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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 2 October 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- General debate [9]: (continued)

- Statements were made by:

Mr. Bayih (Ethiopia)
Mr. Orzechowski (Poland)
Mr. Keita (Mali)
Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain)

- Programme of work

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. BAYIH (Ethiopia): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation and on my own behalf, congratulations on your well-deserved election to preside over the forty-second session of the General Assembly. While expressing our confidence that your diplomatic skill and leadership qualities will enable this session to come to a successful conclusion, I should like to assure you of the full co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation as you discharge your heavy responsibilities.

I take this opportunity also to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Choudhury, for his skilful leadership of the last session of the General Assembly.

May I also convey heartfelt gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his indefatigable efforts in managing the affairs of the United Nations during one of the most difficult periods of its history.

In the context of today's tense world situation, an immediate halt to the arms race is imperative if humanity is to be assured of peace and progress in the coming century. Though the call for disarmament antedated the creation of the United Nations and reverberated throughout the earlier decades of this century, it was the onset of the nuclear era that made that call a most pressing and urgent issue on the international agenda.

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The belief that nuclear weapons provide security, though still embraced by a few, is rapidly becoming out of harmony with the thinking of the international community and is becoming egregiously anachronistic. Indeed, there is now a consensus that the arms race is not only threatening international security, but undermining global development. My delegation therefore believes that measures must be taken to respond quickly to the deeply felt quest of humanity for peace and disarmament. It is heartening to note in this connection that the Soviet Union and the United States recently agreed in principle to effect real disarmament by eliminating intermediate and short-range nuclear weapons.

Further measures, such as the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons and the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, could surely go a long way in creating mutual confidence among the nuclear Powers and facilitating progress in nuclear disarmament.

At this point I must reiterate Ethiopia's conviction that the Soviet Union deserves the tribute of all peace-loving peoples for the numerous courageous initiatives it has taken to rid the world of nuclear arms. The present opportunity for progress towards genuine disarmament should be taken by all concerned, particularly by those attempting to extend the arms race into outer space.

The risks involved in the militarization of outer space are so grave that the call for the abandonment of such a policy should be given the highest priority. The militarization of outer space should be viewed not only in terms of the security danger that the resulting acceleration of the arms race represents, but also in terms of the further diversion of resources that could otherwise be employed to improve the desperate social and economic conditions of the dispossessed in both the developed and the developing worlds.

In this connection, I welcome the results of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which highlighted the direct

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link between disarmament and development and which, we should like to hope, has set in motion the process of development through disarmament. We have no doubt that the \$1 trillion estimated to be the current global military expenditure per year could be better utilized in realizing one of the major purposes of the United Nations - economic and social development.

The deplorable economic and social condition in which much of humanity finds itself should long ago have elicited the genuine concern of those with the means to make a difference. Instead, the grim economic situation characteristic of the developing world as a whole is left to deteriorate even further, to the point that today, in most of those countries, it has reached alarming dimensions.

Although in the final analysis each country has the ultimate responsibility for seeking remedies for its own economic troubles, solutions to externally induced problems require international co-operation and multilateral efforts. This is particularly pertinent to the economic difficulties now confronting developing countries.

The most striking feature of the developing world today is the lack of resources for development, which is the result of the persistent problems of the decline in commodity prices, protectionism and the extremely heavy debt burden shouldered by most. Stagnation in official development assistance has also compounded the problem. In fact, as is widely recognized, several developing countries have become net exporters of financial resources to the developed world.

In the circumstances, the developed world, I submit, has a political and moral responsibility to help developing countries overcome economic predicaments the major causes of which lie beyond their control. The demand that the developing countries need first to put their house in order is obviously not the correct prescription for a malady whose primary source is the external economic

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environment. Protectionist measures that deny access to markets for products of the developing countries, the sharply falling prices of commodities and the debt problem require multilateral solutions.

Regrettably, however, the North-South dialogue within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and elsewhere that has been going on for many years has proved to be far from satisfactory and, indeed, the dialogue at the recently concluded seventh conference of UNCTAD has once again demonstrated that many countries of the North have yet to show the political will to accept multilateral solutions to the multifaceted problems hindering economic recovery and growth in the South.

In this respect, developing countries, while on the one hand making every effort to remind the developed world of its responsibility and self-interest in global development and in the establishment of the new international economic order, need on the other hand to establish and strengthen South-South co-operation on the basis of collective self-reliance. We believe this fact was underlined and the process of co-operation was further advanced by the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on South-South Co-operation, held in Pyongyang last June.

