move was prompted by international concern and anxiety about the continuing deterioration in the international situation from the economic, political and security point of view.

The continuing arms race and the concomitant production of more sophisticated weapons of death and destruction, as well as tensions which continue to characterize relations between the two super-Powers, all heighten the risk of a nuclear confrontation which is certain to lead to the destruction of mankind.

Moved by the same concerns and anxiety, the eighth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries addressed the Harare appeal on disarmament to the leaders of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, impressing upon the two that the struggle for peace and for the prevention of nuclear war is the principal task of our time. We appeal to them yet again to heed the voice of the great majority of mankind that the irrational and suicidal nuclear arms race should be terminated forthwith.

By the end of this session and in the tradition of this lofty Assembly, dozens of resolutions will have been adopted. However, such resolutions will not on their own produce real and concrete results towards the promotion of a world outlook characterized by a democratic and stable political atmosphere, a just and equitable international economic order, peace and confidence in the future. Only political will and statesmanship on the part of our leaders, especially the leaders of the more powerful countries, as well as a creative commitment to the principles of multilateralism on the part of all of us, will ensure a happy and safe world for all and for future generations.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. FOOS (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): I take great pleasure in joining previous speakers and warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. I wish you all success in carrying out your functions.

I should also like to thank the outgoing President, Ambassador de Piniés, for guiding the work of the commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary and the special session on the critical economic situation in Africa with the competence and dynamism we have long known.

I wish also to emphasize the tireless work of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and the importance of the difficult task he is carrying out, with a great deal of dedication, in the service of the international community. The report he has just submitted on the work of the Organization is significant in this regard. I should like to assure him of the confidence and esteem his efforts continue to enjoy with the Government and the people of Luxembourg.

The opportunity offered each country to speak freely from this rostrum should not be understood as a simple stylistic exercise or a ritual. The annual meeting in New York, which brings together, in this extraordinary city, officials from all nations the world over, should be perceived as a major event. It is the illustration, and I would even say the living demonstration, of the fact that this planet is one despite its great diversity of civilizations, cultures, races and régimes.

Hence, it is essential and vital for all of us that this forum for all nations, large and small - some with a long existence but the majority still quite young - take into account the interests and concerns of all men and women who make up an indissoluble whole. In the past, problems could be apprehended separately, but all are now intricately linked to the point where they have become our common

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

concerns. Conflicts among nations involve common dangers, to which all States represented in our Organization are called upon to bring peaceful solutions.

Happily, at its session last year the General Assembly decided to proclaim the year 1986 the International Year of Peace.*

*Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian SSR), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

It is more urgent and necessary than ever before to counter the dangers inherent in local conflicts and to face up to the effects of hotbeds of tension is more important than ever.

In accordance with the wish of the Secretary-General, my Government will soon commemorate, on a historic date - 11 November, the anniversary of the end of this century's first world conflagration - the International Year of Peace. This will use the most diverse means to heighten public awareness of the vital need to maintain peace. These activities will be based on a widespread information campaign involving both the newspaper and broadcasting media, non-governmental organizations and teaching institutions.

My intention today is not to present a detailed account of my Government's position regarding the many subjects on the agenda of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. A week ago the Assembly heard my colleague, Sir Geoffrey Howe, on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community, voice our concerns. I would add that we are in full agreement with the ideas that he developed on behalf of that European Community, to which we are dedicated. I shall thus confine myself to delivering a message on behalf of my Government to all those who do us the honour of listening to us today.

In order to be perfectly clear, I must say at once that the men and women of Luxembourg, who have the rare privilege of benefiting from an exceptionally high standard of living, are concerned. They are concerned for several reasons in a world perplexed by the innumerable challenges it faces.

While it is generally acknowledged that peace and the survival of mankind cannot be assured without an organization of a universal character, the continuance of what is commonly called the United Nations system is endangered by the lack of whole-hearted political and economic support from its Members.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

We note with regret growing disenchantment with the co-operation represented by the United Nations. This is particularly tragic since that mistrust in regard to the Organization is being expressed while the solemn professions of faith made on the fortieth anniversary of the Charter are still echoing in our ears. The expression of that step backwards with regard to the United Nations has recently been reflected in the failure of certain Member States to pay their contributions to the budget of the Organization.

It would seem that this financial crisis is political in nature and must be treated as such. It reveals profound disagreement between Member States as to the role that should be played by the Organization and even by some of its specialized agencies.

I must say in this context that it seems to me to be crucial that all States Members meet the international commitments to which they have solemnly subscribed. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that after 40 years of existence we must review all the United Nations programmes in order to redirect them towards spheres in which their effectiveness is not called into question and they can tackle matters of real priority, some of which are tragic in nature.

In this spirit, my country will join in any effort aimed at restructuring the Secretariat and rationalizing the use and cost of its human resources. Since the situation is still alarming, despite the economy measures adopted at the Secretary-General's initiative, this matter remains extremely urgent. Only in this way can we create an atmosphere favourable to the restoration of confidence in the future of the United Nations.

In addition to the financial crisis, we are concerned by the flagrant disregard, after 40 years of existence by our Organization, of the principles of the Charter, and even of the decisions the United Nations has had to take when intervening actively in conflicts.

(Mr. POOS, Luxembourg)

It will surprise no one if from among those principles I give pride of place to those concerning human rights. The fact that the question of human rights has become a subject of general concern internationally is in our view an undeniable success for the United Nations. We vigorously oppose the manoeuvres of those who, on the pretext of budgetary difficulties, try to curtail the Organization's activities in this area.

Respect for these rights cannot be subjected to pre-conditions. This is particularly true of certain so-called collective rights, the definition of which remains ambiguous.

I wish to pay a particular tribute to those who, in many countries and often in heroic circumstances, have laid themselves open to criminal and other types of prosecution simply because they have claimed the rights explicitly recognized to them in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the instruments and covenants connected with it, such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly or association, including trade union rights.

However, those principles are barely respected and even openly flouted in many States, for instance, in the countries of Eastern Europe, whose peoples have for over 40 years been in the grip of a single, dominant ideology; in Chile, where the military authority has recently claimed the sad privilege of commemorating the thirteenth anniversary of its seizure of power; or in South Africa, where the apartheid régime, repeatedly denounced from this rostrum, continues to constitute, in my view, the greatest disgrace to mankind as this twentieth century draws to its close.

We are particularly concerned about the prospects for the future of South Africa, which is already on the brink of civil war. As the Assembly knows, we will join in any form of collective, binding pressure to bring about the end of this morally and politically unacceptable system.

(Mr. POOS, Luxembourg)

With regard to respect for decisions the United Nations, I wish to pay a special tribute to all those Governments that have made troops available to the United Nations for peace-keeping purposes. We all know what risk those troops face, working under difficult conditions and with necessarily limited possibilities. It is essential that the international community act in solidarity when the fate of those forces is at stake.

A short time ago I was able to visit both Cyprus and Israel. No one can doubt that without the United Nations peace-keeping forces there would inevitably be a renewal of hostilities in those two areas of the world. The countries that have accepted those troops in their territories and those whose troops are in daily contact with the peace-keeping forces have an obligation to help them to carry out the delicate missions entrusted to them.

Our third cause for concern is undoubtedly connected with a phenomenon that is taking on tragic dimensions - that is, terrorism. I associate myself with the words recently spoken by the Head of a friendly neighbouring Government, who called terrorism the "new leprosy". The constant threat of blackmail, the taking of hostages and the murder of innocent victims, all such wanton violence, must be resisted with the utmost determination.

I am convinced that we shall not eradicate this scourge if we remain passive and without complete and unreserved international co-operation. It must be recognized by all States that those that attack defenceless individuals or seek to sow confusion and anarchy within sovereign States deserve neither refuge nor leniency, no matter what the cause that serves as a pretext for their action.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

I turn now to regional conflicts. We must note that efforts to end these have made hardly any progress in the past year, whether with regard to the pitiless invasion of Afghanistan by a great foreign Power, the conflict between Iran and Iraq - the bloodiest since the cessation of hostilities in 1945 - or the continued occupation of a part of the island of Cyprus by a foreign force. All these acts are being perpetrated in spite of the most elementary norms of the sovereignty of all States.

With regard to the continued impasse in the peace process in the Middle East, I appeal to this Organization to make it possible to establish an international forum in which all parties concerned would participate. That forum might be coincident with, and could facilitate, the beginning of real negotiations aimed, on the one hand, at the recognition of Israel within secure and guaranteed borders and, on the other hand, at permitting the Palestinian people to exercise their right to decide freely upon their own future.

In this sad listing I cannot fail to mention the tragic fate still experienced by the Cambodian people, a people whose wish to live in harmony with its neighbours cannot be doubted. I must mention too the continued, unacceptable absence of any representative of the Korean people in this body, which claims to be universal.

We view with concern the fact that the situation in Central America has been adrift, after the hopes to which the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group had given rise. We are concerned to note that a major reversal has taken place in the establishment of democratic institutions and dialogue in Nicaragua. We are convinced that foreign intervention, whatever its source and whoever its possible beneficiaries, is unlikely to foster a peaceful and democratic solution of the problems there. The only possible road is that of the Contadora initiative; along with our partners in the European Community we shall continue to support it.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

It is only natural that, being on the border line in East-West relations, Europe should watch with interest developments in the current disarmament talks. Great hopes were born towards the end of last year after the Geneva meeting between the leaders of the two super-Powers; repeated appeals, and proposals concerning all kinds of weapons have been put forward since, by both sides. We must however note that despite all those discussions - concerning nuclear, conventional and chemical and biological weapons, and a halt to nuclear tests - the establishment of a true climate of mutual trust which is indispensable to overcoming the differences separating East and West, remains fragile because they are subject to unforeseen events.

It is at the negotiating table that we must see true progress. The very encouraging results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe hold promise for the future.

My Government continues to advocate the continuation of this dialogue and the establishment of a balance of forces at the lowest possible level, with respect for the security of every State. Following the success at Stockholm, we hope that the negotiations, now at an important turning-point, will not be deadlocked once again, either in forums of which we are fully fledged members, such as the mutual and balanced force reductions negotiations in Vienna, or others of crucial importance for our security.

Turning to the General Assembly, I deplore its adoption of an excessive number of resolutions which are most often repetitive. In the field of disarmament, such resolutions - and I certainly do not wish to blame their sponsors - have by and large a very limited impact on the process of détente. When their content is controversial, all they do is place on record during the debates to which they give rise the existing disagreements, without having any influence on progress at the negotiating table.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

In sum, what Luxembourg is suggesting is less paper, fewer resolutions, but rather the implementation of the Charter - of the entire Charter.

Our concerns go beyond political problems in the strict sense of the term. While the world economy appears to be emerging from a sort of paralysis from which it had been suffering for some time, and while it appears that the phenomenon of inflation has been curbed and that a modest recovery is taking place, there remain serious structural imbalances calling for adaptation and sometimes dramatic readjustments. That is particularly true for Africa and Latin America. In this context, we deplore the lack of effective economic co-operation in the relevant United Nations bodies. As before, what the third world needs is fewer words and more action.

The recent special session on the critical economic situation in Africa, it is true, made some progress possible in this regard. Our determination to achieve the recovery and development of that continent, which lies to the south of Europe and whose fate is particularly dear to us, calls for rapid joint efforts both by the African countries and by the rest of the world.

