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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 19th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 2 October 1991, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. SHIHABI

(Saudi Arabia)

later:

Mr. CHEAKA (Vice-President)

(Togo)

General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Sarasin (Thailand)

Mr. Nsour (Jordan)

Mr. Gurirab (Namibia)

Mr. Bishari (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Mr. Tsering (Bhutan)

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The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SARASIM (Thailand): I should like to extend warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

I am pleased to see you presiding over the deliberations of this Assembly during this period of fundamental changes in the international system. Your recognised diplomatic skill and your long professional involvement in the affairs of the United Nations will undoubtedly enable you to guide the work of the Assembly to its successful conclusion. You have my delegation's full support. The Kingdom of Thailand and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have enjoyed fruitful relations. We look forward to seeing the relations between our two Kingdoms deepen even further in the years to come.

Our appreciation goes to the President of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Guido de Marco of Malta, for his untiring efforts in guiding the work of this body throughout the eventful year. During the tenure of his presidency, genuine interest was generated in revitalizing the process of the General Assembly.

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea as full Members of the United Nations. Our warm welcome extends also to our Pacific neighbours: the 'ederated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. We are also happy to welcome Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. We congratulate them on the resumption of their rightful places in the family of nations.

Let me extend our sincere felicitations to the members of the delegation of the Supreme Mational Council of Cambodia, headed by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The return of the Cambodian delegation to the General Assembly is testimony to the progress made in achieving genuine national reconciliation.

The events of the past few years have dramatically changed the international community. As it reeled from events of one drama, another - still more stunning - took centre stage.

We have witnessed fundamental changes in eastern Europe. We are witnessing dramatic developments in the Soviet Union. In Europe as a whole we are witnessing concurrent movements towards integration and disintegration.

In the Persian Gulf we have seen how collective security can reverse aggression. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, we are encouraged by the prospects for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Israel and its Arab neighbours, including the Palestinian people, may at long last coexist in peace. We are hopeful that the positive trends in South Africa will lead to an irreversible end to apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society there.

In East Asia, with the admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations, we look forward to further progress in the dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul. We are also pleased to see the <u>rapprochement</u> between China and Viet Nam which has contributed significantly to the building of a peaceful environment in South-East Asia.

Peace in Cambodia is finally at hand. Since the beginning of the Cambodian problem almost 13 years ago, Thailand has maintained all along that the Cambodians must be given the right to determine their own destiny. After a decade of war they finally decided to talk to one another. The Assembly may recall that it was His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk who first called for national reconciliation among the Cambodian factions almost 10 years ago. His appeal has been realized. No one has done so much for Cambodia as His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. He has shown himself to be the only Cambodian leader who can unify his country. The Thai Government will continue to render its fullest support and cooperation to him and to the Supreme National Council under his chairmanship.

The Supreme National Council of Cambodia has met twice in Thailand this year. It met once again with the five permanent members of the Security Council last month. The result is what the international community has been striving for - a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

In this connection my delegation would like to express its gratitude to the representatives of Indonesia and France for their able co-chairmanship of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia. We are pleased to see that the peace agreement will be signed by all parties concerned at the next meeting of the Conference to be convened in Paris on 23 October this year.

Our appreciation also goes to the representatives of Austria, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea and of Senegal, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of that Conference, both of whom have made valuable contributions to the search for peace from the very beginning of the Cambodian conflict.

Thailand always stands ready to be of service to the United Nations in its important role in Cambodia. We are prepared to provide personnel who are familiar with the terrain and to offer other facilities close to the border. The Thai Government will render its full support to the United Nations

Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) as it carries out its mandate with due respect for the sovereignty of all the States that border Cambodia.

In anticipation of the forthcoming elections in Cambodia my Government will also do its best to help ensure that an orderly repatriation of the displaced Cambodians will take place. All returnees must be assured that they can go home in safety and dignity. They should be allowed to participate in free and fair elections. In the post-Cambodian settlement, the Thai Government looks forward to contributing - together with the international community - to the reconstruction of Cambodia.

The breakthrough in the Cambodian problem gives rise to the hopes and aspirations of South-East Asians. For the first time since the Second World War, peace has come to South-East Asia. The positive winds of change that have swept through Eastern Europe and many parts of the world have finally arrived in South-East Asia. Countries, large and small, socialist and capitalist alike, have all concentrated on intensifying economic development and cooperation for the well-being of their own peoples.

For once a new regional order in South-East Asia will be charted by South-East Asians. It will be an order of peace, stability and prosperity if

the countries concerned learn the lessons of the past. Now that peace in Cambodia appears imminent the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), having sought a political settlement in Cambodia for 13 years, should not be complacent but should continue to be instrumental in enhancing the stability of the region. With the apparently constructive role adopted by the major Powers towards the region, the South-East Asian countries should seize this opportunity to manifest their aspirations to express their right to shape the future of South-East Asia with their own hands.

The ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia offers a precise framework within which countries in the region can join hands to chart their own destiny, a destiny free of conflict and outside interference, a destiny of peace, stability and prosperity. It remains a great challenge for ASEAN to find a useful regional arrangement that will withstand the test of time and at the same time nurture the stability which is necessary for sustained prosperity. In this respect it is gratifying to note that Viet Nam has now formally expressed its intention to accede to that Treaty.

My visit to Viet Nam last month reaffirmed my conviction that Viet Nam wants to play a constructive role in the future of South-East Asia. For its part, Thailand would like to help Viet Nam to realize its aspirations. This coincides with the policy of the Thai Government of creating a peaceful environment for all neighbouring States. We are pleased to see that our relations with Laos, whose people share so much in common with ours, have become warm, cordial and mutually beneficial, for the good of our two peoples. We have every intention of strengthening further our cooperation with Laos in all fields.

While Thailand seeks to foster goodwill and a peaceful environment with the Indo-Chinese States, it cannot afford to ignore its very important neighbour to the went. Over the past rear developments in Myanmar have been of major interest to the international community. Due to its proximity with Myanmar much international attention has also been focused on Thailand's relationship with that State. We understand the legitimate concerns of the international community. The peoples of Thailand and Myanmar share religious, cultural and historical ties. Thailand is therefore in a unique position to understand the difficult internal situation in Myanmar.

We have been working closely with other ASEAN States on this matter. We are convinced that the Jecision of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers to adopt constructive engagement as an approach towards Myanmar is correct. Some States have asked ASEAN to isolate Myanmar. We believe that would not work. Nor do we believe it would be in the interests of the people in Myanmar. Through constructive engagement, ASEAN hopes to encourage Myanmar to make a peaceful transition towards becoming a society in a better position to fulfil its rightful role in the family of nations in South-East Asia.

It is a great challenge for Thailand to help to build a new regional order in South-East Asia. eing the ASEAN member in closest proximity to the non-ASEAN countries in South-East Asia, Thailand is in a unique position to extend a helping hand to Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar. Through the creation of an atmosphere conducive to greater understanding and cooperation, Thailand and ASEAN will move closer to the realization of ASEAN's objectives. We would like to see our neighbours enjoy peace and prosperity because they too have the right to contribute to the dynamic future of South-East Asia, a future that will truly embody ASEAN's objectives and, indeed, a new regional order of harmony and cooperation for South-East Asia.

Thailand's willingness to be of service to others extends beyond our own region. To give just a few examples, we were pleased to participate in the monitoring of elections in Namibia by sending 40 trained individuals. We were also pleased to participate in the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) and we have sent 50 United Nations guards to Iraq on a humanitarian mission.

Thailand has fulfilled all of its commitments to implement General Assembly resolutions in political, economic, social and other fields. We are delighted to take part in and contribute to the noble work of the United Nations.

In the same spirit of service, we are playing an active role in the war on drugs. Subregional strategies to control drug abuse have been devised through cooperation between Thailand and neighbouring countries. Indeed, it is the view of my delegation that it would be extremely beneficial if Laos and Myanmar would participate in triangular efforts with Thailand under the auspices of the United Nations to wage war against drug trafficking.

On the international level, Thailand lends its full support to the strengthening of the United Nations system-wide coordinating mechanism.

Thailand is a member of the International Narcotics Control Board and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and is pleased to have been re-elected to serve on the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

In enhancing stability and bringing prosperity to South-East Asia, ASEAN needs to be economically effective and credible. That is why my Prime Minister has proposed the establishment of an ASEAN free-trade area, a proposal that has been welcomed by all ASEAN member States. The idea is to work towards the gradual integration of ASEAN economies, leading to the establishment of an ASEAN free-trade areas some time around the beginning of the next century. By agreeing on the concept of an ASEAN free-trade area, ASEAN will be making a significant political decision that sets a clear objective for our economic integration.