The adverse effects of the global economic environment have been especially severe on the economies of the least developed countries. For Africa, where 27 of the 37 least developed countries are found, the international trading and financial environment has become a major impediment to recovery and to the rehabilitation of the agricultural and other economic sectors, hard hit by the recent catastrophic drought. It is to be recalled that at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the critical economic crisis in Africa, the international community expressed sympathy for Africa's economic plight and pledged assistance to complement the continent's developmental efforts by adopting the

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United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 (resolution S-13/2). Although African countries have since done their level best to implement economic policies falling broadly within the framework of the priority programme adopted by their leaders in July 1985 and the United Nations Programme of Action, the response of the international community towards helping these efforts has proved disappointing.

The sharp decline in export earnings suffered by African countries in 1986, which is continuing in 1987, is hardly conducive to recovery. Far from enjoying effective support for their efforts to revive their economies, African countries have in fact been drained of resources. The external indebtedness of Africa is now estimated to be \$200 billion and, when compared with the continent's total gross domestic product and its total export earnings, represents an unbearable burden. Indeed, the debt-servicing commitments of Africa have eaten up resources that could otherwise have been used for agricultural rehabilitation and for effective implementation of the Priority Programme. Furthermore, the situation has been aggravated by the fall in real terms in official development assistance. It is no wonder the present predicament of African countries has been aptly described as one characterized by financial drought and famine.

African countries are under no illusion that the search for remedies for their economic woes should be left to others. They are indeed determined to bear the burden required to pull themselves out of the excruciating economic crisis that has stifled recovery for so long. However, since some of the major obstacles to recovery are the results of external factors, international co-operation and assistance are indispensable. The international community is therefore called upon to respond favourably to Africa's need for increased financial assistance and to its desire to convene an international conference on Africa's external indebtedness.

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In any discussion of African problems, one cannot fail to refer to the explosive situation in southern Africa, for the diffusion of which the international community in general and the United Nations in particular bear a special responsibility. Today there are few more serious threats to international peace and security, and few greater challenges to the principles upon which this Organization is based and, indeed, no more blatant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms than that represented by the racist Pretoria régime and the apartheid system it so single-mindedly promotes.

The unlawful occupation and continued suppression of the aspirations of the Namibian people by Pretoria in total defiance of the international community continues with impunity. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), has been rendered a dead letter, not because it is an unrealistic plan, but because of the intransigence of Pretoria, which is reinforced by support from a few Governments in the West. Any and all attempts to link the independence of Namibia to other unrelated issues is only a subterfuge for postponing the liberation of the Namibian people, and my delegation feels that the United Nations should not allow itself to be defied by Pretoria indefinitely. Resort should therefore be had without delay to enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, in order to bring the racist régime onto the path of international legality and morality. The imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions is the only peaceful course of action that could expedite the independence of Namibia. Failing this, the suffering people of Namibia would have no alternative but to intensify the legitimate armed struggle under their sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

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Within South Africa itself, the racist régime has continued to deny the black majority of its fundamental human rights and to practice its abhorrent system of apartheid. The world-wide call for comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria is awaiting the response of some Western Governments which still embrace racist Pretoria as an ally and even consider it the last bastion on the African continent of the so-called Western civilization. We should be honest enough to say before this august Assembly, and without fear of contradiction, that the litmus test for one's commitment to human rights is one's attitude towards apartheid. Verbal condemnation of apartheid, which in practice impedes the application of measures to combat this crime against humanity, cannot hoodwink world public opinion and must be abandoned.

Ethiopia, true to its commitment to the total liberation of Africa, joins the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria and expresses its solidarity with the African National Congress and with all patriotic forces engaged in a heroic struggle against the racist régime to regain their freedom and human dignity.

It is a widely acknowledged fact that the régime in South Africa has also continued with impunity its destabilization of, and aggression against, the front-line States. The wanton destruction of property and other economic and social infrastructure, as well as the indiscriminate massacre of civilians, including the young and the aged, are daily occurrences throughout southern Africa. Through direct military incursions into neighbouring countries and through the arming and financing of bandits, Pretoria is still attempting to stifle the struggle for liberation and to suppress even political and moral support for those who are fighting for their fundamental freedoms and national independence.

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In the circumstances, the international community is duty-bound to assist the front-line States to resist Pretoria's aggression and to enable them to overcome their vulnerability to South Africa's economic pressure. In this respect, the establishment by the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries of the Africa Fund is an example that needs to be emulated. Even with its limited capacity, Ethiopia will not fail to extend support to and stand in solidarity with the front-line States.

In addition to the situation in southern Africa, there are numerous other hotbeds of tension that threaten international peace and security. The war between Iran and Iraq, for instance, and the accompanying foreign intervention in the region could easily escalate into a situation with unforeseen consequences to world peace. As has often been stated, this is a war that should never have been started and should never be allowed to continue. The search to find a just and durable solution must, therefore, continue and must be based on the well-known principles and norms of inter-State relations, taking into account the legitimate interests of both parties to the conflict.