In general we in the industrialized world know that we must undertake new multilateral negotiations, in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, or in international monetary bodies, with a view to redressing the present imbalances, which have had a disruptive effect on the world economy. The problem of indebtedness, which many speakers have already addressed, is a source of real concern to my country as well, inasmuch as threats to prosperity give rise to instability and to threats to world peace.

I wish to share the distress of my country and its people at the rapid technological progress which has been threatening the quality of life for future generations. Especially since the very serious nuclear accident at Chernobyl, we

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

have considered that environmental protection can no longer be considered a trite subject for cocktail-party conversation. On the contrary, the many questions that have arisen out of that tragic event reflect the deep-seated concern of our peoples.

Soon a nuclear plant will be operating on our borders, with a maximum capacity hardly matched in the world; this gives rise to understandable anxiety among most of my compatriots. We shall, of course, attempt to protect ourselves against all the possible risks of accident which are inherent in such an installation. But it is undeniable that if there should be a serious accident our entire population would be affected, and my Government is therefore particularly interested in the establishment and strengthening, on the international level, of binding safety standards and procedures for rapid dissemination of information and quick alert.

The current efforts in the International Atomic Energy Agency to establish international standards acceptable to all producers and users of nuclear energy have the full support of my Government. Yet I must state that at present my Government has the most serious reservations concerning the lack of acknowledgement of responsibility on the part of producer States towards their non-producer neighbours, and the lack of formal, unequivocal stipulations concerning compensation in the event of catastrophe.

My Government will continue to act in this sphere, for this is an essential, vital question for my country and its people; we think in particular of the unfortunate consequences the Chernobyl accident continues to have for all the neighbours of the USSR.

(Mr. Poos, Luxembourg)

As I indicated at the beginning of my statement, it was not my intention to give a detailed analysis of the overall problems facing the community of nations. I intended to confine myself to stating before this honourable gathering that at the heart of Europe, in a small country that has been independent for almost 150 years, concern still remains, in spite of the apparent security we have experienced.

In the face of a troubled and uncertain world, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm the vital role which the United Nations should continue to play in the future. Justice and progress for all people remain our permanent objectives. I reaffirm most vigorously our dedication to the continuation of the United Nations system. For indeed, is not this Organization the only body that provides a place for dialogue that might prevent conflicts from turning into open confrontations? It is on that basis therefore that the peaceful settlement of disputes, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and other standards of international law might in fact be found.

Aware of our collective responsibility, which no one can escape, let us give new life to this truly world-wide Organization. Let us turn the United Nations into an even more effective instrument, more in conformity with its ideals. In acting this way, let us be inspired by the realism which Winston Churchill showed one day when he stated:

(spoke in English)

"The United Nations were not created to take us to heaven but to save us from hell."

Mr. IGLESIAS (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation is especially pleased at the election of Mr. Choudhury to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. His wisdom, objectivity and diplomatic skill are a sure guarantee of the effectiveness of our work. He may be assured that he will have our broadest co-operation.

I should also like to pay a tribute here to our dear friend, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, for the work he accomplished during his presidency of the previous session, with which he brought to a climax a long and distinguished career in the United Nations.

I am also particularly pleased to extend my greetings to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and express our satisfaction on seeing him restored to health, and I wish to express my Government's acknowledgement of the invaluable services he is rendering to the international community and to this Organization, giving evidence always of his selflessness and creative intelligence, inspired at all times by a genuine international feeling. It is our hope, and the desire of my Government, that for a long time to come the United Nations will continue to benefit from the competence, prudence and patience that characterize his performance in office, which are especially necessary in the difficult times that lie ahead.

One year ago, the General Assembly proclaimed 1986 to be the International Year of Peace and called upon all the peoples of the world to join with the United Nations in resolute efforts to safeguard peace and the future of mankind through continuous and positive action on the part of States and peoples, with the aim of preventing war through removal of various threats to peace, the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means and the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as stated in the preamble to the Charter.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

It was, therefore, a tragic irony that during the first weeks of the Year of Peace, Olaf Palme, without any doubt one of the most fervent and generous fighters for peace in this century, should fall victim to the darkest and most cowardly form of violence, in Sweden, his native land, a country which can be justly proud of a tradition of peace which few countries can match. The death of this admirable and exemplary worker for peace was an omen marking the beginning of a year which mankind was to have devoted to the preservation and realization of the right of peoples to peace.

In this Year of Peace, the chronic evils which beset the world seem to have reached a degree unknown in previous years. The more Utopian the final objectives, the greater the threat to the objectives of peace. Violence is manifest in all its dismal forms: from open wars to the most vicious acts of terrorism. The quantitative and qualitative development of the war industry continues at the fast pace imposed by an increasing and ever more diversified demand. In the meantime, vast sectors of mankind fall victim to the scourge of hunger, disease or ignorance, or continue to be subject to the rules of racist minorities.

Thus peace, understood not only as the absence of war, but as the "serenity in order" of which St. Augustine spoke and which is reflected in a state of affairs in which security, justice and prosperity prevail, has been conspicuously absent in this International Year of Peace.

We must therefore ask ourselves what is keeping us from victory in this struggle in which we all seem to be on the same side. Why is there such a gulf between what we all advocate and what happens outside the United Nations? It is commonplace to ascribe the responsibility to the lack of political will on the part of the major protagonists of power. But perhaps part of the answer must be sought in the revolutionary impact which the development of modern technology is having on

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society. The tide of technology in which we are submerged is causing profound changes in both our individual and collective way of living, in our way of thinking and feeling, and in the perception of our goals and hopes. It is this technology that confers on any armed conflict, no matter how localized it may be, the potential apocalyptic effects. The possibility of annihilating entire populations underlies any warlike confrontation: it is a possibility that can rapidly become a reality if a propitious time is provided by the escalation of a conflict, which is generally inevitable. Let us not forget that the death and suffering of innocent victims, who day after day are unwillingly trapped in the present conflicts, are a harsh fact of contemporary life, which we cannot be used to despite its almost daily occurrence in the cities and towns of Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Afghanistan or Kampuchea.

It is the technological factor that gives a new dimension to an old phenomenon, terrorism, which has not ceased to manifest itself since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which has become worse during the last few years, thanks to the increasing sophistication of the methods used, as well as the characteristics of modern life in open and democratic societies that increase the chances of attack, increase the exposure of the victims, and favour the cowardly anonymity of the attackers.

We have met here at this time to ask ourselves what is the proper way to respond with our international institutions to the challenges to our international relations posed by the formidable technological explosion which characterizes these last years of this twentieth century.

How can we face these challenges of today's reality? How can we overcome the obstacles that have prevented us, not just from achieving the ideal of peace, but

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from even coming close to it? What should we do to see that at future sessions of this Assembly, we do not just talk about the past but rather talk about positive achievements?

We sincerely believe that the moment has come to undertake a serious consideration not only of the rules that govern our international conduct but also of the political, legal and institutional instruments that we can use to obtain our common aims.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Uruguay believes that, in view of the dangerous course of international relations in recent years, we must immediately undertake a process of thorough examination and unbiased assessment of the existing legal and institutional apparatus, in order to determine how it can be adapted to fit present conditions. To that end, we think that good starting points for that examination have been recommended by the Group of 18. My Government will participate in the examination with the utmost enthusiasm and dedication. It must start from two premises. The first is that the principles of the San Francisco Charter must be upheld, since they express absolute values which must continue to guide our international conduct. The second is that the United Nations must continue to be the main forum through which international co-operation is channelled.

My country reiterates its support for the Organization, and its conviction that the United Nations is a fundamental component in the present set of historical circumstances and must be a fundamental component of any other plan in the future.

Creativity and determination are required in the search for methods and procedures to deal with present problems, with new criteria and new organizational bases. Last year, the President of my country, Mr. Sanguinetti, said that the United Nations had resulted from a cataclysm, the Second World War, that had killed the League of Nations. We think it would be suicidal if we had to create another organization at the price of a world war. Rather, we must improve the one we already have.

Uruguay has demonstrated by deeds its intention to use all available diplomatic and political machinery to deal with the international problems that are of concern to us. Hence, we have joined in all forms of direct diplomatic action available to the President of the Republic and his Foreign Ministry in order to give effect to our aims, through diplomatic actions designed to achieve peace. My country has neither the size nor the responsibility to be a leading player on the

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international stage; all that we can do is aspire to harmonious and constructive relations with the sister republics of our continent and co-operate, to the limit of our possibilities, to ensure the achievement of peace in the world, and especially in our region.

That is why we whole-heartedly support the Contadora initiative; we believe that it is a response to our profound belief that peace in Central America is an objective which goes far beyond the problems of the subregion and involves all Latin Americans. We are convinced that the worsening crisis in that part of our Latin America could unleash very dangerous tensions and conflicts throughout the region. That is why we have joined in this initiative. We feel that the strengthening of peace, progress towards pluralistic democracy, and the economic and social development of the Central American region are goals of all Latin Americans.

We believe in the path of dialogue rather than that of armed confrontation. We wish to show with concrete deeds that our Latin American peoples can achieve peace, development and justice without foreign interference, in accordance with their own decisions and their own historical experience. It is in order to join in those tasks - on which Latin America, the main protagonist, must take its own decisions - that we have participated and shall continue to participate in the work of Contadora, through the Support Group, of which we have the honour to be a member.

The problem of the Malvinas is of equal concern to us. Last year our President stated in this Assembly:

"The problem of the Malvinas is not simply a bilateral problem between Argentina and Great Britain. It is a Latin American problem, and, as such, we assume it in its full dimension. ...

"We trust that Great Britain, which knew when the historical moment was ripe to abandon vast possessions all over the world, will succeed in reconciling the dictates of law with the rules of international coexistence.

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Hence we support Argentina's claims and we are prepared to do everything in our power to contribute to a rapprochement between those two parties at the negotiating table". (A/40/PV.6 p. 3)

All that we need add now to what was said by our President is that Uruguay is awaiting with increasing impatience the agreement of the parties to begin rapidly negotiations that can lead to a just and final solution to the problem.

There are other parts of the world that cause us concern. Certain conflicts, such as the one in the Middle East, seem to have gone beyond the control of their protagonists. President Sanguinetti also stated here last year that in the case of the Middle East conflict the worst had happened: it had become a routine problem which we seemed to have learned to live with.

The developments in the Middle East conflict have made it difficult to conceive of any solution that would not require sacrifices on the part of everyone involved, as well as a supreme effort toward conciliation. Such a solution, as Uruguay has been saying for years now, must be based on recognition of Israel's right to continue to exist as a State within secure and recognized borders; on recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; and on respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, whose territory must be freed of the presence of foreign armed forces, of whatever origin. We are especially disturbed by the tragedy of the Lebanese people. They have deep ties with our people, who have for many years benefited from the contribution of their hard-working, intelligent immigrants.

Peace also requires the reunification of the two Koreas through dialogue and negotiations.

It has been said that peace must be built one day at a time, and that it must come from the heart of every person and every people.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Violations of human rights continue to take place each day throughout the world. In many parts of the planet, persons and groups of persons are systematically persecuted and deprived of their basic rights because of their race, religion or ideas. Many people continue to be subjected to various forms of political oppression or iniquitous situations in which they are deprived of their most elementary economic and social rights.

But within this range of daily violations of human rights, nothing is more repugnant to the conscience of mankind than the shameful practice of apartheid, institutionalized and applied by the racist South Africa régime. My Government vigorously condemns this affront to civilization and joins in the international community's clamour for its elimination. In particular, we associate ourselves with the demand for the immediate and unconditional liberation of Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders, and for the lifting of the ban on the black political organizations.