Such a step will greatly strengthen ASEAN by putting it in a much better position to deal with other regional groupings and major trading partners. In this connection, Thailand believes that the East Asia Economic Grouping (EAEG), proposed by Malaysia, would be useful in furthering consultation and coordination among States in the region. It could serve as another vehicle for a more open international trading system.

Our sense of the necessity to become economically stronger as a regional grouping is heightened by our determination to be able to participate fully in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and Thailand looks forward to being the host country for the 1992 APEC Ministerial Meeting. With its adherence to the principles of free trade and multilateralism, APEC holds great promise for the next entury.

Now that differences in ideology are less prevalent in the work and discussions of international bodies, my delegation is hopeful that the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) will fulfil its mandate and receive the necessary support to strengthen regional cooperation and promote economic and social development among developing countries in the region.

During the first half of 1990, we were hopeful that world trade would become freer and fairer as a result of the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. These hopes faded in the second half of the year, and the Uruguay Round failed to conclude in Rrussels at the end of the year. Vital decisions on policy were left untaken and they still have not been taken today. Talks have resumed, but serious negotiations cannot begin unless and until there is reasonable movement on the part of some trading partners to reform their agricultural policies, which have long distorted international agricultural trade, to the detriment of the majority of the world as a whole.

In this connection, I should like to appeal to the leaders of the States concerned to put the common good before narrow interests, for the sake of improving and liberalizing the multilateral trading system so that it can bring prosperity to all.

We are also concerned about environmental issues and we will do our best to protect the environment. However, we feel that the developed countries must bear most of the responsibility. Developing countries are forced to exploit their resources, so the developed countries need to identify new ways to make additional resources available. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June of 1992, should serve as a constructive forum for such commitments.

I should like to pay a special tribute to

Secretary-General Peres de Cuellar. The new international situation has

placed the United Nations firmly on centre stage, but the revitalization of

the United Nations would not have been possible without his leadership. He

has put himself tirelessly at the service of the international community and

he has given new vitality to the role of the Secretary-General, which in turn

gives rise to a new-found, dynamic role for the United Nations in today's

fast-changing world.

The year 1991 begins a hopeful decade for peace and progress in many parts of the world. Thailand will do her very best to contribute to a new world order - starting at home, in South-East Asia.

Mr. MSOUR (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): I extend my sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this session. Your election signals our recognition of your personal competence, experience, skill and wisdom, and of the high esteem which your country, the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, enjoys in the international community. I would also like to extend my many thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta, for presiding over the previous session.

I also take this opportunity to single out with gratitude

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar for his tireless efforts during the period he has

spent at the helm of the Secretariat.

It is indeed a good omen for our Organization to start this new session by admitting seven new States to its membership, some of which, such as the the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, are newly independent, while others - Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia - have just regained their independence, and still others had their applications for membership delayed because of political circumstances. This multiple accession to the membership of the United Nations contributes greatly towards its achieving universality. We would like to express to the two friendly Korean Republics our pleasure at their admission to the United Nations and our hope that it will mark the beginning of increased cooperation and understanding between them in such a manner as to contribute to laying the necessary foundations for attaining the hopes of their one people.

The forty-sixth session of the General Assembly convenes in the midst of many immense global changes. Events are accelerating at such whirlwind pace that merely keeping pace with them, let alone exploring their nature or absorbing their significance, has become extremely difficult. The big

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(Mr. Msour, Jordan)

question to ponder, however, is whether such events indicate a return to previous periods in this century, when differences and disputes between States over borders and conflicting interests led to two destructive world wars. Or could they perhaps be harbingers of the dawn of a genuine opporunity for the emergence of a new world order and a new era of constructive international cooperation in solving all remaining problems throughout the world and of addressing, in a just and even-handed manner, any potentially explosive problems as soon as they appear?

We in Jordan see the positive in these developments and look through them towards a better future for this world. The disappearance of the intense rivalry between the two super-Powers, now replaced by dialogue and cooperation, has led to solutions to certain global problems, such as the independence of Namibia, and to easing aggravating conditions in others, as in the Western Sahara, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Cyprus, Central America and South Africa. This raises our hopes that those problems will be settled, peacefully and definitively. in the near future. Moreover, considerable progress has been achieved on the question of curbing the nuclear-arms race and efforts to reduce the numbers of existing weapons, especially by the two super-Powers.*

The emergence of the present movement towards establishing a new world order - the outlines of which are beginning to take shape - demands that we all examine it in depth so as to determine the substance of this new order, its basic features and the objectives envisaged for it, and thus arrive at new ideas and plans commensurable with the challenges that such an order would pose or face.

Mr. Cheaka (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The challenges facing the world today, whether in the fields of the environment, armaments or the economy, have acquired a universal nature affecting mankind as a whole and not just one particular region. The meltdown of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor and the severe damage sustained by the environment in the Gulf region are but two vivid examples of this.

Proceeding from a profound belief in the collective international responsibility for confronting the dangers that threaten or encompass the environment, and driven by the desire to ensure that joint efforts be directed towards preventing the exploitation of the environment for harmful purposes, Jordan has requested the inclusion of an item on the session's agenda calling for the implementation of effective measures to prevent the exploitation of the environment for military purposes. My country hopes that by opening this important humanitarian subject for discussion it might be possible to arrive at new ideas paving the way for more effective action to prevent the exploitation of the environment - which is the property of all mankind - now and in the future, in any way or form and in any circumstances, for military purposes. In 1977, agreement was reached on concluding a Convention to prevent such acts. However, the environmental disaster in the Gulf proves that those arrangements were insufficient and demonstrates the urgent need for measures that are comprehensive in scope and more potent in effect.

Only recently has the world begun to pay any serious attention to the true nature of the damage sustained by the atmosphere enveloping our globe as a result of the discharge of the noxious by-products of scientific and industrial progress into it, and to the effect this has had on the world's climate. The world has also begun to be aware of the true damage to the earth's environment as a result of the development requirements of some States.

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(Mr. Msour, Jordan)

Thus, the sense that threats to the environment are a matter of concern to all mankind, and the recognition that any one State - no matter how strong or scientifically advanced - cannot deal with such threats alone, has led to the convening of important international conferences to address the various aspects of this issue. At some of these conferences, Heads of State from all over the world participated in their deliberations. One such meeting was the 1989 Hague Conference in which 25 monarchs and Heads of State or Government participated, including His Majesty King Hussein. Another was the second Conference on the Climate, held in Geneva in November 1990, in which His Majesty King Hussein also participated.

We are looking forward to the first International Conference on the Environment and Development, which the United Nations will convene in Brasil in 1992, and consider it a test of humanity's ability to work in concert to lay the foundations for the protection of the environment and to strike a balance between the requirements of development and the preservation of the environment.

Preserving the environment, we believe, is intrinsically related to disarmament at the global and regional levels, in particular to weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear, chemical or bacteriological. For how can one objectively think of preserving the environment when one knows full well that the weapons of the two super-Powers alone are enough to destroy the whole world many times over? How can the world afford the financial resources necessary for preserving the environment and striking the necessary balance between development requirements and environmental conservation when billions upon billions of dollars are wasted each year on a rabid arms race between various States?

It is from this standpoint that my country welcomed the agreements recently reached betwen the United States of America and the Soviet Union to eliminate some weapons of mass destruction and to reduce greatly the numbers of others. These agreements represent important initial steps towards realising the loftier goal of diverting the arms race in the direction of the complete elimination of such weapons, transforming the tools of warfare, which mankind manufactures to destroy itself, into productive worktools and channelling the resources earmarked for weapons production towards other human purposes better suited for the future of mankind as a whole.

Jordan, which in the past readily signed all agreements on the non-proliferation of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction, will be pleased to participate again in any conference or activities aimed at concluding more of such instruments. It also welcomes the move by a number of States that had not previously signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to do so, and hopes that this trend will include all States that had not yet signed.

In this respect, it should be stated that Jordan welcomes the recent initiative of President George Bush to reduce unilaterally the large number of United States nuclear weapons, a move that was warmly received internationally. We earnestly hope that this initiative will be met by similar reductions on the part of other nuclear-weapon States.