As a country not far away from the region, Ethiopia is seriously concerned at the increased presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf. The Gulf is, in our opinion, a natural extension of the Indian Ocean, which the international community has declared a zone of peace. The early convening of the repeatedly postponed international conference on the Indian Ocean could, therefore, go a long way in contributing to the climate of peace and security, not only in the region of the Indian Ocean, but more particularly around the Persian Gulf. As a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean, Ethiopia attaches great importance to the speedy realization of the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and will continue to strive for the early convening of the conference at Colombo. In

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the mean time, we call on all those concerned not to aggravate the situation in the region through military and naval build-up and so-called military exercises.

As regards the situation in the Middle East, Ethiopia once again insists that the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is an issue that should be addressed in any peace formula designed to bring about genuine peace to the region. A lasting peace can only be established when the national rights to the Palestinian people are restored and when the rights of all States of the region to live in peace within recognized boundaries are respected. My delegation also believes that progress towards peace in the region requires the holding of an international peace conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The United Nations has been seized of the questions of Cyprus, Korea, Lebanon, Western Sahara and the situations in south-west and South-East Asia for quite some time. While my Government's views on all these issues are well known, I wish to state that recent developments for peace and national reconciliation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be supported and encouraged by the international community. Efforts to restore the unity and territorial integrity of both Cyprus and Lebanon and to advance the process of the peaceful reunification of the Korean people must be intensified. The Ethiopian delegation believes that the recent proposals presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea could serve as a constructive basis for accelerating the process of peaceful reunification of the Korean people. As regards the question of Western Sahara, we maintain that implementation of the latest decisions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the General Assembly of the United Nations is more urgent now than ever.

When we turn our attention to the situation in Central America, we note with indignation that, in clear contravention of the fundamental principles of respect

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for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, the United States has, during the last nine years, subjected Nicaragua to all sorts of pressure, intimidation and even overt acts of aggression. The intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua directly and through the use of counter-revolutionary bandits masquerading as "freedom fighters", is of course a folly beyond our comprehension. If big States, relying on their military might, are allowed to arrogate to themselves the right to decide on the future of other nations, the world would surely be plunged into anarchy. In this day and age we cannot and must not allow the resurgence of imperialism as the dominant factor in world politics. On the contrary, we must uphold international legality and, in this case, we must all echo the call for full and immediate compliance with the Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986.

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While expressing solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and Government, Ethiopia wishes to commend the efforts of the Contadora and Support Groups, as well as the recent efforts of the countries of Central America collectively to shoulder the responsibility for bringing about peace in their region.

It will be recalled that at its forty-first session the General Assembly, responding to a widely felt need for introducing reforms to improve the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations, adopted resolution 41/213. Although no one with genuine concern for the health of the Organization could belittle the importance of the reforms adopted, we cannot hide our disappointment at the fact that some were tempted to use the reform exercise to attack multilateralism in general and to undermine the authority of the General Assembly in particular.

Furthermore, we should like to state quite openly and with candour that the avowal by the United States of its commitment to reform of the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization while it refuses to pay its assessed contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations cannot but sound hollow. We are, at any rate, gratified to note that, despite the immense political pressure and financial difficulties it has faced in the past few years, the world body is still striving to overcome its difficulties and fulfil the purposes entrusted to it.

Before I conclude my statement, I beg the indulgence of the Assembly to say a few words about the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in September this year - a historic development which we believe will further enhance Ethiopia's international standing and promote regional peace.

The Provisional Military Administrative Council, despite all the efforts to besmirch its image, belittle its achievements and even question its revolutionary and patriotic essence, has today vindicated itself by fulfilling its original

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promise to hand over power to a genuinely representative Government that responds to the aspirations of the Ethiopian people to equality, social justice and progress.

The past 13 years in Ethiopia's history have been years of fundamental changes which not only freed the Ethiopian people from centuries of bondage and servitude but also registered encouraging achievements in the various fields of national endeavour, thus setting the stage for the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The Constitution of the new Republic, which is the supreme law of the land, has been drafted by experts from all relevant disciplines and is firmly based on the historical, cultural, political and economic conditions of the country. The draft of the Constitution was discussed, enriched and amended by the people nation-wide and came into force only after it was endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian people in a national referendum. The National Assembly - or National Shengo - composed of well over 800 deputies, was also formed through a process of democratic elections and in today's Ethiopia constitutes the highest organ of State power.

The first session of the National Shengo, concluded only recently, has issued important proclamations among which figure the historic changes made in the regional administrative structure of the country and in the devolution of power to the regions so as to guarantee the equality of nationalities and facilitate their speedy development. The country is now reorganized into five autonomous and 24 administrative regions. This structure, we believe, will ensure the free exercise by our people of their political, economic and cultural rights, while at the same time safeguarding and consolidating the historical unity of the motherland.