In regard to the Pretoria Government's behaviour, we have followed with interest the recent international trend towards the adoption of sanctions in conformity with the Charter. That would be a healthy reaction by the international community and a defence of the most sacred values of civilization and peace. My Government will associate itself with any sanctions that are adopted.

There can be no peace when territories are under foreign occupation or colonial situations exist. But there are still vestiges of colonialism which, by disregarding the right of peoples to self-determination, are sources of tension and threats to the peace. We have in mind particularly the case of Namibia, whose people are subjugated and whose territory has been illegally occupied, in open defiance of decisions and resolutions of bodies of the United Nations, including the decision of the International Court of Justice.

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Uruguay repeats that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations must be immediately and unconditionally implemented. Moreover, we condemn continuing armed incursions and acts of aggression against States that are South Africa's neighbours, which often are launched from Namibian territory; that is the case particularly of the aggression against Angola.

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We reaffirm our solidarity with the front-line countries and we earnestly hope that in this International Year of Peace effective steps will be taken to ensure that the people of Namibia can exercise their right of self-determination and that peace and tranquillity are restored to that afflicted part of the world.

As serious as the persistence of conflict in the world is the fact, generally accepted here, that it is commonly used as an excuse to justify the most iniquitous manifestation of violence in our times: terrorism. Terrorism is the common enemy of all the peoples and Governments represented here. Uruguay does not believe that any Member of the United Nations can invoke attenuating circumstances or in any way justify terrorism, irrespective of the motive, because that would be to deny the principles which all States have undertaken to respect and promote. And let us be candid - it would also mean an unjustified act of arrogance, because no Government represented here can be certain that in the future it will not be a victim of the blackmail of terrorism. Uruguay is convinced that the international community should intensify co-operation in eliminating, or at least reducing, the tragic consequences of this scourge, whose expansion, frequency and magnitude are turning it into a real war declared against civilization.

Yesterday mankind awoke to an item of news which introduces some ray of hope; I am referring to the news of the coming meeting in October between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev to resume conversations with a view to an effective process of nuclear disarmament.

The question of nuclear disarmament is of the greatest importance for all the peoples of the world, and not only for the super-Powers. Mankind lives daily with the continuing concern and anxiety regarding what is called the danger of a nuclear holocaust, in which mankind as a whole would be the victim. As the two super-Powers have stated, "A nuclear war cannot be won and it cannot be waged".

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No design for peace can overlook an important reality of today. The policies of the great Powers in the matter of armaments are decided, pursued, negotiated on, and brought into conflict every day largely in disregard of this Organization, which should be the institutional form representing the international community.

It is thus with the great Powers that both the political and moral responsibility for decisions on disarmament mainly lies. In view of this situation, which is outside our control, there is not a single State whose security and existence does not in the last resort depend on the will of the nuclear Powers and, in particular, the two super-Powers; as the Secretary-General has already stated, we are living in a state of interdependence but on a footing of inequality.

In other areas there have been some promising developments, signs of progress in reducing international tensions. One of them, without any doubt is the security agreement arrived at a few days ago at the Stockholm Conference in which countries of Western and Eastern Europe, the United States and Canada participated.

We have followed with keen interest and firmly support the proposals made by the six Heads of State of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, formulated in the city of Ixtapa, Mexico, a few weeks ago, urging the super-Powers to establish a reciprocal moratorium on nuclear testing, and the six leading statesmen of those countries proposed specific procedures for verification; they stated their willingness to participate and offered to provide means of ensuring effective compliance. They must know that they have the full support of all the countries of our continent.

Uruguay also supports Brazil's proposal to associate the countries of both sides of the South Atlantic in a zone of peace and co-operation. Peace and security in this area requires that it must be used not for any threat or use of force, but instead in a way that will preserve it from any extension of the strategic-nuclear confrontation. The establishment of a zone of peace also

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requires that the violence and coercion which prevent the peoples of South Africa and Namibia from freely exercising their sovereign rights must cease.

Peace, true peace, is based on mutual trust, and the arms race is the ultimate expression of the lack of trust. We have developed considerably in terms of science and very little in terms of conscience. Will civilization be able to attain a sufficiently high ethical level to ensure that those who bear the responsibilities of government in the various countries will now take the decision to devote to the development of the peoples the resources that are now allocated to the production and purchase of weapons and instruments of destruction and death? Once we have overcome this tragic paradox of the modern world we shall have laid firm foundations for peace - of real peace, and not peace of the pax romana type imposed upon others. We must have the type of peace which can only prosper and flourish in a true community, an international society characterized by relations of equality among States, and not by the hegemony of some over others. We must have a peace which is one and indivisible, a peace of justice, one which is guaranteed by law. In this International Year of Peace we reaffirm our faith in such a peace, the only true peace, and our faith in the freedom of individuals and of peoples, without which, in the words of the eminent Uruguayan lawyer, Eduardo J Coutour, there can be no law, no justice, no peace.

Never before has it been so generally felt that mankind has learnt from its harsh lessons that peace is one and indivisible. Now we must learn to understand that this truth also applies to economic affairs. At this stage, it is almost impossible to deny the fact that without a prosperous economy, without integrated economic development, there can be little peace anywhere in the world. As long as in most of the world living standards are below the levels compatible with human dignity, there can be no guarantee that the rest of the world, with their prosperous economies, can continue to enjoy their prosperity in peace. Want and

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conspicuous consumption do not make good neighbours who can live together without friction and conflict in a world that is steadily shrinking and becoming more interdependent.

This philosophy was the inspiration of a life which has now ended. A distinguished Latin American, the noted Argentinian Dr. Raul Prebisch, for decades worked in the United Nations and in the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) - to which he was so devoted - for an international co-operation founded on great moral principles, in a world based on standards of solidarity which unhappily seem to have been forgotten. In this year of his passing, the message of his life and of his moral ideals should be a further inspiration to us in building a more just international economic order, an essential requisite of any lasting peace. I wish to take this occasion to pay a heartfelt and grateful tribute to his memory.

There is still little sign of a system of international relations based on principles of equity and equal opportunity. Some problems that were touched on here by the President of Uruguay last year, such as the problem of indebtedness, have been remedied to some extent, but we are far from having fully achieved the hopes of the countries that joined in the Cartagena consensus. But some hopeful signs for change emerged from the recent conference of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) at Punta del Este in Uruguay. That was the beginning of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations, which was undoubtedly one of the most significant developments of the year in economic affairs. The importance of that conference lies in the fact that agreement was reached on beginning a new round of trade negotiations in such unfavourable political and economic circumstances, a success hardly to be expected in view of the gloomy outlook before the meeting. However, even more important, in fact vital, is that the agreement, which will be tested over four years of difficult negotiations, must above all be regarded as a declaration of peace in the trade war.

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Uruguay trusts that the spirit of conciliation that prevailed at that meeting will ensure that it will also become a basic instrument of the trade peace so essential for the fate of the world and particularly of the developing countries. Punta del Este produced a peace with neither victors nor vanquished. That is the basis of any serious and durable commitment.

As the International Year of Peace draws to a close, it seems fitting to devote a moment to introspection and to ask ourselves whether, as Members of the United Nations family, as representatives of our Governments, as individuals, we have done and are doing everything we can to move closer to achieving that goal. Peace can only be the outcome of the concerted will of all States, renewed and strengthened day after day.

Uruguay hopes that each one of us to whom a role has been entrusted in the international life of peoples will make peace his daily goal and each coming day an international day of peace.

Mr. Al-DALI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): We should like to express our warmest heartfelt congratulations to the President on his election to his high office for this session of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our confidence in his wisdom and great skill, which will ensure the success of the session and lead to the fruitful results which our peoples all desire.

We should also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Piniés for the able manner in which he discharged his duties during his term as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its last session. We would indeed be remiss were we not to express our pleasure at seeing the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, fully recovered. At the same time, we wish to express our appreciation to him for his unremitting efforts to promote the role of the United Nations.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Democratic Yemen)

A full year has passed since we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. It provided us with a significant opportunity to review the Organization's work, to imbue it with new vigour and to draw hope from it. Today, we cannot fail to reaffirm our support for any action likely to promote the role of the international Organization and increase its effectiveness in achieving peace, security, justice and development.

We are aware of the importance of the proposed administrative reforms aimed at improving the Organization's performance. However, we believe that the real crisis facing the United Nations stems from the weakness or total lack of political will on the part of some Member States who put their own selfish interests above those of the international community, who circumvent United Nations resolutions and obstruct their implementation in their drive to settle international problems outside the United Nations.

Democratic Yemen's activities within the United Nations and our keen interest in the creative implementation of its principles and purposes are constants of our foreign policy, which is based on the principles of good-neighbourliness, mutual respect for national sovereignty, independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, co-operation and mutual benefit.

We are also very desirous to establish the best possible relations with our friends and brothers in neighbouring States in a manner that can serve the interests of our peoples and ensure their well-being. The foreign policy of Democratic Yemen is aimed at serving the cause of peace and stability in our region and in the world. It is in this context that we broaden our relations with the other States of the world.

As for our fraternal relations with our brothers in the northern part of our country, we continue our sincere efforts toward the reunification of our country,

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Yemen, through democratic and peaceful means. In an attempt to reach that goal we promote co-operation and co-ordination between the two parts of our country in every domain at all levels, in order best to serve the interests of our Yemeni people, realize their hopes and achieve their aspirations for stability, security and development.

The United Nations bears a great responsibility and is called upon to play a greater role in confronting the many dangerous and complicated challenges in the international arena caused by the racist, Zionist and imperialist policies that are aimed at fomenting disputes, increasing international tension and hampering the struggle of peoples to achieve freedom, peace and development.

In the Middle East, Israel continues to pursue its aggressive expansionist policy, in defiance of international unanimity and in contravention of the United Nations resolutions that have stressed that a comprehensive and just peace cannot be achieved without Israel's full and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole legitimate representative, of their inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent national State on their own national soil. Israel, however, persists in flouting the international will by denying the national rights of the Palestinian people, perpetuating its illegal occupation and annexation by force of Arab lands and the building of settlements thereon while practising a policy of oppression and terrorism against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and countries.

Israel is encouraged to do just that by the unlimited support it receives from the United States of America which reached its zenith in the strategic alliance between the two countries which has shown the American position to be one of total

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bias in favour of Israel and total enmity towards our Arab peoples and their aspirations for peace and stability.

While we reiterate our condemnation and rejection of any attempt to impose partial and defeatist settlements aimed essentially at burying the Palestinian question and abolishing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, we once again reaffirm that the framework for a just and lasting solution to the problem in our region cannot be reached other than through implementation of United Nations resolutions on the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East and the elimination of all the obstacles set up by Israel and the United States of America aimed at wrecking such a conference.

In Lebanon, Israel is perpetuating its occupation and pursuing its acts of aggression. We call for the implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which demand that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon, and for an end to Israeli aggression against Lebanese sovereignty. We wish to see a united Lebanon, enjoying peace, security and stability.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Democratic Yemen)

The continuing war between Iraq and Iran is a source of the deepest concern and grief for us. That war is now entering its seventh year; it is again intensifying and bringing ever greater destruction to the two neighbouring countries and peoples. From its outset we have stressed that war does not serve the interests of either of the two fraternal countries. Indeed, war only opens the way for imperialism and Zionism. Once again, we reaffirm our position and call for an end to that war and the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means so as to achieve security and stability in the region.