The ever widening economic gap between developing and industrialized States remains the most serious threat to world peace. While the industrialized States have attained a level of development and progress that enables them to turn their attention to highly technical and scientific matters, most developing States are barely able to ensure hand-to-mouth subsistence levels for their peoples; that prevents them from participating in the harvest of the fruits of mankind's progress and advancement. Thus there is an urgent need to reopen the door to serious, constructive dialogue between the North and the South with a view to adopting effective, innovative measures that would narrow the gap, enable developing States to use modern technology to develop their economies and their human resources, and facilitate access by their products to international markets in such a way as to promote the development of those products. Failure to address the subject with the seriousness it deserves would threaten social upheaval in many countries, accompanied in most cases by dangerous military flareups and all the extremism that comes with hunger and deprivation.

The steps recently taken by several industrialized States to cancel or reduce debts incurred by some developing States deserve encouragement. This practice should be more widespread in order to alleviate the heavy debt burden of developing countries and enable them to channel their available resources to genuine self-development. In that regard, it could become necessary to establish new ground rules for loans and assistance to developing States by making them synchronous with the progress recipient States achieve in development.

Preservation of the environment, disarmament and development all fall under the heading of preserving the right of mankind as a whole to a world in which it can lead a decent life. The progress today's generation makes in that area will determine the quality of the planet we shall bequeath to future generations.

Our preoccupation with following the important developments now taking place in the world, inevitably brings us back to the problems of our region, the Middle East, and how they are affected by such developments. Like the rest of the world, the Middle East now stands at a major turning-point in its history. The general feeling is that there is a good opportunity - which might not return in the future - to achieve, with the cooperation of all the parties concerned, a just and lasting peace in the region, a peace that would include the solution of all the region's problems, foremost among which is the question of Palestine.

Since 1967, Jordan has been in the forefront of those calling for a peaceful, comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the principle of international legality as represented by the United Nations. We have pursued that goal earnestly and honestly. Jordan has also responded favourably to all peace initiatives on this matter submitted since 1967 by parties from outside the region, including the United Nations.

Consistent with that policy, my country welcomed the initiative outlined by the United States President George Bush in his statement to the United States Congress on 6 March 1991, in which he reiterated his country's policy on solving the problems of the region, proclaiming that

(spoke in English)

"A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of

territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. The time has come to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict".

(spoke in Arabic)

That trend has been bolstered by the untiring efforts of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, during his many visits to the region, and by his continuous contacts with the parties involved in the conflict, including the Palestinian side. This led to the call for convening a peace conference this month in which all parties concerned in the region will participate. The conference will be held under the auspices of the two super-Powers - the United States and the Soviet Union - and with the participation of the European Community, the United Nations and other Arab States.

Jordan, which pioneered the call for a peace conference to find a comprehensive settlement of the conflict in the area, finds acceptable, in principle, the formula being prepared for convening the sought-after peace conference, because that formula includes the main elements for which Jordan has been calling, particularly the following: reference to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); the principle of land for peace; the mutual recognition of the right of States to live in peace; and the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people.

Jordan has unequivocally insisted on the right of the Palestinians to participate in the conference through representatives they have freely nominated. It has also accepted a formula for Palestinian participation through a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, should the Palestinian side

agree, provided that dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli dimension of the problem be restricted to the Palestinians and the Israelis while the Jordanian side would address the Jordanian-Israeli dimension.

Jordan is ready to participate seriously and earnestly in the peace process aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement in the region because it recognises the benefits of peace and the dangers of the existing state of no-war-no-peace.

As it participates in the peace process, Jordan is aware too that a peaceful solution must be based on justice. In our view, that justice - as eventually accepted through the peace conference by all the parties involved in the conflict - must be the mainstay and guarantor of peace if we truly want that peace to endure. The Arab side in general and the Palestinian side in particular, as expressed in the recent resolutions of the Palestine National Council, have agreed to give peace in our region a chance by keeping the present window of hope wide open, and to give the emerging new world order room for hope that this will quickly lead to comprehensive world peace.

But we and the rest of the world are waiting to see whether the present leaders of Israel are equally ready to achieve the desired peaceful solution or whether they prefer to remain prisoners of their own intransigence, thus killing the chances of peace for their people and for the region as a whole.

Jordan considers that the best measure of Israel's seriousness towards the peace process would be an end to Israel's illegal settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds and the Golan. Such activities not only contravene international conventions but, if they continue in their present form, will also destroy an essential element in the peace formula.

Proceeding from its devotion to peace in the region, Jordan supported the efforts aimed at making the Middle East a sone free of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear, chemical, biological or other weapons. To be able to achieve this, it is the view of my country that it should begin with the signing of, and adherence to, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, by all States of the region which have not done so yet, particularly Israel, in preparation for arriving, during the peace conference, at agreements to start ridding the region of such weapons in a general and comprehensive manner, as well as proceeding to reduce conventional weapons.

Jordan has suffered, and continues to suffer, from the consequences of the painful events that took place in the Gulf, from the start of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait to the ensuing destructive war, the effects of which are still being endured by both the Iraqi and Kuwaiti peoples, in addition to large numbers of other Arabs and non-Arabs.

The position of my country with respect to these events had been clear from the outset. It was elaborated in the statement delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jordan in the Assembly on 26 September 1990, in which he said:

"Jordan, as a civilized country that respects its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, does not and cannot approve of the resort to force as a way of solving differences between States, nor does it accept the occupation of the territory of others, nor does it support or recognize any demographic or political changes resulting from war in our area or anywhere else in the world. Therefore, Jordan did not recognize the decision to annex Kuwait. Jordan has called and continues to call for the restoration of legitimacy in this Arab country ...".

Based on this, my country sought hard to find a peaceful solution to the problem within the framework of joint Arab action before matters reached the point of the use of force.

Moreover, my country declared its unequivocal adherence to all United Nations resolutions on the subject, especially Security Council resolution 661 (1990), although implementation of that resolution led to the infliction of heavy damage on the economy of Jordan and the livelihoods of its citizens. Adding to those difficulties and burdens was the influx of large numbers of its citizens working in Iraq and Kuwait - more than 250,000 - who had fled the crisis. Even after the ending of the major crisis, Jordan still receives large numbers of Jordanians and Palestinian nationals who are forced to leave Kuwait. My country is seeking the help of the competent international bodies to provide it with the necessary aid for absorbing those returnees who had lost their livelihood and income and returned to Jordan empty-handed, as well as for enabling them to regain stable lives and find new means of livelihood, under increasingly difficult economic conditions caused by the sudden influx of such a large number of persons.

At the same time, Jordan is deeply distressed by the harsh living conditions the Iraqi people are now enduring as a consequence of the war in the Gulf, and by the possibility of a real famine befalling the Iraqis if the present situation continues, as well as by the death of large numbers of children because of shortages of necessary medicines and food, not to mention outbreaks of epidemics due to shortages in the means of sterilization, water purification and other basic sanitary services. The reports by His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the Executive Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Assistance in the Middle East, and those by

other humanitarian societies active in Iraq, gave a painful description of the true state of the present living conditions in Iraq and of what is expected to happen if human conditions there continue to deteriorate. My country feels that any political consideration pales and retreats, indeed fades away and disappears altogether when measured against the reality of human pain and suffering. Jordan, therefore, calls for speedy action to take the necessary measures to lift the economic blockade against the Iraqi people to enable them to overcome the sorrowful inhuman conditions they are suffering.

My country also wishes to reiterate its keen interest in preserving the unity of Iraq and its sovereignty over its territory, and considers that to be an important element in the maintenance of stability in the region as a whole.

As for sisterly Lebanon, my country joins its fraternal people in their joy over the end of the ruinous civil war, which devastated the country for nearly 15 years, and over the success of the legitimate authority there in restoring its sovereignty over most of the Lebanese territory. We also hope that this success will continue so that Lebanon can regain its full sovereignty over its whole national soil. We call upon the world Organization to support Lebanon in its efforts to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and other resolutions stipulating the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories it controls in southern Lebanon.

My country wisnes to renew the expression of its full commitment to, and support of, this great Organization and its complete concern in seeing it continue to perform its work, to the best of its ability, for the good of all humanity. In this context, Jordan reaffirms its support for the efforts aimed at developing the work of the Organization and introducing the appropriate improvements and amendments to contribute to its increased efficiency and

ensure the performance of its duties in an objective, fair and efficient manner, so as to preserve its fundamental role as an Organization established to realize mankind's eternal dream to avoid the scourge of war and preserve international peace and security.