Though the establishment of the Republic represents a milestone in our history and has laid a solid foundation for overall development, we are well aware of the

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fact that long years of hard work and sacrifice are yet required for accelerated social and economic progress. Like other developing countries, Ethiopia suffers from the prevailing unjust international economic system and is still a victim of natural calamities. More particularly, it is now once again exposed to the challenges of the drought which has resulted from the small amount and uneven distribution of precipitation during the main rainy season this year.

As a result we are expecting next year a drastic shortfall in food production in the affected regions. Regrettably, some Governments are already attempting to use our predicaments to promote their own ideology and policy prescriptions by attributing this shortfall to the agricultural policies we have chosen for ourselves. The zealous effort of some, particularly officials of the United States Administration, to promote this point of view is such that this appears to be tantamount to linking natural calamities, from which they themselves are not immune, to the policies we have chosen to pursue. Undeterred by the self-serving pronouncements and actions of others, we will, however, continue to give special emphasis and priority attention to agricultural development and food production.

While the current drought will undoubtedly impede our determined efforts to rehabilitate and develop the agricultural sector of our economy, we have no doubt that with the effective mobilization of our own limited resources and the assistance of the international community we shall be able to overcome this temporary setback so that the aspirations of our people to a better and brighter tomorrow may be realized.

As regards the foreign policy of the People's Democratic Republic, chapter 5 of the new Constitution sets out the basic guidelines. According to article 29:

"The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall strive for
co-operation among peoples, mutual development and the strengthening of

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good-neighbourly relations with adjoining States on the basis of respect for the inviolability of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, the peaceful resolution of conflicts and, in general, the principles of non-alignment."

On the basis of mutual acceptance of these principles, we are ready to forge and strengthen relations with all countries, particularly those which are in our region and with which we have had difficult relations.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others and we expect others to act similarly. We respect the national unity and territorial integrity of other States, and we expect others to respect ours. The establishment of the Republic, with its new regional structures, and the peace process that we have initiated have created, we believe, the necessary favourable atmosphere and conditions for the countries of the region to address the substantive issues that divide them and to establish a long-lasting peace on the basis of mutual respect for the principles and norms of international law and good-neighbourly relations.

Finally, I should like to reiterate our conviction that in the present interdependent world there is no substitute for multilateralism as the best mechanism for solving the various complex international problems confronting humanity. Indeed, we should all be seriously concerned at the various manifestations of hostility to these principles evident in recent years, and as a result must exert every effort to combat such manifestations. We must above all support and strengthen the United Nations as the universal embodiment of multilateralism.

The People's Democratic Republic, whose Constitution explicitly prescribes for Ethiopia active participation in international and regional organizations, affirms its full support for the United Nations and a strong commitment to its Charter principles.

Mr. ORZECZOWSKI (Poland) (spoke in Polish; English text furnished by the delegation): The peoples of the world are turning towards our Organization with interest, expectations and hopes that are higher than ever before. There is a widespread, growing conviction that mankind will be able to survive and solve its problems only through joint efforts, with the participation of the United Nations.

Like every other Member State, Poland is shouldering, to the extent of its strength and aspirations, its share of responsibility for our shared world.

We welcomed with appreciation and hope the historic tentative agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, as stressed by the President of the Council of State of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski, who stated that

"The Polish people, which in its history has had such painful experience of the horrors of war, fully understands the significance of this momentous event, and wholeheartedly endorses it."

We view the Washington agreement as a breakthrough in disarmament negotiations and as a step towards general and complete disarmament. We see it as an opportunity considerably to accelerate the long efforts to establish lasting peace and security and as the start of a new period, when we can begin to defuse the dangers facing our planet, which is excessively charged with explosives. But we know full well that the long-awaited elimination of two classes of deadly missiles is but the beginning of the long road back from the edge of the abyss to which nuclear weapons have brought mankind.

We want to believe that the Soviet-United States agreement will provide a strong impetus for stepping up disarmament negotiations and making progress in the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons based on full compliance with the anti-ballistic missile Treaty. We expect early finalization of an agreement banning chemical weapons. On the agenda as well are negotiations on the

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elimination from Europe of nuclear weapons with a range of up to 500 kilometres and on a reduction of conventional weapons. The world must take a deep breath and rid itself of the political, psychological, economic and social burden of the arms race.

We are deeply convinced of the responsibility of all States, be they large, medium-sized or small, for the future of the world, and of their potential to make a contribution to that future. On many occasions, Poland has spoken out constructively in favour of creating optimal conditions for the peaceful and safe development of our country, of Europe and of the world at large. We have always been aware, however, that the right of a country to security is not without limits. Precisely 30 years ago today, the same philosophy gave rise to the Rapacki plan presented from this rostrum by the then Foreign Minister of Poland on 2 October 1957. The aim of that celebrated initiative was to reduce armaments in the flash-point of Europe and give that region a special status of military security.