The grave and tragic situation prevailing in the southern African region makes it necessary for the international community to redouble its efforts to eradicate the policy of apartheid, achieve independence for Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and enable the oppressed majority of the people of South Africa to exercise their right to freedom and sovereignty.

While saluting the heroic struggle of the South African and Namibian peoples against the racist, oppressive Pretoria régime and their resistance to its barbaric acts of assassination, carnage, repression, detention and dispersion, we call on the international community to increase its assistance and support for the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for liberation and freedom. Further, we call for an end to the continuing support provided by some Western States to the racist Pretoria régime. Such assistance ensures the survival of that régime and indeed encourages it to persist in its racist policies, which the entire international community has condemned as a crime against humanity, and its occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression against the front-line States of southern Africa.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Democratic Yemen)

We call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that racist régime and for its isolation, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We call for the immediate adoption of measures to fulfil the aspirations and hopes of millions of people who continue to languish under the yoke and the oppressive policies of the racist South African régime.

The situation in Central America is becoming increasingly serious owing to the policies of aggression and the frustration of the aspirations and hopes of the peoples of the region. Imperialist plots are being escalated against those peoples, particularly the Nicaraguan people and their nationalist Government. More acts of intervention in the affairs of the States of the region are taking place. Suffice it to recall the decision of the United States Congress to grant \$100 million to the contra mercenaries with the aim of destabilizing Nicaragua - a decision taken after a series of acts of sabotage, economic siege and embargo by the United States Administration against Nicaragua and its people's right to make their own national choices and decide on the means of their future independent economic and social progress. In this context, we appeal for further solidarity with Nicaragua in facing this aggression.

In the context of support for the peoples' struggles for liberation and freedom, my country calls for further solidarity with and support for the Saharan people, under POLISARIO's leadership, for self-determination, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Furthermore, we reaffirm our support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as for the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Korea aimed at the reunification of Korea by peaceful means.

The international situation is becoming highly complex and international conflict more pronounced, while the gap in international economic relations

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continues to widen and deepen so that international peace and security are threatened. The situation is aggravated by aggressive imperialist policies in many regions of the world which constitute a blatant example of State terrorism on an international scale. Those imperialist forces are intent on distorting the legitimate struggle of the peoples for self-determination and independence. They commit overt acts of aggression against States that have chosen their own independent way, so as to strike at their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The act of armed aggression by the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the attempts to destabilize Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and other countries are the worst examples of this.

The prospects for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, seem grim indeed. Despite the many appeals and international resolutions aimed at halting the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament, we are witnessing the continued escalation of the arms race and its extension to outer space. This carries the threat of a universal nuclear conflagration and the annihilation of mankind and its civilization. It is indeed paradoxical that this escalation leads to severe wasting and draining of material and human resources and capabilities at a time when they are desperately needed to solve development issues and problems, particularly in the developing countries. This grave situation calls for the redoubling of our efforts to bring an end to the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament, thus discharging our responsibility to present and future generations.

At the regional level, as a littoral State of the Indian Ocean desirous of achieving and maintaining security and stability in our region, we call for the removal of the obstacles which the Western States are putting in the way of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean at the scheduled time, as a necessary first step towards

(Mr. Al-Dali, Democratic Yemen)

implementation of the General Assembly Declaration on the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region.

We wish to express our deepest appreciation of the positive positions and initiatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at ending the arms race and promoting international peace and security. We hope that those positions and initiatives will be met by similar practical steps by the United States of America and other nuclear-weapon States so as to put an end to the worrying upward spiral in the stockpiling of nuclear arsenals and rid the world of the arms race. We trust that the summit meeting soon to be held between the leaders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America will result in a situation of reduced international tension.

Economic development is one of the most serious challenges facing us in the context of the current international economic crisis, which has adverse effects on our national economies. The persistence of the capitalist States in imposing inequitable and unjust monetary and financial relations and their resort to economic and commercial siege are designed to subject the developing countries to political blackmail and hamper their independent economic development. This grave situation means that we must redouble our efforts and struggle for the establishment of new international economic relations based on justice and equality. We must also unite our forces to overcome the prevailing international economic crisis by restructuring the present edifice of international economic relations and setting up the new international economic order.

We wish especially to reaffirm the need to review the foreign debts of developing countries, the need to reform the present inappropriate international economic and monetary system and the need to put an end to exploitation and pressures in international economic relations. We believe that all the forms of protectionist barriers imposed on developing countries' exports should be eliminated and that those countries should obtain fair prices for their products.

At the same time, we stress the need for concrete action in order to promote and develop bilateral and multilateral co-operation between States with a view to reducing the intensity of the developing countries' economic problems and helping them in their developmental efforts.

In this respect, we reaffirm the need to hold the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development next year and we hope that the Conference will achieve the desired results so that it may serve the interests of both the developing countries and the international community as a whole.

We very much hope that this forty-first session will be an occasion to take stock of the activities of the United Nations. We hope to see a new momentum in the promotion of the Organization's role in international relations and its effectiveness in achieving the goals of international peace and security.

Mr. BLAMO (Liberia): I have the honour to bring to this Assembly warm greetings and best wishes from the President of Liberia, His Excellency Samuel Kanyon Doe, and the Government and people of Liberia whom I represent before this Assembly today.

The Liberian Government is pleased at the unanimous election of Mr. Choudhury to preside over the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We have no doubt that with his exceptional qualifications and vast experience as a diplomat and statesman he will provide effective leadership to the Assembly. I assure him of the fullest co-operation of the Liberian delegation, which extends to him its warmest congratulations and best wishes for success.

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

Similarly, we wish to express special thanks and appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the fortieth session of the General Assembly. The far-reaching decisions taken during his tenure of office, especially when this Organization commemorated its fortieth anniversary, will undoubtedly contribute to the furtherance of world peace and security.

Our esteemed Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, deserves special commendation for his tireless efforts to promote peace and economic prosperity in our world. We thank him for his very interesting report and assure him of the Liberian Government's continued support in this difficult and challenging task.

For the past five years, since the Liberian Revolution of 1980, my predecessors have regularly informed this Assembly of the political situation and the institutionalization of the democratic process in Liberia. We ask the Assembly's kind indulgence as we continue this worthy tradition.

Looking at the Liberian case in the perspective of other experiences, it is remarkable that just five years after the military takeover Liberia has succeeded in returning to civilian democratic rule. That is a credit to the military authorities, who have kept their promise to the Liberian people to restore democratic government after a period of five years. It was no surprise, therefore, that even though there was an abortive invasion of the country in November 1985, immediately following the October legislative and presidential elections, the transitional process was neither halted nor delayed. We are pleased to state that despite the difficult economic situation in the country the Government, with its legislative, judiciary and executive branches, is functioning effectively in conformity with the new Constitution.

The return to civilian democratic rule was not, however, the only goal of the Government. Socio-economic development and the improvement of the quality of life

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

of every Liberian are also the subject of priority programmes. In order to mobilize and direct our limited resources to these important objectives, President Doe's Government pursues a national policy based on unity, peace and stability.

National reconciliation is a key aspect of this policy. That being so, the President has not only granted clemency to all those implicated in the abortive invasion of November 1985 but also ordered the return of confiscated properties to their rightful owners and he continues to call upon all Liberians in self-imposed exile to return home. Those and other measures are designed to lay the basis for the preservation of peace and the development of democratic institutions, so that our energies and resources may be devoted to the development of our nation.

We have no doubts that with our commitment and dedication we will surmount the genuine problems and challenges of nation-building by means of a spirit of national unity and reconciliation. It is our sincere hope that we may count on the assistance of all friendly Governments in achieving our goal of unity, peace, stability and prosperity.

Liberia will continue to pursue its foreign policy objectives, based on the promotion of peace, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the right of all oppressed peoples to self-determination and independence. In this connection my Government will emphasize sub-regional, regional and international co-operation and promote friendly ties with all nations and peoples.

Despite general recognition of the achievements of the United Nations, the Organization is experiencing a crisis of credibility, with criticism directed against its organizational structure and functions. Concern has been expressed about overloaded agendas, the slow pace of work and the proliferation of resolutions

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

many of which are never implemented. Fingers are pointed at the many areas of tension around the world, the failure to achieve general and complete disarmament, the prevalence of human rights violations and the steady deterioration of economic relations between North and South. In short, the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security is being questioned as many unresolved international conflicts take the form of armed hostilities.

We share the view that the credibility crisis which has troubled the United Nations has been due on the one hand to the insistence of the great Powers on vetoing Security Council resolutions which are unacceptable to them and on the other to the division, as it were, of the international system since 1945 into two rival ideological blocs, which continue to support opposite sides in most conflict situations. As a consequence, violence and anarchy have often characterized international relations. Some States, led astray by erroneous calculations or blinded by passion, resort to unlawful means in order to acquire or preserve economic benefits, gain political advantages or pursue selfish ambitions.

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

Decisions and choices of action tend to promote national interests rather than collective goals. We have observed that rhetoric and posturing take the place of serious negotiations and diplomacy, while parochial interest is given primacy over the collective effort. Instead of using the mechanisms and procedures of the United Nations, Member States prefer to resolve their differences through the threat or use of force.

In addition to the fundamental problems confronting it, the United Nations is faced with the current financial crisis, which threatens its very foundations and survival. We therefore 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 is my Government's considered view that much could be achieved by streamlining the vast United Nations bureaucracy. However, to cut programmes arbitrarily would, in my delegation's view, seriously hamper international economic and technical co-operation.

There are a number of major international issues before the Assembly which I should now like to address.

The essence of global responsibility is solidarity and a collective effort to meet the challenges of our times. This is the mandate given to us under the Charter.

We meet here in the Assembly, year after year, to express our common hopes for a better world beyond the narrow vision of national interest and to propose solutions to our common problems. Yet, Member States have not mustered the political will to make the accommodation and adjustment necessary to achieve these desired objectives. This has been conspicuously exemplified in international economic relations where our responses have not been commensurate with the seriousness of the problems confronting us.

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

The unprecedented crisis in the world economy is affecting trade, financial and monetary relations. In most countries, the crisis has taken the form of rising inflation, serious recession and a worsening of social tensions. For the developing countries, there is the additional burden of the worsening terms of trade, difficulties in obtaining access to the financial markets, increasing burdens of debt servicing, and a disruptive decline in the level of development assistance. For most of these countries, the outlook is desperate and hopeless.

We cannot build a better world or a secure world when the global economy continues to perpetuate such acute imbalances and gross inequalities. Unless we can take bold and imaginative steps to reverse the present trend, our future prosperity and even our survival will remain uncertain.

We must be constantly reminded that the difficult and controversial issues that divide the rich and the poor countries of the world cannot be solved by confrontation. They can be redressed by our political will to overcome differences and by our determination to produce significant and useful results. This calls for understanding, commitment and co-operation. Let us call upon these principles, to the benefit of all.

The decline in commodity prices, the spread of protectionism, the decline in official development assistance and the increasing burden of indebtedness have had disastrous and alarming consequences for African economies. Added to these disturbances are the effects of prolonged drought and desertification.

Africa is also handicapped by several disadvantages, particularly the fact that it includes 26 of the world's least developed countries and harbours the greatest number of refugees. These and other factors, such as low productive capacity, the lack of economic infrastructures and the mismanagement of resources, have denied the continent of benefits it should enjoy, considering its enormous mineral and human resources.

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

We believe that the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, on the critical economic situation in Africa, is a significant landmark in international co-operation and multilateralism.

Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (1986-1990) is a vivid expression of the collective resolve of African countries to meet their own economic and development challenges. However, the implementation of the United Nations programme of action could give strength and vitality to Africa's efforts. This Programme deserves the full support of the international community and we applaud the significant contributions and concrete measures already taken by Canada and the Nordic countries in support of Africa's economic recovery.

My Government commends the Government of Italy for its recent initiative in convening a meeting last week with foreign ministers of African countries to reaffirm Italy's commitment to render assistance and to consider the action to be taken to follow up on the thirteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. We certainly hope that other countries will follow Italy's positive lead.

For a period of almost 40 years, the issue of apartheid has been discussed and debated by the Assembly. Apartheid is a negation of the ideals of the United Nations, inasmuch as the Organization itself emerged out of the ashes of a war fought against nazism, which, like apartheid, rested on a spurious doctrine of racial superiority. Neither the condemnation nor the reformation of apartheid is enough and nothing short of its total elimination is acceptable. Only when apartheid is totally eradicated can we justify the existence of this Organization and the prime place given to the "dignity of the human person" in the Charter.

For those countries which have kept apartheid alive, they have clearly demonstrated that they choose economic considerations over adherence to the

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

principles of the Charter. In view of South Africa's intransigence, there is no doubt that any measure other than comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and the intensification of the armed struggle can bring apartheid to an end.

My Government rejects as a dishonest excuse for inaction the argument that comprehensive mandatory sanctions will only worsen the plight of the already suffering black people of South Africa. The Government of Liberia will therefore not relent in its support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions and for the liberation struggle until apartheid is completely eradicated.

The Government of Liberia continues to view the question of Namibia with grave concern. The linkage of extraneous issues, particularly the withdrawal of Cuban troops, was calculated to deny the Namibian people enjoyment of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory, though a defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, and its establishment of an interim administration, have been supported by foreign economic interests in order to maintain access to the resources and wealth of the Territory.

My delegation categorically rejects the call for the withdrawal of Cuban troops as a condition for Namibia's independence. We support a negotiated settlement on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) with the full participation of the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

In the interest of peace a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East must be achieved without delay. The state of affairs in this region must therefore continue to receive our close attention. The basic elements of a settlement which we support involve the withdrawal of Israel from all territories

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

occupied since the 1967 war, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, and acknowledgement of the rights of all States in the area to live in peace and security within secure and internationally recognized borders.

The continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq - now in its seventh year - is a most tragic and unfortunate development. We therefore appeal to the leaders of the two countries to permit the Secretary-General to use his good offices in negotiating an end to the hostilities. The continued resort to force by the two sides has not only resulted in untold human sufferings for their two peoples but has also seriously affected international shipping in the Gulf region.

(Mr. Blamo, Liberia)

In this connection my Government must register its deep concern about the continued indiscriminate bombings in the Gulf region of international shipping, including vessels flying the Liberian flag, in complete violation of international law and the right of innocent passage.

My Government rejects intervention, interference and armed occupation wherever they occur as an infringement of the Charter and the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of States. Those that pursue policies of armed intervention should be reminded that the will of a freedom-loving people cannot easily be bent or subdued by force. The gallant people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be assisted to resist foreign domination and repression. While a political settlement is being worked out in those regions, humanitarian assistance to the refugee population should continue on an increased basis.

The delegation of Liberia is concerned about developments in Central America. The Contadora initiative should not be allowed to lose its momentum, committed as it is to peace, democracy, social justice and economic freedom in Central America. We commend the Contadora spirit, which provides the most viable option for the peaceful resolution of the problems in Central America.

My delegation is equally concerned about the dispute over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Argentina. We support a negotiated settlement of the dispute and urge the two parties not to allow their differences to prevent the development of a formula that would enable them to engage in meaningful dialogue. We strongly believe that only renewed confidence and the normalization of relations between the two countries can reduce tension in the South Atlantic.

In our pursuit of world peace and security it is important to refer to the sensitive political situation that continues to divide South and North Korea. The reunification of the Korean people is a matter to be decided by them through

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the holding of direct talks, and they deserve the support and encouragement of the international community. My delegation believes that United Nations membership for the two Koreas could increase the opportunity for dialogue and co-operation and enhance the prospects for peace on the peninsula and peaceful relations between them.

In no area is the distortion of human priorities as glaring as in the area of the arms race, and in no area is the need for commitment to the principles of the Charter more important and more closely tied to the survival of humanity than in the field of disarmament and arms limitation.

Indeed, the enormous expenditure on weapons of mass destruction has not made the world any more secure. On the contrary, the arms race has increased fear and anxiety through a balance of terror with a killing power that could destroy our planet several times over. What is even more disquieting is that the enormous waste is not limited to the big Powers alone. Third-world nations too are diverting their meagre resources away from the basic needs of their peoples into armaments.

We are often told that the justification for the arms race is security. But enduring peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry and strategic superiority. Real security can be found only in common security - that is, security for all. Such security lies in a life that is free from fear and want, hunger and disease, ignorance and unemployment, poverty and despair. This kind of security can be realized only if the arms race is halted and the funds released are allocated to socio-economic development throughout the world.

The widespread resort to acts of terrorism by individuals, groups and even States has become a major development in international relations today. While we acknowledge that the root causes of terrorism must be addressed, there can be no justification for the maiming, torture and killing of innocent people. There is

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an urgent need for concerted international efforts to take decisive action to combat terrorism. My Government has recently enacted legislation that imposes the death penalty on anyone convicted of either engaging in or attempting to perpetrate acts of terrorism.

In conclusion, my delegation believes that the crucial factor in the effectiveness of the United Nations is the attitude of the Member States, and not specific provisions of the Charter. Although the Charter proclaims the sovereign equality of all Member States, we are aware that some countries have a greater capacity to influence international events. Therefore, those States, in my opinion, must set the pace in making the United Nations system relevant and effective.

Economic security is as indispensable to a just and equitable international order as political security. The aim of a new international economic order is to provide security and justice through the elimination of hunger, poverty and socio-economic disparities between the rich and the poor. It constitutes one of the principal guarantees of the creation of better conditions for all peoples to enjoy a life based on human dignity.

The United Nations was founded to translate such aspirations into reality. Let us recommit and rededicate ourselves to the lofty goals and objectives of the United Nations.

Mr. HALEFOGLU (Turkey): I should like to congratulate Mr. Choudhury on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. I have particular pleasure in doing so since deep-rooted ties of friendship and solidarity have always linked our two nations. Beyond that, I pay a tribute here to a colleague and personal friend of many years with whom we have collaborated in the best spirit. I am confident that he will guide the deliberations of the General Assembly with distinction and skill.

(Mr. Halefoglú, Turkey)

May I also pay a well deserved tribute to the President of the fortieth session, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, who presided over a session that was an important landmark in the life of the United Nations, as well as the special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. His experience in this Organization has contributed greatly to the work of the General Assembly.

I would not wish to fail on this occasion to pay a warm tribute to our Secretary-General, whose admirable efforts in the service of the United Nations on many challenging issues have earned him the widest confidence and support. We are extremely happy to see him in good health at a time when the Organization must count on his judgement and guidance.

I now turn to the international situation. The world continues to be burdened with fundamental political and economic problems which await solutions in the interest of the preservation of world peace and stability. Last year, during the fortieth session, we had the opportunity to make a collective assessment of the international situation. The then approaching summit meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the negotiations in Geneva between the two Powers, were the primary factors creating expectations in the international community.

(Mr. Halefoglou, Turkey)

Encouraging signs did emerge for East-West relations during the meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. We consider this summit an important step in the efforts to develop a realistic and comprehensive dialogue that could greatly contribute to better understanding and mutually beneficial co-operation between East and West.

We particularly welcome the recent announcement made by the United States and the Soviet Union that the leaders of the two countries will be meeting on 11 and 12 October. We hope the meeting will contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere which will enable them to effectively address all issues that have a bearing on the maintenance and improvement of international peace and security.

We hope that the meeting will promote swift progress on these issues. The continuation of the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, with the aim of achieving concrete results, especially in the field of arms control and disarmament, is of vital importance. We hope both sides will, with determination, intensify their efforts to achieve a lower and more balanced level of armaments, through substantial reductions in their nuclear weapons. We believe also in the need for reductions in conventional forces and for the total elimination of chemical and biological weapons. By the same token, the aim should be to maintain the security of all the countries of the world and defusing tensions which might lead to conflicts.

Turkey has always opted for solving international conflicts through dialogue and negotiations. Turkish geo-political realities and historic experience have led to the belief that dialogue and negotiations are the only acceptable means of dealing with international disputes.

We welcome the agreement recently reached at the Conference on disarmament in Europe as an important achievement in East-West relations. We believe that it will promote greater security in Europe by lessening the risk of war.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

All the Members of this Organization have committed themselves under the Charter to encourage respect for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. This provision of the Charter is directly related to the purpose of establishing a more humanitarian international order.

Contrary to this basic principle of the United Nations, persistent violations of human rights and policies based on racism and racial discrimination have unfortunately continued to cause wide spread misery and suffering.

Since the last session of the General Assembly the world has witnessed a rapid worsening of the situation and escalation of tension and violence in South Africa because of the oppressive policies of the Pretoria Government. Moreover, the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring States constitute a growing threat to the peace and the security of the region.

On every occasion Turkey expressed its serious concern for the aggravation of the situation in South Africa. Turkey continues to support and implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding measures designed to put an end to the apartheid policy of Pretoria.

The continuation of the South African occupation of Namibia as an affront to the principles of self-determination is another deplorable aspect of the problems in South Africa.

My Government believes that it is only through a judicious combination of a firm stand by the United Nations and effective international pressure on the Government of South Africa that resolution 435 (1978) can be implemented. In this context, my Government subscribes to the main thrust of the final declaration and the programme of action adopted by the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna last July. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey will continue to give support to the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia. We also support the efforts of the

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Secretary-General to serve the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. If South Africa persists in its intransigence, more effective measures and sanctions will be needed.

The increasing wave of terror is rapidly becoming a serious threat to every society. We have persistently called for effective international co-operation against terrorism in all its forms. The adoption of resolution 10/61 by the General Assembly last year, which unequivocally condemned, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed, and urged all States to co-operate in the prevention and combating of terrorism, was an important step in this direction.

The most significant feature of that session of the General Assembly was the unanimity achieved in condemning international terrorism and in calling for effective measures to combat it. Turkey is certainly a country which feels great satisfaction over this development since it has been denouncing the scourge of terrorism from this rostrum for more than a decade. For many years our pleas and warnings were not heeded. But the recent tragic events and the proliferation of terrorist acts finally led to the awareness that no country is immune from terrorism and that only effective international co-operation can curb it.

In this connection no less effort should be devoted to the fight against drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking. The reports of the United Nations bodies active in the field of drugs, as well as national drug enforcement agencies all over the world, draw attention to the unprecedented increase in these activities. We consider drug trafficking as the natural ally of international terrorism.

We are, nevertheless, encouraged by the world community's growing awareness of this deadly menace and we note with satisfaction the renewed desire expressed by Governments to address this problem through concerted efforts. In this respect, we hope that the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, which

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is scheduled to take place in June next year, will create a unique opportunity for establishing a more effective international framework for concerted action, ready to address all aspects of the drug problem.

The new convention on illicit drug trafficking is also a positive initiative by countries which have recently become aware of the seriousness of drug trafficking. We look forward to the drafting of a comprehensive convention covering all aspects of trafficking, particularly its close link with international terrorism.