Mr. GURIRAB (Namibia): I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Namibia, to extend to Ambassador Samir Shihabi our heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I wish him all success, and assure him of my delegation's active cooperation in the execution of his duties. I am confident that, under his able leadership, the work of this Assembly will be handled with competence and efficiency.

Likewise, I should like to pay a tribute to His Excellency

Guido de Marco, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta, for the most exemplary

and distinguished manner in which he presided over the forty-fifth session.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, deserves our commendation for his commitment to
the work and ideals of the United Nations. We thank him especially for his
thought-provoking and comprehensive report.

I join in welcoming the new Members of our Organization, namely: the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea; the Republic of Korea; the Federated

States of Micronesia; the Republic of the Marshall Islands; and the three

Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. I assure them of my

delegation's readiness to cooperate with them towards strengthening the work

of our Organization in the interest of world peace and inter-State cooperation.

The forty-sixth session of the General Assembly is meeting at the most historic moment in the life of the United Nations. The change in the world environment and the emerging international cooperation have placed renewed focus on the pivotal role of the United Nations as an instrument for peace-making, peace-building and peace-keeping.

The preference for dialogue rather than confrontation augurs well for our common desire for international peace and security. Our ideal for a peaceful world will, however, only be fully realized when the existing arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are totally eliminated. We express our fervent hope that the current initiatives will lead to that end, ensuring a secure and peaceful future for generations to come. It is in this context that Namibia has decided to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, in accordance with the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) desire to make Africa a nuclear-free zone.

The current global changes have created new realities. It is with this in mind that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries reiterated at its tenth Ministerial Conference in Accra, Ghana, not only the validity and importance of its own continued existence, but also the need to defend and uphold its principles and objectives, among which are the sanctity of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and the national independence of States.

All over the world today, peoples are intensifying their struggle for freedom, democracy and social justice. We welcome the commitment by Governments to give new meaning to democracy and the defence of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Despite the many victories won so far in the realization of the principle of self-determination and national independence, of which we can all be justly proud, it is vital that we remind ourselves of the urgent need to bring an end to the remaining vestiges of colonialism, apartheid and oppression in the world.

The situation in South Africa is a cause for particular concern to my Government. As Namibians, we have shared the agony, suffering and destruction caused by the system of apartheid in southern Africa. Apartheid, however disguised, is incompatible with peace, stability and genuine cooperation. In this respect, all vestiges of apartheid must be eradicated without delay in order to pave the way for the commencement of serious negotiations, in good faith, for a new constitution, which will usher in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We stand ready to make our humble contribution to that end on the basis of our recent experience in Namibia which we believe can serve as an example in the search for a peaceful solution in South Africa.

The spiralling violence in South Africa has claimed many lives and caused untold suffering and wanton destruction in that country. It is thus imperative that the South African Government end this violence, as all indications are that it cannot claim innocence in this tragic situation, particularly in view of its own recent confirmation that it has given secret funds to Inkatha.

Although my Government, like many others, recognises that some positive developments have taken place in South Africa, including in particular the repeal of some of the key pillars of apartheid, these, however, are not sufficient to warrant lessening international pressure for a speedy end to apartheid. The conditions contained in both the Harare Declaration and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, calling for irreversible and profound change in South Africa, have not yet been met.

We urge all the key actors in South Africa to take bold and imaginative steps in order to create a favourable climate for negotiations leading to the adoption of a new democratic constitution.

My Government reiterates its wholehearted support for international efforts to find peaceful solutions to the remaining conflicts in different parts of the world. In this respect, we particularly welcome the cooperation among the major Powers in all fields, including the military and security fields and the reduction of nuclear weapons.

Concerning the situation in the People's Republic of Angola, the Government of Namibia reaffirms its full support for the peace process currently under way in that neighbouring country. In this respect, we should like to pay a tribute to both parties and to encourage them to remain firm on the road to the consolidation of peace and the holding of free elections in 1992.

In Mozambique, the Government is making genuine efforts to bring about peace and reconciliation in that country. Regrettably, these efforts are being undermined by RENAMO. We urge all those who can exert pressure on RENAMO to do so in order to bring RENAMO to the negotiating table.

I wish to welcome the progress made thus far in Western Sahara. We hope the United Nations-supervised referendum will produce genuine results that will enable the Sahraoui people to realize their inalienable rights to self-determination and the achievement of national independence.

The question of Palestine continues to be at the centre of the Middle

East conflict. The Palestinian people are still denied the exercise of their

inalienable right to self-determination in their own homeland. They continue

to suffer under occupation and oppression.

The Government of Namibia reiterates its support for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), aimed at finding a durable solution and lasting peace in the region. It is in this context that we welcome the United States initiative to seek a formula acceptable to all the parties concerned for the convening of such a Conference. We believe that the decisions taken by the Palestine National Council, at its recent Conference in Algiers, will greatly contribute to this end.

The Government and people of Namibia have welcomed the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait. The end of the Gulf crisis brought relief to the international community. However, the effects of that costly war in human lives and suffering, economic destruction and damage to the environment, will remain with us for a long time to come. The international community is therefore called upon to offer humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of the victims of that tragic war.

The efforts by the Government of Lebanon to secure control over its borders and to establish peace and national unity, deserve the general support of the international community.

In the current favourable international atmosphere, the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a solution to the reunification and territorial integrity of Cyprus, will hopefully be fully realized.

On Afghanistan, we hope that the current disposition towards dialogue will allow the Afghan people to find a peaceful solution to the continuing conflict.

It is encouraging that the various parties in Cambodia have reached a cease-fire agreement, thus creating conditions conducive to a settlement of the conflict in that country. In this connection, we welcome the establishment of the Supreme National Council as a legitimate interim authority in that country.

Needless to say, international cooperation and solidarity are important in our world today, which is increasingly becoming a truly global village. It must be emphasized that this cooperation should be based on mutual respect and benefit among nations. Unfortunately, the present international economic trend shows the perpetuation of a pattern of restrictive economic relations

among the industrialized countries to the detriment of the developingc countries.

In this present unequal relationship, the countries of the South are subjected to unfavourable terms of trade, denied access to technology and financial resources which would help them enhance their economic development and prosperity. Under such circumstances, the developing countries continue to suffer from underdevelopment, poverty, economic stagnation and a devastating debt burden.

We call upon the countries of the North to recognize our legitimate desire for an equitable international economic order. At the same time, we accept the challenge for developing countries to stand together in strengthening their economic cooperation and development efforts. This position was recently emphasized by the OAU Summit of Heads of State and Government at Abuja, Nigeria, and the Tenth Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries at Accra, Ghana.

The Namibian Government strongly believes that regional economic cooperation will facilitate rapid and sustainable economic growth and development. It is for this reason that, immediately after independence, Namibia joined a number of regional economic institutions - notably, the Southern African Coordination Conference and the African Development Bank. In this spirit, Namibia was one of the first signatories to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community which was signed by African Heads of State and Government at Abuja, Nigeria, in June 1991. It is the intention of Namibia to formalize membership in the Preferential Trade Area.

Our continent, the African continent, continues to be afflicted by acute economic problems which perpetuate stagnation, underdevelopment and poverty.

In view of the continuing economic crisis in Africa and the regrettable

failure of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UNPAAERD) to achieve its stated objectives, the international community, in partnership with Africa, should renew its efforts towards finding a workable mechanism to better assist Africa in its economic recovery and development.

One and a half years have passed since Namibia gained independence. The first year was devoted to identifying priority areas for development, namely, agriculture and rural development, education and training, health care and housing. The process of national reconstruction and development upon which we have embarked, is aimed at improving the living conditions of our people who have long been victims of apartheid colonialism and brutal exploitation.

Recently, an historic Land Reform Conference was held in Windhoek.

Important recommendations were adopted and subsequently presented to the Government to provide the basis for forming its land policy.

In keeping with our democratic Constitution, we have committed ourselves to ensuring justice for all the Namibian people. Human rights are the cornerstone of our Constitution, the basis of our policy of national reconciliation and the core of our foreign policy.

At independence, Namibia inherited social and economic disparities. The majority of our people still live in poverty. This poverty is characterized by low incomes, widespread unemployment and under-employment, high levels of illiteracy, inadequate provision of water, sanitation, health care and education and poor housing. Unfortunately, available statistics on Namibia do not reflect this precarious economic situation, due to the extremely high - even by world standards - income levels of a minority of the population, which

is a direct consequence of apartheid. Our current efforts to redress these imbalances are hampered by budgetary constraints and the lack of necessary resources.