At that time Poland was trying to break the habit of thinking of security exclusively in East-West terms. Its proposal covered States belonging to both of the two major military blocs and thus reflected the interests of the whole of Europe. Without abandoning global solutions it pointed to the possibility of regional arrangements.

The ideas of the Rapacki plan remain valid. Unfortunately, they failed to materialize in Europe, to the detriment of that continent and of the world. But they have inspired statesmen and whole nations to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in Latin America, the South Pacific, Africa and Asia. Thousands of towns and cities on all continents have declared themselves to be nuclear-weapon-free zones. Under international agreements, the Antarctic, outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor are zones free from those lethal engines.

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Today, 30 years after the Rapacki plan was put forward, the new positive transformation of the world is benefitting from the Polish initiative on decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe: the Jaruzelski plan. The plan's underlying idea is to halt the arms race and promote confidence in the militarily most sensitive region of Europe: Central Europe. The Jaruzelski plan stems from Poland's national experience, from the traditions of a nation to which history has meted out harsh treatment. At the same time, the plan serves the interests of other peoples and other States of Europe. Although it refers to a single continent, it approaches the issue of security in broader terms. For that reason, it is our duty to set out here in the United Nations its principles and its substance.

First, however, I should like to draw the attention of members to broader issues that have had an impact on the sources, the essence and the shape of that Polish initiative.

We believe it is time to end the very dangerous role of the military factor in the contemporary world. Now, at the end of the twentieth century, there is no place for policies based on military means and on dealing from a position of strength. That underlies the initiatives taken by States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The essence of those initiatives are: the elimination of conventional armed forces and weapons; the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; the prevention of the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space; a ban on chemical weapons; the inadmissibility of the use of military means in the resolution of any dispute; and the corresponding modification of military doctrines. These initiatives are well balanced and open, and are born of the conviction that one cannot build one's own security at the expense of the security of others.

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The current general debate at the forty-second session of the General Assembly demonstrates that this conviction is shared by a growing number of States. We hope that in the interest of their own peoples, and in accordance with the expectations of the international community, the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will respond to the disarmament offer of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

Progress in disarmament must have priority in the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The consistency and flexibility with which the Soviet Union - in the United Nations and elsewhere - is addressing the implementation of the programme for ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 deserves the highest respect and attention. That programme spells out the desires of all mankind.

Mankind's peaceful efforts and expectations manifest the conviction that the unity and harmonious growth of the world require acceptance of the simple truth that the interests of particular regions are part and parcel of the global interests of all nations. The world can develop, nationally and regionally, only with acknowledgement of the political and economic diversity of States and regions, and with mutual co-operation, understanding and respect.

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Guided by those considerations we, together with other socialist States, have proposed the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. We should like it to embrace the most important manifestations of the interests of all mankind, be they military, political, economic, humanitarian or environmental in nature. In an era of ominous nuclear armaments and advanced space research, it is our objective and desire to ensure, for every nation and every individual, through the collective efforts of the international community, the right to life, freedom, peace, prosperity and happiness. Only in this way can we meet the deep concern for the realization, in present-day practice of international relations, of the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations set forth in the Charter, due account being taken of the new values created in the past four decades and of mutual interdependence and common dangers. That was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his recent article on the realities and guarantees of a safe world.

In such a system of international peace and security we also see room for putting into effect the fundamental objectives of Poland's foreign policy.

In Europe, in the region closest to Poland, the main problem of security now is, in effect, eliminating the possibility of a surprise attack. One can no longer walk around the European powder-keg with a lighted match, for sooner or later an explosion is bound to occur with incalculable consequences for the whole world.

Political, economic and cultural relations in Europe, especially those related to the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), do not warrant the current high level of armaments and military preparedness. In the area of Central Europe closest to my homeland, stockpiles of weapons have been amassed far exceeding the defence needs of countries of the region. It is with

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some concern and anxiety that we wonder about the future of European security after the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. Will this really be the starting-point for genuine disarmament, détente and the building of lasting confidence or, on the contrary, for increased conventional armaments and the growth in stockpiles of tactical nuclear weapons?

It is our deepest conviction that favourable conditions exist for ensuring greater security for European States at a considerably lower level of military potential. This conviction is fully reflected in the Jaruzelski plan. It proposes, among other things, the gradual reduction and withdrawal of specific, mutually agreed on, types and quantities of nuclear and conventional weapons and agreement on the elimination of the disproportions and asymmetries in a variety of weapons and armed forces, together possibly with reductions in areas where one side enjoys superiority over the other. Those steps should be matched by appropriate and far-reaching confidence-building and security-building measures, along with a mechanism for thorough verification. The plan also proposes such modification of military doctrines that they would reciprocally be recognized as strictly defensive. The steps taken within the framework of the plan would be based on the principles of equality of rights, reciprocity, equal security of all parties without detriment to the security of any one State.