My Government attaches great importance to the world-wide respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Moreover, we insist on the strict observance of bilateral and international agreements guaranteeing the rights of national minorities. For the past two years, the Turkish Government has called for bilateral negotiations to resolve, within a humanitarian approach, the grave situation faced by the Turkish Muslim minority in Bulgaria. The international community is fully aware of the plight of the 1.5 million people concerned. We continue to believe that this question can be effectively addressed and resolved through dialogue between Turkey and Bulgaria. The Turkish Government is determined to pursue this humanitarian question.

Since last year, despite some encouraging initiatives, the situation in the Middle East has not taken a turn for the better. It continues to pose a serious threat to the peace and security of the region and the world. Some opportunities which seemed to exist last year for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East have apparently diminished. The fundamental problem, however, is still there to be addressed with common sense and vision if the tension which plagues the region is ever to be defused.*

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

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

We continue to believe that a just and lasting comprehensive settlement in the Middle East depends on recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and withdrawal by Israel from Arab territories under its occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem. We also believe that the problem will not disappear until all its interrelated elements are taken up and resolved in a manner that takes into account the legitimate rights and interests of all the parties involved.

We have followed with interest the recent efforts to reactivate the peace process, and we certainly hope that they will be successful and that a formula acceptable to all parties concerned will finally be found.

We are deeply disturbed and concerned at the situation in Lebanon, which has continued to be the scene of violent incidents. We maintain the hope that the Lebanese people will find the path leading to national reconciliation, without which there can be no serious remedy for the problems that they have been facing for so long.

An important dimension of the situation in the Middle East is clearly that of inter-Arab relationships. We earnestly hope that greater cohesion will prevail.

During the past year the war between Iran and Iraq has escalated and caused further devastation and human suffering. We are deeply distressed by that tragic war between our two neighbours and friends. We continue to maintain strict neutrality, as well as a dialogue with both sides, and remain available for any assistance we can provide towards a peaceful solution.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to be a major cause of tension in international relations. Agony has been inflicted on that Islamic nation. A peaceful solution in Afghanistan would not only bring peace to that nation but

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also be beneficial to regional stability and have a favourable impact on the general course of international relations. The elements of a comprehensive solution have long been identified and developed into political instruments through the laudable efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. The Geneva negotiations on Afghanistan have become a testing ground for the chances of a transition from military confrontation to political realism. This process has reached a crucial point, which necessitates firm steps being taken towards an overall agreement.

In South-East Asia, the plight of the Kampuchean people is another focal point of world public opinion. The key to a just and lasting political settlement in Kampuchea is the exercise by the Kampuchean people of its inalienable right to self-determination. We consider the eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986 and supported by the Association of South-East Asian Nations to be a positive step.

I wish to stress again the significance we continue to attach to the endeavours towards an effective dialogue on the Korean peninsula. We believe that this is the only way to remove the mistrust that exists between the two sides and gradually move towards the creation of an atmosphere in which solutions can be sought to all inter-Korean questions. We hope the two sides will continue to work for such a process and develop the conditions which can lead to their representation in the United Nations.

Despite the efforts made by the Contadora Group and its Support Group to bring about an equitable and lasting solution to the problems in Central America, the ongoing tension in that region is yet another source of concern to the international community. The final version of the Contadora Act, prepared by the

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joint endeavours of the Contadora Group and its Support Group, is, in our view, of great significance in the search for a negotiated solution.

We continue to support the mission of good offices with regard to Cyprus of the United Nations Secretary-General and appreciate his recent efforts. We note with satisfaction the prompt acceptance by the Turkish Cypriot side of the draft framework agreement submitted on 29 March 1986 by Mr. Perez de Cuellar after intensive contacts over several months with both sides. We regret, however, that the Greek Cypriot side has turned down that document, which represents the cumulative outcome of a process that started more than two years ago, in August 1984, in Vienna.

The draft framework agreement contains the principles and parameters which should guide the negotiations between the two sides in Cyprus. That framework is the result of two years of effort by the Secretary-General to reconcile the views of the two parties. It did not come as a surprise to either party since it was discussed with them in a detailed manner before it was formally presented by the Secretary-General. It is normal that neither of the parties is entirely happy with it, but the Turkish Cypriot side has accepted it in a spirit of conciliation and compromise and without any illusions as to the difficulties which will emerge during the negotiations. It has accepted it because the draft agreement reflects a reasonable balance between opposing views and delicately interconnected problems.

The Turkish Cypriot side has proved its goodwill and its desire for the final resolution of the Cyprus problem. The Greek Cypriot side should seize this opportunity. It should realize that, in view of the evolution of the Cyprus problem, acceptance of the draft framework agreement is a sine qua non of meaningful negotiation.

On the international economic scene, during the past year we have witnessed a deceleration of the limited economic recovery seen in 1983 and 1984. Increases in

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

world output and world trade remained disappointingly low, resulting in the introduction of further protectionist measures. More recently, there has been some improvement in short-term prospects. Nevertheless, the need for effective global adjustments stands as the major challenge for the world economy.

The new policy measures in the monetary field adopted by the major developed countries, as well as the recent decline in oil prices, can be cited as favourable developments, for energy-importing countries in particular. On the other hand, the worrying structural problems in the world economy which came to light towards the end of the 1970s for the most part still need to be resolved.

The present imbalances in trade and payments are unprecedented. Rising debt burdens in the developing countries, large domestic and external imbalances in the industrial economies, high unemployment and persistent protectionism in international trade continue to burden the world economy.

Most hard hit by those factors are the developing countries, whose prospects of growth and stability remain bleak in the face of acute economic problems. Since the beginning of the 1980s a number of developing countries have begun the process of applying difficult structural adjustment policies to promote growth, employment and the integration of their domestic economies into the world economy. However, those efforts alone are not sufficient to produce the desired results while the external economic environment continues to exert a negative influence.

The practice of protectionism by the industrialized countries has been a matter of serious concern for the developing nations. It is evident that the successful implementation of growth-oriented adjustment policies, and progress towards the solution of the debt problem depend crucially on the ability of the developing countries to increase their exports.

The export-oriented economic strategy we initiated in Turkey in 1980, together

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

with prudent demand management and continuous structural reform, have led to a successful performance and demonstrated Turkey's determination to implement an effective adjustment programme. Thanks to these policies, we have been able to achieve growth of more than 7 per cent this year and to lower considerably the level of inflation. We have liberalized our economy and removed restrictions on imports. However, the major obstacles we have continued to encounter in these efforts have been the increasing restrictions imposed and the protectionist policies adopted by most of the industrialized countries.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

We have repeatedly stressed that protectionism is a major threat to the world economy. The proliferation of various types of barriers over the past few years has led to serious questions about the free trade system. Considering the current sombre situation in international trade, the recent consensus reached by trade Ministers, meeting at Punta del Este, on launching new multilateral trade negotiations is promising. The guidelines for the new round of talks offer the hope of speeding up the process of trade liberalization. We consider as very encouraging commitments to tackle problems in the areas of agriculture, textiles and clothing, to halt all protective measures and to phase out restrictions. We are confident that in determining new trade patterns in those sectors more emphasis will be given to the operation of comparative advantages.

In our view, under the present circumstances, the system of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) remains the most appropriate framework to cope with the severe bottlenecks in world trade. In that respect, our primary task in the upcoming negotiations should be to restore the credibility and authority of GATT in order to open up the main centres of world markets to the goods of both developing and developed countries. We hope these negotiations will help develop a more open, viable and durable multilateral trading system which will promote growth and stability in the world economy.

This year, in May, the international community united its efforts in a demonstration of concerted international co-operation in response to the urgent and critical economic situation that confronts the African continent. For the first time a special session of the General Assembly was devoted to the critical economic situation of one region of the world. The adoption by consensus at that special session of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990, can be viewed as a tangible and important indication about the future of international co-operation in the context of the United Nations.

(Mr. Halefoğlu, Turkey)

We shall continue to implement the assistance programme we have initiated for the countries of the Sahel and to contribute to the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The framework outlined in the United Nations Programme of Action will guide our efforts in this field.

I wish to comment briefly on the financial crisis in which the United Nations finds itself. It is unfortunate that the United Nations has had to face such a severe financial crisis in its fortieth year. It is clear that the prolongation of the crisis holds the danger of impairing the work of the Organization in many areas. This is certainly one of the most urgent and important matters to be addressed by the General Assembly at this session. We appreciate the work of the Group of High-level Intergovernmental Experts which was charged with the task of reviewing the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization. The recommendations found in the Group's report need careful consideration, but it may be confidently said that many of the recommendations are sensible, reasonable and measured.

In conclusion, I wish and hope that the deliberations of the General Assembly at its forty-first session will be fruitful and will contribute to peace and to the welfare of the world community.

Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French): The election of His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session is a tribute to his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and to his country, Bangladesh. It also gives me the opportunity to convey to the President the warmest congratulations of my delegation and to recall that, like Burkina Faso, Bangladesh belongs to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose members aspire to the establishment of a better world and of a future of international peace and security. We assure Mr. Choudhury of our readiness to assist him in his difficult task.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

I wish to reiterate our deep appreciation to the previous President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés, for his excellent work. His rich experience and profound knowledge of the United Nations were of great profit to us during the fortieth session.

To the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, we convey our heartfelt appreciation for his tireless dedication to the cause of the United Nations and to the promotion of the Organization, and for his genuine determination to make the United Nations a true instrument for peace and understanding among States, in the face of obstacles of which we all know.

A few months ago, Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity met at Addis Ababa. More recently, in September last, the eighth summit of non-aligned countries was held at Harare. Now the world community is in New York for the forty-first session of the General Assembly. These gatherings of outstanding personalities seek but a single goal: to make a diagnosis of the ills of humanity and to find the remedies for them.

The traditional convening of the General Assembly bears a special and irreplaceable mark: it enables all the nations of the world, large and small alike, to inform the other members of an international community that we all wish to show greater solidarity of their disappointments and their hopes.

We therefore hail the role played by the United Nations throughout its 40 years of existence, a role that has promoted the independence of colonial countries and peoples. During those 40 years it has tried to the best of its ability to be a catalyst of the legitimate aspirations of newly independent States which demanded not only full participation in the solution of world problems but also their fair share of the wealth of the planet.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

Just as yesterday the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples responded to a historical necessity, the struggle for a new world order based on solidarity among men, justice and equity is required today.

The new international economic order we have long called for responds to that expectation. We no longer want an order that establishes a dangerous dichotomy in the world, a face-off between East and West and flagrant inequality between North and South. We no longer want an order that oppresses peoples and supports racism and apartheid. We no longer want an order whose rules, laid down without our consent, lead to the enrichment of some at the cost of the impoverishment of others. We no longer want an order in which laws are applied selectively, according to who is weak and who is strong. We no longer want an order based on a balance of terror and on the arms race, in which we watch, helpless and terrified, as preparations are made for the destruction of the world. Finally, we no longer want an order whose very essence is found in permanent crisis in the economic and political spheres, an order built on insecurity and instability, an order that gives rise to unspeakable human suffering.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

Hence in all international bodies, we have done our best to bring about a new world system which could make a real contribution to solving mankind's problems.

Now, more and more these actions tend to be seen as childish efforts to realize exotic ideals. The United Nations and its different agencies are subjected to underhand attacks for having dared to lend an attentive ear to our legitimate claims. More and more, there are blatant attempts at weakening and restricting the role of the United Nations system, thus threatening to undermine the principles of sovereign equality and of democratic procedures on which it rests.