Against this background, we continue to appeal to the international community for assistance. We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to those governments and international organizations, as well as individuals, who have joined hands with us in our development efforts. Furthermore, we welcome the decision taken at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly to give Namibia special consideration in support of its economic and social development. I wish to express the hope that, at this session, a positive decision will be taken on the granting of least-developed-country status to Namibia.

An issue which remains singularly important to my Government is that of Walvis Bay and the off-shore Islands. As is well known, we are negotiating with the South African Government the reintegration of Walvis Bay and the off-short island into the rest of Namibia, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 432 (1978).

I would like to inform representatives that, further to the joint statement on the question of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, issued in Windhoek on 17 May 1991, the Governments of the Republic of Namibia and of the Republic of South Africa have agreed in principle to set up a joint administration, as an interim arrangement, pending an eventual settlement of the aforementioned question. To this end, a decision was taken to establish a Joint Technical Committee to advise the two Governments on the functions of and structures for the joint administration.

A decision was also taken to appoint a Joint Technical Committee in order to make recommendations on the demarcation of the boundary between the two countries in the middle of the Orange River in accordance with the principles of international law.

Let me emphasize that, in view of its historic role and responsibility, the Security Council should remain actively seized of the issue of Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands, and we therefore urge the members of the Council, especially the permanent members, to support our efforts towards a final resolution. I also call upon all Member States to ensure that South Africa negotiates in good faith and without undue delay. A successful resolution of this issue will not only consolidate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, but will also create enormous potential for economic integration and prosperity for southern Africa. New opportunities for trade, transport and communication could then be offered and improved not only throughout southern Africa, but also the entire continent and the whole world.

Namibia is committed to the promotion and maintenance of the ecosystem, essential ecological processes and biological diversity and to the utilization of living natural resources on a sustainable basis. This principle is

enshrined in our Constitution. It is in this context that we fully support the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil next year.

We express our support for the need to restructure and democratize the United Nations system in order to make it more efficient in dealing with the challenges of today. It is, however, our view that such changes should not be confined to the Secretariat, but should be made in all its other principal organs, including the Security Council. We are aware of the various ideas that have so far been advanced on the subject. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make a careful analysis before we take any action.

Finally, I would like to pay a deserved tribute and extend our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, His Excellency

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the most distinguished and courageous manner in which he has led the United Nations during his tenure of office. We remember vividly when, in his first address to the United Nations Council for Namibia upon assuming office 10 years ago, he committed himself to work for the independence of Namibia. In keeping with that noble commitment, he worked tirelessly and with zeal for the achievement of that goal, which was finally realized at that momentous midnight hour on 21 March 1990 when he swore in the first President of the Republic of Namibia.

Once again, we pay tribute to thousands of United Nations Transition

Assistance Group workers who, through their selfless contributions became

midwives in the birth of our nation.

The good name of the Secretary-General will be inextricably linked to the birth of Namibia. We wish him thanks and many, many happy returns. And, as he knows, he is always welcome to his home - our country, Namibia.

Mr. BISHARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):
On behalf of the delegation of the great Libyan Arab People's Jamahiriya, I
wish to extend to Ambassador Shihabi my most sincere congratulations upon his
election as President of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We
are confident that his wisdom, experience and eminent personal qualities will
enable us to achieve optimum results.

I should also like to express the appreciation and satisfaction of my delegation to his predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the friendly Republic of Malta, who demonstrated consummate skill in conducting the deliberations of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly in a manner worthy of high esteem and commendation.

My delegation should also like to express its appreciation and pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has exerted sincere efforts in enhancing and promoting the role of the United Nations.

Moreover, we welcome the admission of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We are confident that their admission to the United Nations will help to fulfil the aspirations of the Korean people to reunify the Korean peninsula.

We should also like to welcome the admission of the three Baltic States - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania - as well as that of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia.

The United Nations has made significant contributions in international cooperation in various forms. It has played an important role in decolonization during the past four decades. The international community at present is more than ever in dire need of enhancing the role of the world Organization. We believe that this can be achieved only through serious

(<u>Mr. Bishari, Libyan Arab</u> Jamahiriya)

collective action that is free from self-interest. This requires, first and foremost, a sincere political will on the part of member countries and unconditional moral, material and political support to the United Nations.

The Organization would thus be able to rise to the level of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world as envisaged in the Preamble of the Charter and enshrined in the lofty and noble principles of the United Nations.

This also makes it necessary for the international community to reconsider the veto privilege and to move from the stage of making demands to taking concrete action upon such a recommendation. It is clear that there is no longer any justification for retaining the veto privilege which has continued to be a major obstacle to the proper discharge by the Security Council of its principal task, namely the preservation of international peace and security and the cause of the consequent paralysis of the United Nations effectiveness. Furthermore, the veto privilege has caused untold harm to the peoples of the poor countries as it has been exploited in entrenching concepts that run counter to international legality.

We call for an immediate start on serious efforts to enhance the role of the Organization. We believe there is an urgent need to reconsider some of the provisions of the Charter which are no longer compatible with the changing international circumstances. My country, which has the honour of having taken the initiative of calling for the reconsideration of the veto privilege, shall maintain its principled and steadfast stand on this matter, as we are convinced that this is the proper way to ensure that a strong and effective United Nations develops in such a way that it becomes an effective deterrent to those who espouse the policies of force, who practise injustice and oppression, aggression and organized terrorism and economic and scientific blockade against the poor developing nations.

My country calls for the enhancement of the role of the United Nations
General Assembly, so that the Security Council may become an organ that
expresses the will of the peoples of the United Nations to preserve
international peace and security and the principles of respect for
sovereignty, and not a council for the security of certain States.

My country has suffered the scourges of colonialism in the past and recently. At the beginning of the century, we were the victims of an abhorrent fascist invasion, occupation and settlement, under which we suffered all forms of oppression, genocide and depopulation. During the Second World War, Libya's territory was transformed into one of the main theatres of military operations. Our people have paid a heavy price in material and human terms in a war in which we had no interest. Since the end of that war, up to the present, the Libyan people has continued to suffer the effects of the war and its aftermath in the shape of mines and explosives sown by the warring countries in our soil. The international community has adopted numerous resolutions in this and other organizations in which it called upon the countries responsible for that to provide the necessary information and the technical assistance for the removal of such mines and other war materiel and to pay reparations for the damage caused. Today, we wish to repeat our call, through you, to the countries concerned to shoulder their responsibilities in this respect, to respond to the calls of the international community and to abide by the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the aftermath of war.

The most recent act of aggression perpetrated against my country was the barbarous military attack waged against us on 14 April 1986 by the previous Administration of a super-Power that is a permanent member of the Security Council. That act of aggression was a flagrant violation of the Charter and the principles of international law and all other international covenants and norms. In addition, there have been numerous provocations and repeated hostile acts perpetrated by that country against my own State since the beginning of the 1980s, side dy side with the imposition of a boycott and an

economic, scientific and cultural blockade. The international community has voiced its clear condemnation of that treacherous military aggression in various resolutions adopted by international and regional organizations, the foremost among which was General Assembly resolution 38/41, which called on that country to eschew the use of force against Libya, reaffirming the right of Libya to receive compensation for the material and human losses sustained by it. Today, we reiterate our call to urge the country concerned to harken to the voice of justice, reason and logic, to respond to the call for peace and to refrain from any measure which would increase tension and aggravate the differences between the two countries. We call on the United States

Administration to engage in dialogue and to resolve every difference, if any, by peaceful means, through negotiation. Ours is a call for peace. Through you, Mr. President, I wish to address a new appeal to the United States to respond to the call for a dialogue on a basis of constructive, honourable and just cooperation.

My delegation, which abides by the United Nations Charter and the principles of international legitimacy, respect for the sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to self-determination and non-intervention in internal affairs, calls for the establishment of relationships of cooperation and friendship so as to consolidate international peace and security and bring about tranquillity and confidence among all peoples of the world.