Appropriate guarantees by nuclear Powers could be one of the conditions for the effectiveness of the measures envisaged in the plan, as well as the security of the States of the region, and respect for their status under the agreement.

The Polish plan is open in nature. It provides genuine possibilities for the partners jointly to select and spell out the means of implementation and to take into account the suggestions and proposals of all the interested States. It is a

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manifestation of the concept of achieving common security through the co-operation of States.

We also support the proposals made by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe.

We take note with satisfaction of the finalization of the study of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research on the diverse effects of the militarization of outer space, which was the goal of the Polish initiative submitted at the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

The sense of security is deeply rooted in the minds of men and stems from the most profound motivations and aspirations for peace as man's supreme value. It is from that standpoint that we approach the third periodic review of the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted on Poland's initiative. In our view the Declaration fulfils its role. This has been confirmed, inter alia, by observances of the International Year of Peace and the massive demands for real disarmament measures voiced then with unprecedented strength. World public opinion has unequivocally confirmed the determination of nations to ensure peace and their readiness to act to strengthen it. In the view of the Polish Government, the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace could play a greater role if their implementation were not entirely discretionary. Therefore we suggest that the General Assembly consider the need and possibility of upgrading the international status of that important document.

According greater priority within the United Nations system to solving humanity's critical social problems, which are the source of many international

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tensions, would constitute an appropriate and welcome step towards a more secure world. The Conference of the European ministers responsible for social affairs held in Warsaw last April, served precisely that purpose.

Respect for human rights constitutes an integral element of the system of international security.

We are pleased that the international community is showing increasing appreciation of the need to humanize international relations. In keeping with the ideals of the United Nations Charter, that stand should lead to a perception of the world as a single entity, the development of which is determined by the interests of mankind and the democratization of international relations.

The implementation of such a humanist view is served, not only by disarmament and broad international co-operation, but by human rights. We have established, within the United Nations system and on a regional scale within the CSCE process, a common basis for realizing those objectives; the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and other relevant documents demonstrate that. We are in favour of their full and creative application by all States. However, they cannot be approached in a selective manner. In the global effort to enhance human rights, greater attention should be devoted to social and economic rights, and access to culture, education and health care. We are also in favour of greater integration of human rights into social development.

Poland supports specific international co-operation and serious discussion in the field of human rights. Accordingly, we have, for instance, supported the proposal to convene in Moscow a broadly representative conference on humanitarian co-operation between the States participants in the CSCE process.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

We have accumulated many positive experiences that we are prepared to share. We do not shy away from taking into account the experience of others provided that such experience is in keeping with mutually recognized values, national traditions and needs. We intend to go further in enhancing human rights and achieving national reconciliation, renewal, ever greater democratization of social relations, and the development of socialist pluralism.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Aware of the role of the family in the social life of nations and States, we have submitted to the Commission for Social Development a draft resolution on the proclamation by the United Nations of an international year of family. We expect that year to be proclaimed for the early 1990s. We view the strengthening of the family as the basic social cell and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and as a concrete contribution to the development of common values for the sake of the present as well as the future of mankind.

We are confident that our initiative, which has also been sponsored by Austria, Canada, Mongolia, Portugal, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Ukraine, and which enjoys the support of many other States, will receive unanimous approval at the current session of the General Assembly.

The comprehensive system of international peace and security proposed by the socialist States means also that greater attention should be devoted to economic growth. A situation which for some nations is tantamount to bare survival while for others it means that they do not know what to do with their surplus goods cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. At a time of considerable growth in international economic interdependence, the establishment of a system of international economic security becomes a fundamental challenge. It is urgently necessary that the efforts of the United Nations be concentrated on ensuring decent and equitable development conditions for all States. The more developed participants in the international economic exchange can no longer treat weaker partners in a condescending manner. Today the latter are already indispensable parties to the development process of the more developed countries, and this will be even more true in the future. The narrowly conceived interests and short-term benefits of the developed countries should not obscure the broader and more fundamental interests resulting from the growing interdependence of all countries.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Poland has consistently supported the building of confidence in international economic relations and has put into effect the concept of international economic security and stable international co-operation, free from restrictions and limitations. We are ready to co-operate with all those that wish to co-operate with us on an equal basis. This means desisting from attempts to lecture others and to impose one's solutions on others. Attempts to make the capitalist market economy the only panacea for all the difficulties and problems of the contemporary world are naive and at odds with the interests of international co-operation. Each nation enjoys the right to choose the path to development which is in keeping with its own interests and historical processes. Entrepreneurship and the free market are not inventions of the capitalist economy alone.