We were aware that within this institution an underground battle was going on between the old and the new order. But we also held the belief - perhaps illusory - that the basic notions of equality of States, of the right of self-determination, of peaceful settlement of disputes and of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States had been understood and accepted by all.

Today, there is much talk about the crisis of the United Nations, and of the lack of confidence it causes among States and peoples. But surely this loss of confidence is the joint result of the disappointed hopes of those who have overestimated the real capacities of the United Nations, and the failed attempts of those who wanted to continue to bend the United Nations to their wishes. It may be an Utopian illusion to want to accelerate the march of history, but it is suicidal to try to reverse it.

A real danger is threatening the United Nations today. The financial crisis it is going through is due to its failure to avoid the childhood ailment of all government administrations: over-expansion. We recognize that through the years the United Nations has become an enormous machine for swallowing up resources which have gone mainly to pay for an administration whose efficiency has often been questioned. No one could seriously oppose reforms to improve the productivity of this Organization, to increase its effectiveness and to streamline its structures

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to make them more efficient. But in no case could Burkina Faso be a party to any action directed not to those aims but to depriving the Organization of its content and substance by diverting it from its basic purposes.

The United Nations is not only affected by a financial crisis, it has above all been hit hard by the crisis in international relations. Today, more than at any other time in this century, even more than the 1920s and the 1930s, which were supposed to have been the period of collective security, the law of the jungle reigns and every day is extending its sway. The Charter is being regarded as no more than a piece of paper which can be thoughtlessly torn up without any regard for the incalculable and unbearable consequences. In this game of wholesale slaughter where brinkmanship has become the norm, we should cast a critical glance at the road we have taken, and where we have gone wrong in reaching this impasse where we are hemmed in by social and economic injustice, terrorism, and the individualism run wild of States and communities. Now that we are experiencing the effects of this phenomenon, perhaps we should scrutinize some of the least acknowledged of its causes. Let us first find what responsibility lies with us, who have been christened the third world, just as the Abbot Sieyès two centuries ago described the Third Estate as those who had been left behind. A hope was born in the 1960s of seeing a majority of States dissociate themselves from the East-West confrontation and deal with problems in a way that would enable the interests of the international community and of mankind to be defended, preserved and promoted. But that hope has been enmeshed in the quicksands of the proclaimed solidarities and feverish activities which we have constantly engaged in or promoted in the name of a non-alignment which was firm in its words, but uncertain in its actions. Next we should consider the responsibility of those others who

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have induced us, more or less systematically, either through temptation or through pressure to betray ourselves and tie our own hands, in order to serve their own egotistical interests. It is the combination of all of these ills that the United Nations suffers from today.

None the less, we still need the United Nations because at the end of this year of 1986 the world is no better than in 1985, in spite of the professions of faith which have adorned this International Year of Peace. More than ever, wars, regional tensions, misunderstandings of all kinds create uncontrollable situations throughout the world. More and more use is made of force or the threat of force, of aggression, occupation, political and economic pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other States. Not a day goes by but somewhere an important principle of the United Nations Charter is violated. This is why disillusionment is setting in. Crisis situations which have taken up much of our agenda for several years are before us once again today. In southern Africa, the hateful system of apartheid, now in its death throes, continues to bully, exploit and murder the people of South Africa, to occupy Namibia illegally and to carry out acts of subversion, aggression and destabilization against the independent sovereign countries of the region. For almost three years now, this system, now under external pressure, has been disintegrating. The moment has come for the international community to take the road indicated by the march of history and impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions in order to bring to repentance a régime blinded by its own fantasies and incapable of hearing the cry of anger of its own people.

The adoption of such sanctions will serve as a catalyst to bring about the triumph of the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and must help to eliminate apartheid and establish a multiracial democratic society in that region.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

Burkina Faso will continue to give the liberation movements of southern Africa and the front-line countries, the victims of South African aggression, all support it can.

Burkina Faso's position on the question of Western Sahara is well known. Just solutions have been worked out by the Heads of State and of Government of the Organization of African Unity and have been endorsed by the United Nations. It is important that these decisions be applied as quickly as possible, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the question. Hence, we welcome the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to encourage the discussions among the parties concerned.

In the Middle East, and especially in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, the unspeakable suffering of men, women and children, has created widespread outrage which is sometimes reflected in desperate actions.

Deprived of their rights, humiliated physically, wounded in their dignity, whether as second class citizens in the occupied territories or as exiles driven out of their own land the Palestinians are all victims of a historic injustice, who have been robbed of their homeland.

We reject the notion that the Palestinians should become eternal refugees or foreigners in their own land; as human beings we cannot accept such a moral abdication. Israel, more than any other nation, knows how destructive it is to be without a homeland, and must therefore know that what was right and just for an Israeli yesterday is just and right for a Palestinian today.

The Palestinians, under the far-sighted leadership of the PLO, have a right to a homeland. The Palestinians have a right to our respect and to our support. The Palestinians have a right to self-determination and to a sovereign and independent State in their homeland of Palestine. The conviction they feel, the just cause

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which they defend and the representation they have been able to obtain for themselves, also give them the right to be allowed to participate on a footing of equality in any discussion concerning them.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

A fratricidal war continues between Iran and Iraq, two distinguished Members of this Organization and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Once again, we express our firm hope that reason, based on an objective analysis of the long-term interest of the region, will prevail and bring about an equitable solution to this crisis. That necessarily implies negotiation.

For more than 10 years Lebanon has been suffering from instability and war. That country, which formerly was one of the most peaceful oases in the region, is today a land of desolation, where there is no visible hope or consolation for the weeping men, women and children. This tragedy, exacerbated by foreign interference, has lasted far too long. It is time to make it possible for the Lebanese people to regain its coherence and national unity.

Asia, in spite of significant economic progress, is still undergoing upheavals. In that continent, too, voracious appetites have transformed certain regions into places of desolation, murders and massacres.

In Afghanistan, there is some glimmer of hope on the horizon. Discussions have been held on all sides, and we hope that they will succeed in bringing about solutions in keeping with the sole interests of the Afghan people. While, in principle, Burkina Faso is against any interference, whatever its origin, it cannot accept a situation in which the tragedies of others are maintained and used for purposes of geopolitics and confrontation between the super-Powers.

It has been many years since Kampuchea has known peace and internal stability. In that case too, we call for respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter.

The division of the Korean peninsula into two parts is a tragedy. The Korean people have a legitimate will to reunification. That reunification must be achieved by the Koreans themselves, in complete independence, without foreign

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interference and by peaceful means. Like the General Assembly, which has spoken out and still speaks out in unison in favour of this reunification, we hope to see Korea take its place very soon in the United Nations.

Moreover, the National Council of the Revolution, the Government and the people of Burkina Faso greatly appreciate the initiative taken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that made it possible to hold, from 6 to 8 September, the successful International Conference for Denuclearization of Peace in the Korean Peninsula.

Almost everywhere in the world, peoples that have become disillusioned because they have waited in vain for just and equitable solutions to their problems are engaging in desperate actions which, because of their absurdity and their negative effects on international opinion, complicate and even delay their victory. To fight for one's rights is one thing; to sacrifice innocent lives is another.

It must, however, be emphasized that while individual terrorism is not acceptable, State terrorism is even less acceptable. The events in the Mediterranean this year as well as the foreign interventions in Central America are serious infractions of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and threaten world stability. International relations at the end of the twentieth century cannot and must not rest on the reason of force instead of the force of reason. Such behaviour is a very long step backwards, to a time when international relations were taking their first halting steps.

The arms race is one of the greatest tragedies of this second half of the twentieth century. It not only drains energies and enormous resources that could have been used more fruitfully for the development of our nations, but constitutes today one of the most serious threats to mankind. In the past, security lay in the

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possession of the most sophisticated weapons; but today the best guarantee of our survival is disarmament, particular nuclear disarmament. To envisage winning a nuclear war today is not only Utopian but irrational, because the classical military theories of "superiority" or "balance" are defunct now that each of the protagonists can destroy the world several times over with the arsenals it already has.

Hence, there is only one way out: disarmament. And disarmament depends essentially on the will of the great Powers. Recently, gestures of good will have been glimpsed - for example, a freeze on nuclear tests and more serious consideration of the problem of disarmament. We can only encourage all the Powers, and particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, to continue on that path. We extend our best wishes to those two super-Powers at their summit meeting on 11 and 12 October. We hope that they will be guided by the interests of mankind.

For a number of years now there has been a deep crisis in the world economy. All the countries of the world are facing economic difficulties. The situation in the developing countries is steadily and alarmingly worsening. Everywhere people are talking only about low growth rates, indebtedness, insolvency, inflation, unemployment or hunger. The problem of external debt is a basic component of the many problems facing all the third-world countries in their daily struggle against underdevelopment.

Indeed, how can countries like ours, with very limited financial resources, overcome famine, drought and illness, set up industrial plants and build roads and, at the same time, transfer resources to the developed countries - that is, borrow in order to repay an external debt and bear the costs of servicing that debt, which continue to increase because of the requirements of the present order?

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

Has not the time come for the international community as a whole to deal seriously with this gangrene? It is Burkina Faso's deep conviction - which it stated during the eighth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Harare - that the repayment of debt is not a moral choice of so-called respect for a commitment; it is a concrete question and must be solved in a concrete way.

No other continent has been so shaken by these various ills as Africa. The moving spectacle of the disastrous drought and famine that afflicted that part of our planet led to a surge of solidarity on the part of the peoples of the whole world with the effort to save innocent human life. But the problems of the development of sub-Saharan Africa are still not completely understood.

The special session of the General Assembly on the economic situation in Africa, which was held here earlier this year, highlighted all the symptoms of the African illness: the drop in the volume of trade, the deterioration of the terms of trade, the increase in interest rates, the instability in exchange rates, the reduction of agricultural production, the indebtedness, the diminution, in real terms, of development aid, the economic stagnation or even regression in many countries. That is a picture of bitter failure, for which the African continent is not solely responsible. For the fact is that Africa has rarely been the master of its own development: Africa's development has almost always been the brainchild of persons who have had and still have a very doubtful understanding of our profound being. So far, Africa has been content with being a passive consumer of products and ideas coming from outside the continent. Therefore, another strategy is required, which means breaking with the practices of the past.

In this connection, President Thomas Sankara stated the following from this rostrum during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly:

"It must be proclaimed that there will be no salvation for our peoples unless we turn our backs completely on all the models that all the charlatans

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of that type have tried to sell us for 20 years. There can be no salvation for us unless we reject those models; there can be no development without that break". (A/39/PV.20, p. 3)

That awareness has, since 4 August 1983, led the people of Burkina Faso to understand that the "salesmen of happiness" were in fact nothing but sad pedlars, going from door to door selling systems that really did not meet our needs and our realities. That is why Africa, that continent of hope, in two decades became the backyard of Western shops and remained on the sidelines of a world that was being built without it.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

To be sure, the Africans have done much in 25 years - much more than had been done in almost 100 years of colonization. But the question remains of who profited from this development when the fact is that the African populations have become poorer. The battle waged by Burkina Faso since 4 August 1983 has been precisely aimed at eliminating the obstacles and the underlying causes of its underdevelopment. The former Upper Volta, as everyone knows, reflected, in an astonishing way, all Africa's ills, characterized essentially by: chronic malnutrition, infant mortality of more than 180 per thousand, life expectancy of barely 40 years, school attendance of 14 per cent, one doctor for 50,000 people, and a gross domestic product of approximately \$100.