Respect for human rights has been at the core of the new decade's events, with all its important political changes and developments. In this context, I wish to state that my country has always paid great attention to questions of human rights. This respect for human rights stems from our unswerving conviction that such respect for the dignity of man is the basis for the

prosperity and progress of peoples. We are determined to pursue our support for the efforts of the international community, through the United Nations and its organs concerned with human rights, for the achievement of the lofty human objectives we all aspire to. In this context, we welcome the call to convene an international conference on human rights in 1993. My country was one of the first to reaffirm the principles of human rights, in our great green Paper on human rights which was circulated as a General Assembly document in 1989. This culminated in practical and legislative measures aimed at protecting and enforcing human rights and basic freedoms of expression and the right to gain a livelihood. We call for respect for these rights on both the national and international levels. The beginning of 1989 witnessed events which consolidated what has taken place in this field. We have enacted a law which enhances freedoms and we have ratified a number of international agreements and instruments in the field of human rights. We have established the International Committee on the Qaddafi Prize for Human Rights, and we have hosted its meetings during the past three years. We have constantly expressed our effective cooperation with all humanitarian organizations dealing with human rights and we have called for the demolition of penitentiaries and the abolition of capital punishment.

The problems of the environment are foremost among the concerns of many countries, especially those which suffer from the problems of desertification, drought, natural disasters and pollution. The developing countries have more acutely suffered from the problems of the environment, in addition to the problems of poverty and backwardness and the difficulties of managing natural resources so as to face up to the challenges of development. In this field, my country has faced challenges of development, and very difficult natural and

material problems, such as desertification, the scarcity of water resources, the shortage of arable land in the midst of vast deserts and the shortage of manpower. In the circumstances, my country is implementing a great project for a man-made river which is designed to conquer the desert, to spread green vegetation over Libyan lands and to provide a dignified life for the coming generations. The project is based on pumping water from the aquifers in the desert and moving them through a pipeline to the Libyan coast, so that the water may be used for drinking and for irrigation and industry. Praise be to God that we have completed the first stage which involves the pumping of 2 million cubic metres of water daily to irrigate an area which extends for 660 kilometres along our northern coast, through a pipeline 2,000 kilometres long.

On 28 August of this year, we celebrated the arrival of the waters of the great man-made river to the Benghasi area. The celebration was attended by a number of leaders from Arab and other friendly countries. We should like to take this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to Dr. Mohamad Mahathir, Prime Prime Minister of Malaysia, who mentioned this project in his statement in the general debate.

We take pride in this achievement because we believe that every inch of green added to the arable land of any developing country represents a response to the many-faceted natural challenges facing those developing nations and that every effort made in dealing with the problems of development and backwardness and providing the vital requirements of millions puts contemporary man on the threshold of the proper solutions for the problems involved in meeting the just demands of people and their need to attain prosperity and progress.

We have built our man-made river ourselves, without the help of foreign loans or financial assistance. Libya's efforts in the area of such positive undertakings, that aim at the preservation of the environment and the promotion of development make us look forward to the world Conference on the Environment and Development scheduled to be held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, which we hope will yield positive results.

The Middle East region continues to be one of the most tense of the world's hotbeds of tension because of the Zionist entity's occupation of Palestine and large tracts of Arab territories. Over the years, the international community has adopted numerous resolutions on the Palestinian question, all of which have reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right of return and their right to

self-determination. However, despite this just and steadfast international recognition, the Palestinian people remain deprived of their political and human rights because of Israeli intransigence, which is the basic impediment standing in the way of all sincere international efforts to reach a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question.

The <u>intifadah</u> of the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupation is a reaffirmation that when right is on the side of the weak he shall stand invincible against the technology of the unjust. The Palestinian <u>intifadah</u> has proved that the will of peoples to realise their legitimate aspirations cannot be suppressed. Our position is based on adherence to international covenants. We steadfastly support the right of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland and to establish their own independent State with a capital in the Holy City of Al-Quds.

The immigration of Jews to Palestine from the Soviet Union and other countries and their settlement in the occupied Arab territories today represent the most serious threat to a solution of the Palestinian question. The statements of the Israeli leaders and their call for a greater Israel are clear proof of their sinister intention to create a new demographic situation in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories by altering the demographic composition of the area and turning it into an obstacle to the achievement of any solution of the Palestinian question that would guarantee the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

At present, there is a great deal of talk about peace and the finding of a just and durable solution to the problems of the Middle East and the Palestinian question in line with United Nations resolutions, some of which

resolution 181 (II) and then, the many resolutions that followed. The Palestinians and Arabs from Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon have expressed their determination to achieve peace. Today, I must clearly state that the ones who do not want peace are the Israelis; those who will undermine every effort to achieve peace are the Israelis. That is because they believe only in the logic of force and war. This is their creed and their unchanging strategy. While the rest of the world moves towards <u>détents</u>, they manufacture weapons of mass destruction. They reject the world's calls to place their nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. They are preparing for a new type of war in the region, namely, the war for water.

The suffering of the people of South Africa under the racists and their practices cannot be set apart from the suffering of the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine. We in Libya support the just struggle of the people of South Africa, and we call upon all the peoples of the world to support the just struggle of that people to eliminate apartheid. We strongly condemn the racist practices against the black South African majority.

As mine is a country bordering on the Mediterranean, we consider that it is very important to enhance peace, cooperation and security in that region. We hope that it will not become a hotbed of tension in the world or a springboard for direct attacks against coastal States. We still repeat our call to transform the Mediterranean into a lake of peace and cultural exchange and to remove weapons of mass destruction, foreign fleets and bases from it. It should become a model of cooperation between peoples in the north and in the south and an embodiment of the slogan, "No aggression, no invasion, but

continued peace and tranquillity, a source of food for the hungry and of shelter from fear."

The problem of Lebanon has been the focus of Arab and international efforts to bring an end to the tragic situation in that country. My country supports national reconciliation that will preserve unity and territorial integrity and sovereignty. However, notwithstanding national efforts inside the country and international efforts outside Lebanon, the Lebanese people still continue to suffer a deep wound in the southern part of their country as a result of Israel's continued occupation of a part of that territory, in brazen defiance of the resolutions adopted by the international community. My country, which has always called for safeguarding Lebanon's integrity, unity and sovereignty, believes that resolving the Lebanese problem requires the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces of occupation to allow the legitimate Lebanese authority to extend its control over all its national soil.

General and complete disarmament under effective international supervision is the desired goal of all the peoples of the world. It is incumbent upon all countries, and especially those that possess nuclear armaments and weapons of mass destruction, to do their utmost to advance towards the realization of that goal within the framework of full respect for the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with the priorities spelled out in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

That comprehensive view, which we share with many countries, is based on a full awareness of the terrible threats facing our planet as a result of the production, stockpiling and possible use of nuclear weapons and other weapons

of mass destruction. In that respect, disarmament should involve all the countries that produce and possess such weapons, without distinction or discrimination. The twenty-fourth article of the green paper, which was approved by the Libyan Arab people, states:

"The citizens of the Jamahiriya call for abolishing the nuclear, chemical and germ weapons, as well as all means of mass destruction and the destruction of all such weapons now in the stockpiles. They call for the deliverance of mankind from nuclear power stations and the danger of their wastes."

As one of the parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Convention prohibiting bacteriological weapons and the Geneva Protocol, my country supports all international and regional efforts designed to put an end to the nuclear arms race and eliminate nuclear weapons. We also support all international efforts aimed at prohibiting all forms of weapons of mass destruction, without distinction. We support the principle of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in all parts of the world, including Africa and the Middle East. Unfortunately, in this respect our hopes have been dashed by Israel's persistence in possessing, producing and and developing weapons of mass destruction in spite of repeated international appeals and condemnations. The Israelis have refused to forgo the possession of nuclear weapons and continue their tests of delivery systems and refuse to place their nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

With regard to disarmament, we listened with close attention to the proposal of the United States President, George Bush, wherein he declared unilaterally a project for major reductions in the nuclear arsenal of the United States. We believe that this proposal is important and positive. We call upon the United States of America to continue to move in that direction in the service of international peace and security and in recognition of the fact that its technical and scientific achievements are the result of the collective efforts of all mankind, through the immigration to the United States of millions of people from all over the world.

We call on the parties that possess weapons of mass destruction bacteriological, nuclear and chemical - to take initiatives to destroy their
stockpiles, to refrain from producing or stockpiling such weapons, and to give
a binding pledge that they will refrain from using them and, thereby, save
human lives.

My country follows with close attention the positive developments towards finding comprehensive political solutions to regional problems. These developments are due to the efforts of the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolutions. Foremost amongst these problems are the situations in Cyprus, Cambodia and Afghanistan. Given our steadfast stand on the need to search for peaceful solutions to all problems within the framework of full respect for the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and of international law, my country welcomes all efforts to find just and comprehensive solutions to the problems of Cyprus, Cambodia and Afghanistan within the framework of international legality, respect for the sovereignty, independence and integrity of those countries and for their non-aligned status, and the absence of any foreign interference in their internal affairs.