Today economic security is inseparably linked to foreign indebtedness, which has become an issue of global dimensions. The credits received, instead of enhancing the development of debtor countries, are frequently impeding it. Equally frequently they become instruments of political pressure against those States which, for many reasons, are unable to repay their debt. This phenomenon is not limited to the developing countries. At the present time, in this closely interdependent world, indebtedness affects the interests not only of the debtor States but also of the creditors. The latter, in their own best interest, should support the restructuring efforts of the debtor countries and lower the cost of debt servicing. We have been drawing attention to this situation for some time, inter alia by proposing at the fortieth session of the General Assembly that an international debt and development research centre be established under the auspices of the Secretary-General. With a view to facilitating the implementation of this initiative, we set up in Cracow at the end of 1986 a national centre

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

devoted to dealing with these problems. I express the hope that the centre will shortly be associated with the programmes carried out within the framework of the United Nations system.

Poland has also been actively involved in international efforts aimed at increasing the resources allocated for development. Like the overwhelming majority of States, we believe that one of the principal sources of development funds should be the resources which are today squandered on armaments. The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which was held in September, has confirmed the existence of an inseparable link between disarmament and development. We believe that disarmament is a prerequisite for development. The reallocation of resources obtained as a result of arms reduction should not be carried out automatically. It should take due account also of the level and requirements of the internal development of States, reducing military expenditures and promoting co-operation with the developing countries.

The building of a secure and better world will not be possible without stopping the continuing degradation of man's natural environment. Poland attaches major importance to ecological issues. We seek to expand international co-operation in this area. It is with great attention that we have acquainted ourselves with the valuable report of the World Commission on Environment and Development headed by the Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland. We expect that, in keeping with Poland's proposal submitted at the fortieth session of the General Assembly, an increased exchange of environmental protection technology will follow. The resolution adopted at the Conference of the United Nations Environment Programme in Nairobi marked a degree of progress in that area. We hope that the General Assembly, too, will take constructive steps in this regard, at the current session.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Poland supports efforts designed to eliminate the threat to the security of States and individuals posed by international terrorism. We are ready to participate in the establishment of effective international barriers against this dangerous phenomenon. These efforts, however, cannot in any way cause us to disregard the legitimate national liberation struggles that stem from the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

To the extent of our possibilities, we are also endeavouring to contribute to the struggle against the deadly diseases of our day and to finding more effective means of containing drug abuse and preventing the spread of AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome).

I have referred to only some of the most critical aspects of the building of a more secure and better world. Poland has stressed on many occasions, however, that there cannot be a more secure world without the peaceful resolution of regional conflict situations: in the Middle East, on the basis of the return of the occupied territories and respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination; in southern Africa, through the elimination of apartheid and the exercise of the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination; around Afghanistan and Kampuchea, with the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and dialogue with the States concerned; in Central America, with respect for the original initiative of the States of the region; in Europe, with a settlement of the Cyprus problem; and in the Korean peninsula, with the peaceful reunification of the Korean people in accordance with the proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. There will be no safe world without the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran and the solution of the contentious issues between those two States on the basis of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). All States should refrain from unilateral actions and extend resolute support to

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

the Security Council and the Secretary-General. As in past years, we are ready to take part in practical steps aimed at restoring peace to the sensitive regions of the world.

True to the fundamental premises of its policy and the principles of the United Nations Charter, Poland is interested in the promotion of relations with all States based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. It is with satisfaction that we take note of the speeding up of positive changes in Polish-American relations.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

The reopening of the political dialogue and its elevation to higher levels, as well as the lifting of United States restrictions, have paved the way for the normalization and improvement of bilateral relations. We have travelled together a long way, from crisis situations to joint constructive actions, gradually restoring normal relations based on a lasting foundation and universally recognized principles, for the benefit of our nations, peace and international co-operation.

The development of this process calls for new efforts to overcome the obstacles and impediments that still exist. We wish relations between Poland and the United States to be normal and businesslike, based on peaceful coexistence and the rich traditions which bind our two peoples. We are ready for new joint constructive steps in political relations, equitable economic and financial co-operation and cultural, scientific and technological exchanges.

Similarly, it is our desire to promote mutually advantageous contacts with other Western States. We think that substantial progress in the normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the 1970 Treaty would constitute a joint contribution to the strengthening of positive trends, and not only in Europe. We took careful note of the statement of Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the "special quality" of relations with Poland.

All the problems that I have touched upon can be solved through full application of the principles and ideals set out in the Charter of the United Nations. To attain this goal it is indispensable to strengthen our Organization. We must enhance its effectiveness, especially in the key areas of the consolidation of peace, international security, arms control, disarmament and development. We appreciate the efforts of the Organization and its Secretary-General in easing tension and eliminating regional conflicts.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

A substantial contribution to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the world is being made by efforts concerning the codification and progressive development of international law, in particular those of the International Law Commission.