The revolution of 4 August 1983 is aimed above all at mobilizing the people, at restoring their confidence so that they can be able better to share their own destiny despite a hostile and difficult natural environment.

The road leading our people to fulfilment of their development objectives is a long one. Day by day, the struggles that we win as well as the defeats that we suffer, provide increasing evidence that victories can be won against hunger, disease, ignorance, servitude and humiliation. For that to happen, the masses must find the necessary confidence to transform their own future around clear and precise goals.

Some of our achievements are worth mentioning as examples which could benefit the international community. In the area of health, the success of the "commando vaccination" programme exceeded expectations. With the assistance of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), we were able to immunize against the most common infant diseases - meningitis, measles and yellow fever - in a matter of 15 days more than 2.5 million children between the ages of 7 and 14, thus providing a favourable background for our expanded vaccination programme. The operation called "one village, one primary health care unit", allowed us to provide all our

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7,500 villages with a primary health unit and to train approximately 15,000 village health workers.

In matters of education, school attendance increased to 23 per cent, thanks in particular to the efforts of the people, who built new schools in record time. Moreover, within the framework of a literacy campaign, more than 31,000 leaders in 4,500 villages learned to read and write in their national idioms. Almost 50 per cent of those people will be assigned to literacy tasks.

In the field of ecology, the struggle against desertification in my country has reached extraordinary lengths and pervades every aspect of the life of the Burkina people. More than 500,000 trees have been planted and we expect a success rate of at least 60 per cent. Special emphasis has been placed on the construction of dams and reservoirs. Those achievements have raised the volume of reservoir water from 8.7 million tons in 1983 to 302.4 million tons in 1986, which, together with improved rainy seasons, should allow us to achieve food self-sufficiency in the years to come.

Finally, in the area of housing, in addition to low-cost housing, it has been possible to make available to our people 62,000 plots of land in 1983 up from 60,000 in 1960, the year of our independence.

To consolidate and increase those achievements Burkina Faso has just launched, its first 5-year development plan which should inject into the economy 630 billion CFA francs, or approximately \$1.8 billion between now and the end of 1990.

This plan, whose main goal is the restoration of the base of our economy that had become distorted by years of natural disasters and mismanagement, will give rise to sufficiently bold action to give a new dynamic imprint to the rhythm of growth of that economy.

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

Strengthened by the recommendations and conclusions of the special session of the United Nations on the critical economic situation in Africa, Burkina Faso intends to succeed, through this plan, in setting up an independent and self-sufficient national economy in which agriculture and livestock, defined as "the driving force of our development", will be the backbone.

The efforts that we have just described are to be placed within the more general framework of the struggle of people for a world of dignity and peace. In this regard, the United Nations still has a role to play because mankind is a whole and all of us will survive or perish together.

In spite of the commotion caused by events in the world, we shall maintain our conviction that the worst does not always happen, and that the masses are the ones who make history.

The injustices and the evils of the past disappear. What remain are the values and the people who nurture the idea of what is just and beautiful and work to implement it.

The ideals of equality, fraternity and peace reflect the requirements of our spirit. We call them aspirations.

We in Burkina Faso, since the establishment of the National Council of Revolution, have constantly proclaimed and demonstrated this willingness for peace and co-operation with all countries of the world, and especially those in the West African subregion. We are struggling for our development, which is possible only in an environment of peace, and nothing would lead us to threaten that or to jeopardize it because we are neither negative nor suicidal.

I should like to repeat here this willingness, because we believe that it is in keeping with the concept of respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and for the promotion of friendship and understanding among peoples. Thus, and only thus, shall we build a future of peace and happiness in keeping with the aspirations of our peoples.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this meeting. Several representatives wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply, and I shall now call upon them.

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 5 minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mrs. TAYLOR (United States of America): Yesterday evening the General Assembly heard the Iranian Foreign Minister present an account of international relations in which he ascribed to the United States responsibility for the continuation of conflicts and tensions in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

His views and opinions are totally at variance with the realities of what is happening in those regions. His characterization of United States foreign policy is not only false but malicious. It is particularly ironic to hear the representative of Iran, whose Government has engaged in a policy of the most severe repression and violence against its own people over the past seven years, criticize the United States or any other democratic nation.

We find it particularly repugnant to hear the Foreign Minister of Iran and others accuse the United States of State terrorism and to present Libya as an innocent victim. This totally one-sided view misrepresents events and is completely false, and I reject it outright. We have on other occasions discussed in detail Libyan complicity and responsibility for indiscriminate acts of terrorism in Western Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere, Iranian encouragement for acts of terrorism in Lebanon and elsewhere is also well known.

(Mrs. Taylor, United States)

The Vice Foreign Minister of Laos, as well as the Foreign Minister of Mongolia, referred, out of obvious ignorance, to Puerto Rico. In its resolution 748 (VIII), in 1953, the General Assembly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico had attained a full measure of self-government. For those Ministers, whose Governments' respect for the freedom of their own peoples is so limited, to seek to pose as spokesmen for the Puerto Ricans, whose right of self-determination is not in question, is thoroughly hypocritical. Unlike the citizens of the countries that raised this issue, the people of Puerto Rico have the right to determine their future political status through an open and democratic political process.

To the Ministers and others who have referred with equal malice to the strategic defence initiative, I repeat what President Reagan said to the General Assembly just last week, as follows:

"I have offered firm and concrete assurances that our strategic defence initiative could never be used to deploy weapons in space that can cause mass destruction on Earth. I have pointed out that the radical reduction we seek now in offensive arsenals would be additional insurance that strategic defence initiative cannot be used to support a first-strike strategy."

The President also said:

"Such strategic defences, coupled with radical reductions in offensive forces, would represent a safer balance and would give future statesmen the opportunity to move beyond it - to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth." (A/41/PV.4, p. 22)

Surely a bold initiative, using space technology to provide a more secure future for a free world, that will tap the limitless opportunities of space for the economic and general benefit of mankind, is one devoutly to be wished for by all reasonable people everywhere.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): It is regrettable that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey felt called upon to launch into an absurd attack against the People's Republic of Bulgaria in this Hall, but we are not surprised. What Turkey has done within the United Nations as well as in other international forums, as the Turkish Minister has mentioned, is merely a continuation of the hostile anti-Bulgarian campaign being waged in Turkey.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly rejects those calumnious attacks, because they are totally unfounded. The Turkish assertions with regard to a so-called Turkish minority and to attacks on the religious sentiments of Bulgarian nationals, including Muslims, are pure inventions. In Bulgaria there is no repression, no violence, no action against any religion; nor has there been any profanation of any religious or historical monument. Bulgaria is an open country with nothing to hide. It is a country of tourism that welcomes thousands of foreign visitors each year. All Bulgarians - Christians, Muslims, atheists and other - enjoy the same rights. They live and work in peace, in equal and normal conditions. How can one explain the fact that, despite the innumerable facts and evidence to the contrary, despite the statements and protestations of the Muslim Bulgarians themselves and their indignation at Turkey's attempts to exploit their religious beliefs for its own purposes, make unfounded statements about them, other than by saying that it demonstrates an ongoing effort by those now in power in Turkey to divert the attention of the Turkish people and the international community from the massive violations of human rights and the rights of minorities and the harsh economic and social conditions in their own country?

We are well aware of the ambitious goals Turkey has in mind when it attempts to cast a shadow on the friendly relations Bulgaria has traditionally enjoyed with the Islamic countries. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria gave

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

further proof of its openness when, in an unprecedented gesture, it invited representatives of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to visit Bulgaria and see for themselves the totally unfounded nature of the statements made by Turkey, which for selfish reasons has become the self-appointed defender of Islam in other countries.

With regard to Bulgarian-Turkish relations and our appeals for dialogue, I should like to quote the words spoken by the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at his press conference in October 1986. The President stated, inter alia:

"We have declared on many occasions that we attach great importance to good-neighbourliness and co-operation, particularly with our neighbours, including the Republic of Turkey. In developing our relationships we have always pursued a constructive policy based on principle, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. We are convinced that if such an approach were to prevail between our two countries there would exist no problems that could not be solved. We want an active dialogue on all questions of mutual interest with regard to the future.

"It is a fact that Bulgaria and Turkey are neighbours and that they will be neighbours for ever. It is true that the five centuries under the Ottoman yoke were a terrible and tragic period for Bulgarians and left scars that we have been trying for a long time to efface. The fault does not lie with the Turkish people or the nationals of the Bulgaria of today. History should teach us how to heal the wounds of a tragic past, while reason and good-neighbourliness dictate that we must as quickly as possible rise above the past, otherwise we might easily waste the fruits of our former good-neighbourliness, to the benefit of neither the Turkish nor the Bulgarian people.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

"For our part, we are realists and we are forward-looking. We have always desired and we continue to desire constructive relations with our neighbour Turkey. With regard to the problems that arise, we are prepared, with the sense of responsibility of statesmen, to persist in our search for future opportunities to establish friendly relations between our peoples and countries in the interest of peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world as a whole."

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): I find it difficult to understand the reason which led the representative of Bulgaria to reply to my Foreign Minister's statement. Indeed, our Foreign Minister made a very brief and measured reference to the plight of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The seriousness of the problem cannot be denied. The oppression directed against the Turkish minority is well documented in hundreds of press reports and editorials, eyewitness reports and several publications of international organizations dealing with human rights.

The whole world knows that the Turks in Bulgaria were forced to change their Turkish and Muslim names and adopt Slav names instead; that they are forcibly prevented from using their language and practising their religion; and that scores of Turks have been brutally killed by Bulgarian police forces. This Bulgarian policy a violation not only of international instruments on human rights but also of Bulgarian commitments contained in bilateral treaties and agreements with Turkey. No amount of rhetoric, distortion, self-righteous assertion or racist theories - which have been repeated again by the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria - will efface this shameful crime. As my Minister has said, we are nevertheless ready to try to resolve the problem through dialogue with Bulgaria.

The Permanent Representative of Bulgaria also made some economic and social comparisons between Turkey and Bulgaria - and, of course, those comparisons were very disadvantageous for Turkey. I am not going to discuss that issue here, but if the economic and social situations in Turkey are so bad, how does he explain the fact that 1.5 million people in Bulgaria would like to emigrate to Turkey? Even if we assume that all of them are masochistic, I think Bulgaria should allow this emigration.

Furthermore, the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria claimed that Bulgaria was a free country and that anyone could visit Bulgaria. But the freedom of a country cannot be defined by the freedom of foreigners to enter and leave that

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

country. It can be defined only by the freedom that that country's citizens have, if they so wish, to leave it. No one in Bulgaria, including the Turkish minority, has that right.

I think this has been an unnecessary discussion because, as I have indicated, we are seriously trying now to enter into a dialogue with Bulgaria. I think that the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria would have been much better advised if he had refrained from speaking.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply for a second time.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): It is most unfortunate that the representative of Turkey should have engaged in making up the same inventions against my country. Not only do we reject those inventions, but we also once again address an earnest appeal to the representative of Turkey to occupy the solid ground of responsibility and political realism.

Bulgarian-Turkish relations would be facilitated if once again based on mutually advantageous co-operation, good-neighbourliness and understanding - as had indeed been the case in the recent decades. That would be in keeping with the interests of both peoples and would correspond to relations of good-neighbourliness between two sovereign States which have not only a past and a present but also a future.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): I have no intention of prolonging this discussion. I agree with the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria on one point: that we should proceed with political realism. But political realism includes also respect for human rights. As long as we agree on that definition of political realism we can very easily try to resolve the problem.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.