We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General and the use of his good offices towards the implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions, and we wish to express our appreciation of his tireless efforts towards the achivement of comprehensive and just political solutions to these problems. My country, which has always provided all forms of material and political support for the just causes of peoples and their legitimate struggle to regain their freedom and independence according to the provisions and principles of the United Nations Charter, wishes to reaffirm its continued support of that struggle. Our desire to see those peoples realize their legitimate aspirations stems from one steadfast and unswerving belief in the cause of freedom and the need to champion the cause of the oppressed everywhere in the world.

My country also supports the Korean people in their legitimate aspiration to the achievement of unity through peaceful means and without foreign interference, exactly as the German nation was unified following the fall of the Berlin wall. The first person to predict the crumbling of that Wall was President Muammar Qaddafi.

Just as we support the right of every people to unity, we also reaffirm the right of the Arab peoples to unity without foreign interference. This is a new phase in history. A page has been turned. We support respect for human rights and for the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of policies of destabilization. We wish to see democracy reaffirmed, and dictatorships removed from the world. We hope to see the disappearance of one-man rule and of rule by class, party, tribe, vanguard or élite. We wish to see the sovereignty of peoples enhanced and their will respected. We call for adherence to the principles of international legality on the basis of

equality and in line with creative human ideals, so that peace and cooperation may prevail, in the world, the gap between rich and poor nations may be bridged, mutual benefit may guide cooperation between States, and lofty human ideals may reign supreme in our world.

Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I have the honour to convey to

Ambassador Shihabi and, through him, to all members the warm greetings of

His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, and his good wishes for

the success of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

Let me take this opportunity to extend to Ambassador Shihabi the warm congratulations of my delegation on his election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session. Given his wisdom and experience, I am confident that he will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I should like also to put on record our appreciation of the skilful manner in which Mr. Guido de Marco of Malta conducted the proceedings of our last session.

It is with great sadness that we mark the end of our eminent

Secretary-General's tenure. For 10 years all of us have been the

beneficiaries of his inspired leadership and masterful diplomacy. His record

is a long and unblemished list of brilliant achievements. Oftentimes his

personal intervention has made the crucial difference towards creating

favourable conditions for negotiation and effecting a breakthrough in a

conflict. Most important, he has presided over an enhanced, reinvigorated

United Nations, to which the world has in recent years increasingly looked for

the solution of its problems. His sense of mission has indeed been

unfailing. Our sincere appreciation and gratitude go to him for such

remarkable dedication and service.

The Secretary-General's annual report is an illustration of this dedication. It is not merely a reprise of recent events but a blueprint for the present and future and a coll to action. His recommendations deserve our utmost attention.

I wish to extend a warm welcome to the Government and peoples of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on their long-overdue admission to the United Nations. Another vestige of the cold war has been shed. The admission of these countries, we believe, will give further momentum to the process of reunification that both countries desire. In this context, we fully support the three measures proposed by President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea, in his recent address to the General Assembly, for the building of a positive relationship on the foundation of the new phase of coexistence between the two Koreas.

The dawning of the new era also sees the admission of the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Lithuania to the United Nations. Following so rapidly in the wate of their independence, their membership is eloquent testimony to the love of freedom of their peoples and to the advancement of a more fully representative world body. We also extend a cordial welcome to the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands on their admission to the United Nations. The world community can only benefit from this greater diversity.

We are living in extraordinary times. So much has happened so quickly that it is difficult to keep up with world events. With the end of the cold war, understanding, cooperation and an irreversible trend towards reconciliation between nations have prevailed. Old conflicts are ended; new opportunities and fresh thinking are evolving. What was once unthinkable has become a reality. Happily, Germany has become one nation again. And more

changes occur daily. The transformation of the Soviet Union is nothing less than amazing. After centuries of autocratic rule, the people are now arbiters of their own destiny. There is much uncertainty, and there are many variables, as at any turning-point in history; yet we cannot but see these changes as a happy augury for the whole world.

As ideological conflicts are shelved, convergence of views becomes possible on critical points. The work of the United Nations is enhanced, strengthened and revitalised. There is greater willingness to work through the United Nations system. Such willingness made possible a swift, concerted response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and helped effect the liberation of the Emirate. As our Secretary-General has aptly pointed out,

"The United Nations, therefore, enters the post-cold-war era as a central point of constancy in the midst of flux." $(\frac{\Lambda}{45}/1, p, 2)$

In the process, renewed respect for the rule of law has been established. This opens opportunities for the resolution of conflicts and paves the way for a new international order of peace and stability. The totality of the Charter thereby comes into full force. A world upholding the primacy of the rule of law turns its back on barbarism and self-destruction. We believe this marks an important step in the evolution of the political consciousness of mankind.

Meanwhile, however, some regional conflicts drag on, old wounds fester, and new conflicts arise. Any one of these could turn into a general conflagration. Even in some areas where cease-fires have been arranged the peace remains precarious. Clearly, much remains to be done.

On the one hand, the liberation of Kuwait was a just victory for the rule of law and for the United Nations system. The country's sovereignty was restored under its rightful ruler, His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, a statesman of great wisdom and vision. This demonstrated that the sovereignty of all countries, large or small, is to be respected. Yet the war also left many problems in its wake. Hundreds of oil wells continue to burn out of control in Kuwait, spewing pollution into the atmosphere and blanketing

much of that country in darkness. Oil slicks poison the Persian Gulf. The social and economic infrastructures have been destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of people suffered at the hands of the aggressor.

The war threw into stark relief the problems of the Middle East as a whole, and set off warning bells that a comprehensive solution must be found. The plight of the Palestinians remains the crux of the problem. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must be implemented, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians granted, foremost among them being the right to self-determination, including the right to national self-determination in their homeland. A new momentum for peace is now under way. The region is poised on the threshold of a historic breakthrough for peace. We applaud the latest peace efforts of the United States to convene an international conference, which alone can bring about the resolution of this complex problem. We support the security and the right to exist in safety of all States in the area, including Israel.

My delegation is also encouraged by the events in Lebanon. At long last, after a brutal civil war that for 16 years tore the country apart, a fledgling peace is in place. We ardently hope that the suffering of the people is finally at an end, that the peace holds, and that the sovereignty and viability of the nation are firmly anchored.

Looking to southern Africa, the independence of Namibia in March 1990 marked the successful culmination of long years of patient United Nations effort. The result has been a happy one, not only for Namibia but for much of the region as well. It is a harbinger of things to come within South Africa itself.

Sadly, peace is still not a reality in Afghanistan. War, fueled and maintained by outside interests, continues to ravage the country. Refugees have left by the hundreds of thousands. The country remains desperately poor. We call for an end to outside interference, for an end to the fighting, and for the establishment of a political process that will enable the Afghan people to exercise their right of self-determination and form a broad-based Government enjoying the confidence of the majority.

A lasting solution to the Cambodian problem may be at hand. The process began with the five permanent members of the Security Council working for a comprehensive solution and the invaluable work of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to get the parties to the conflict to negotiate. The situation is now entering a decisive stage with the Pattaya agreement, under which the Cambodian Government and rebel groups will disband 70 per cent of their military forces and put the rest under the supervision of the United Nations. This marks a turning-point. The formation of the Cambodian Supreme National Council was another major breakthrough. The initiatives resulting from the Paris Conference of last December kept dialogue going and laid the groundwork for the current agreement. Now at last the parties appear to be working toward the ultimate goal - the restoration of the country's independence and territorial integrity under a truly representative government. We welcome these developments and we wish the peo le of Cambodia well in their efforts to build a new future for themselves.

Overarching such regional problems and uncertainties are those issues that are global in scope.

Disarmament is our greatest challenge today. The signing of the strategic arms reduction Treaty in July this year marked another important

step on the road to disarmament. Yet large stockpiles of weapons remain. We must press for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. In this context, we welcome the recent proposal of President George Bush for the elimination of all tactical nuclear weapons on land and at sea in Europe and Asia.

Furthermore, we believe that priority must be given to a truly comprehensive test-ban treaty. The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons therefore deserves a high place on the agenda as well. Nuclear weapons are not the only danger. Chemical and bacteriological weapons pose serious threats. We call for a fourth special session on disarmament to address these issues and to forge concrete steps for the creation of a nuclear-free world.

A psychology of peace must replace the psychology of war. In so doing we opt for a samer and more secure world.

Sadly, the expected peace dividend has not translated into greater benefits for the developing nations nor a more equitable international economic order. A burgeoning arms trade continues unhindered, distorting priorities and gobbling up a staggering one fifth of the national budgets in many countries. Thus a vicious cycle of roverty, instability and cruel social conditions is perpetuated. The old, rusty machinery powered by the unjust system of economic relations lumbers on, but with a difference - the status quo is not maintained; rather, we see a steady drop in living standards for the vest majority of mankind. Overall, there has been a dramatic increase in poverty, disease, and deprivation.

The past 10 years especially have taken their toll. For many of the developing countries, growth and development have been replaced by stagnation and decline. The reasons for this are hydra-headed and complex, but include, among other factors, depressed commodity prices, an increasing debt-servicing burden, and under-funded structural adjustment programmes, on the one hand, and unfair terms of trade, restricted access of goods and an increase in taxes and higher interest rates, on the other. The ongoing Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations must address these problems. The further liberalization of trade by the removal of protectionist barriers and the institution of more remunerative commodity prices would be a good start. So too would the emplacement of a more stable exchange rate system.

The Economic and Social Council has an invaluable part to play. In this context we fully support the excellent recommendations of the resumed forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, on the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields. The resulting restructuring and revitalization of the Economic and Social Council will we believe enhance its impact and effectiveness.

The North-South dialogue must be increased and must continue, with the ultimate goal of bridging the gap between rich and poor nations. South-South cooperation, most recently affirmed and strengthened at the ministerial meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in Accra, has been of immeasurable assistance to the developing countries. We are building the foundation of what we hope will embrace a world-wide network of creative partnerships and associations of mutual advantage. We are working towards dynamic relationships making optimal use of the world's resources, skills and

technology. This is we believe our best hope for global peace and stability.

Above all it is workable and practical, a demonstrable application of enlightened self-interest.

A necessary corollary is the responsible stewardship of the world's resources. We are far from this goal. Indeed, every day brings alarming evidence of the diminishing capacity of the planet to sustain life. Ominous signs of the greenhouse effect and the depletion of the osone layer include climatic changes and an increase in certain health problems. Air and water pollution, soil degradation, desertification and deforestation threaten the world's food supplies and living conditions. Overpopulation puts further strains and pressures on the environment. The picture would be unrelievedly bleak but for some eleventh-hour attempts at our salvation.

The Montreal Protocol on osone depletion represents a serious effort to restore our planet to ecological health. Clearly, however, we need to go much further. The environment is our primary source of life and as such requires our urgent consideration. We have expectations that the Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June next year, will adopt a concerted and comprehensive programme to tackle all of the major environmental problems and issues. We hope the opportunity provided by this Conference will be fully utilized to deal with the question of environment and development on an integrated basis.

In my own country, Bhutan, our development goes hand in hand with unfailing concern for and sensitivity to the environment. We take pride in the fact that environmental concerns have been merged in economic decision-making. At the same time, our economic infrastructure remains inadequate and the country's communications and transportation systems are

still nascent. In addition to sharing the problems of many other least developed countries, Bhutan is handicapped by being land-locked. Outside assistance is therefore crucial to our development. Here I should like to acknowledge the valuable contributions of our development partners, particularly India, Japan, Kuwait, Switserland, Denmark, Austria, Norway, the United Kingdom, Australia and Germany, and the various specialised agencies and bodies of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Food Programme (WFP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (UNDTCD), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), in helping us to reach our development goals. Through their assistance we are working steadily towards self-reliance.

I might add that we in Bhutan are hopeful about the Programme of Action adopted during the Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in Paris last September. After only a year it is perhaps too early to assess its impact. Yet we are optimistic that the implementation of the Programme of Action will accelerate economic growth and alleviate the sufferings of the people in the least developed countries.

After two world wars and innumerable conflicts that have taken an appalling toll, the darker side of humanity might seem to have eclipsed the exuberant hopes of an earlier age. Yet this is not so. The United Nations, revived and strengthened and the repository of more of the world's hopes and

dreams than at any time since its founding, is proof that we believe in the future, that we invest in it. As we stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century, we have much to celebrate - as well as many challenges to meet. The post-cold-war era presents us with myriad opportunities. Let us seize the day and fulfil the promise of the new age.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this meeting. One representative has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I call on the representative of Iraq.

Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): In replying to the representative of the racist, Zionist entity I must point out that what he said in his statement against my country resembles very much what has been said by some representatives who have focused on attacking Iraq. This is neither surprising nor is it a coincidence. It is merely an indication of the similarity of goals, and a clear proof that the conspiracy and hence the aggression against Iraq are but aspects of a basic link in the Zionist and imperialist design against the Arab nation. The aim is to impose hegemony and surrender by force and to cause the starvation and destruction of the Arab peoples. The only difference may be that those other representatives have used an Arabic language which perhaps they have not used gramatically. They have strongly attacked Iraq, but when they dealt with the Palestinian question their language crumbled and their delivery faltered while they heaped praise on the initiatives of their masters.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

In doing this, they seemed to be trying desperately to cover up their participation in the aggression against Iraq. They have totally ignored the trampling of the Arab nation's interests and its legitimate rights to its land, its people and its resources. They totally ignore the stark damning reality of the situation in the Arab nation, where the Zionist entity continues to trample the rights of the Arabs, especially the rights of the struggling Palestinian people, depending on the policies of force and oppression and the unlimited support provided to it by the United States in all fields.

A number of heads of delegations of the countries of the third world have clearly warned that the call for the new world order may simply turn into hegemony by certain powerful countries over the fate of the world, and the exploitation of this Organization to impose resolutions that serve only the narrow interests and special criteria of those countries. This is what Iraq diagnosed most courageously and warned against from the very beginning of the conspiracy against it and has continued to do so up to the present moment.

example of the worst possible aspect of the new world order and the notorious double-standard policy. This entity resorts to the most barbarous forms of occupation of Arab territories, annexes them by force and commits the worst violations of human rights, foremost of which is the abhorrent policy of racial discrimination. It possesses and develops a huge arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. It refuses every peace initiative. Hence, we would be justified in asking: when will the Security Council move to impose international legality? When will the Security Council move to end the Zionist occupation of Arab territories? When will the Security Council move to ward off the threat of extermination which faces the Palestinian people,

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

rid them of the daily suffering of injustice and restore their legitimate rights? When will the Security Council move against the weapons of mass destruction possessed by the Zionist entity?

Are there no violations of international law? Are there no decisions of the Security Council that remain unimplemented? Have we forgotten so many Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 425 (1978) and many, many others? Why this silence?

Some of the advocates of democracy have even stood here to defend the Zionist entity, forgetting the fact that this Organization has issued hundreds of resolutions that condemn that entity over the past decades.

The statement of the Zionist representative and the points he made today are part and parcel of the Zionist campaign to liquidate the Palestinian question, which is the core and crux of the conflict in the region. This campaign aims to liquidate the international dimension of the Palestinian question by marginalizing the role of the United Nations; to foil every attempt to hold a peace conference in accordance with United Nations resolutions; and to marginalize the role of countries other than the United States of America, which is the protector of the Zionist entity.

Therefore, the Zionist representative has ignored any role for the United Nations and he has ignored the two Security Council resolutions, 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). He finds that the solution is merely the concluding of individual agreements with Arab countries, and so he wishes to eliminate the Arab dimension of the Palestinian question, merely reducing it to a problem of refugees who need, perhaps, some resettlement, or to the question of the settlement of Jewish immigrants in lands which he calls Judea and Samaria.

Where is international legality in all this? Where are the Security Council resolutions? Where are the advocates of democracy and freedom?

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

Having read the statement by the Zionist representative, we understand the speech by President Bush and we understand the contents of the statements of those other representatives. They have tried to distort the facts and enshrine the lies, having fully mastered the techniques of propaganda, lying and falsification which they use even against each other. However, history will record the facts, continue to bear witness and will give the facts to the coming generation, however long it may take.

Their accusations against Iraq will never cover up or blot out the truth and the reality of the mass destruction of Iraq and the whole region in the atmosphere, on land and in our waters as a result of the savage bombing of Iraq, in which the most lethal high-tech weapons of destruction were used.

This is also evidenced by the immoral inhuman blockade against the Iraqi people which has continued for over a year with the result that millions of people face the threat of death especially women, children and the elderly, this does not seem to move the conscience of the advocates of human rights and democracy.

Iraq, however, will be patient, will continue to abide by its principles, will continue to uphold its legitimate rights. We shall continue to abide by the principles of right and justice, the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.