In conclusion, it is with deep satisfaction that I greet in the high office of President of the General Assembly at its forty-second session the representative of the German Democratic Republic, a brother socialist country to which Poland is linked by ties of friendship and co-operation, as well as by a lasting and unalterable boundary of peace between two friendly sovereign States.

At the same time, I should like to extend to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, an assurance of our unswerving respect and our support for his endeavours.

Poland firmly believes that the United Nations offers the best platform for joining words to deeds in inter-State relations and in the peaceful resolution of the basic dilemmas of our times. At the time when we founded this Organization together we were equally convinced of the validity of this statement. This is borne out by the fact that Poland's foreign policy is fully in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations; this has found its expression in, among other things, the Jaruzelski plan, as explained today to the General Assembly.

We are deeply convinced that the constructive, comprehensive nature of the present debate will contribute to the strengthening of the role and significance of the United Nations in the quest for a better, safer, peaceful world.

Mr. KEITA (Mali) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegation of Mali, I should like to join preceding speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I have pleasure in paying tribute to you as a

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

statesman and also a distinguished representative of a country with which Mali has excellent ties of co-operation.

The wealth of your long experience gives promise of real success in our deliberations here.

I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, who, thanks to his competence and dedication, presided so effectively over the work of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

I also pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the renewal of whose mandate to head our Organization shows the high regard in which he is held by the international community.

Article 1 of the United Nations Charter sets forth the objectives of our Organization. They are, inter alia, international peace and security, international co-operation, development and respect for human rights. Although the interdependence of these purposes has often been restated, over the last 20 years particular emphasis has been placed on priority to be given to development programmes. So there has quite rightly been a movement away from the drafting of standards to the application of procedures and the establishment of bodies. Development has become an integral part of all the relevant programmes of the United Nations system.

Yet, despite the United Nations capacity to manage multilateral co-operation for development, the world, in particular the developing world, has been characterized for more than a decade by a continuing deterioration in economic situations. This deterioration in the world economy has been discussed by many speakers, sometimes in a very moving way, and today it has become intolerable for the developing countries.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

The present world economic system embraces relations between States and the internal régimes of those States. The division of the economic system between industrialized countries and developing countries is no justification for structural imbalance or exploitation.

While the developed countries have had positive growth rates, the economies of the developing countries, with rare exceptions, have continued to stagnate or even deteriorate. The combined impact of the constant fall in the export prices of commodities, the constant increase in the prices of imports, the increase in and instability of world interest rates, the excessive and unforeseeable fluctuations in the exchange rates of currencies and the fall in development aid have led to a deterioration in the economic situation of the developing countries, in particular the less-developed of them.

While for many countries exports guaranteed their ability to repay their external debts, creditors adopted protectionist measures and other discriminatory practices having a similar impact against exports from developing countries. These factors militated against the growth of the world economy in general and the economy of the developing countries in particular. To repay foreign debts, these countries have been forced increasingly to transfer abroad resources that should be available for development. Not always having those resources available, and in order to honour deadlines, they have been forced to ask for new loans, thus getting into a vicious circle, the outcome of which is difficult to foresee and which in any event will not help them to regain solvency.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

However, we have to recognize that most of those countries have made tremendous efforts towards achieving structural adaptations in their economies. Continuous rescheduling, the adoption of austerity measures and basically restrictive adjustments have not been able to slow down or ease the burden of foreign debt. Notwithstanding the heavy sacrifice, the expected results have not always been attained. Unfortunately, in many instances the situation has even deteriorated.

It is time for all those involved to consider the implications of the foreign debt of developing countries so as to arrive at solutions that are more just and humanely acceptable. Such an approach would involve initiating a real dialogue and effective consultations between debtors and creditors on the basis of shared responsibility and within the context of a strategy oriented towards growth and development. It is time for creditors to understand that strengthening national economies, improving collective negotiating positions and remedying the fundamental imbalances of all kinds are indispensable elements for economic and political security. It is only if those conditions are met that the advent of the just and democratic society so wholeheartedly desired by the United Nations can become a reality.

Mali endorses the idea of inviting the international community to consider, as soon as possible, the series of initiatives adopted by the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 with a view to bringing an equitable solution to the debt crisis and to the imbalance in the international economic system. It reaffirms its commitment to the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development and the proposals to relaunch the

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North-South dialogue, including global negotiations, the programme on immediate measures and, lastly, the convening of a conference on currencies and finance.

It is essential to relaunch the global negotiations that are currently frozen, in order to arrive at a consensus on the establishment of a new international economic order that is more just and more equitable and that will put an end to its many current distortions. Today the North-South dialogue is, for developed and developing countries alike, an unavoidable imperative. In this connection the results of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) justify many hopes, provided that the conclusions and recommendations are followed by concrete measures of implementation.

The serious economic concerns have not made us forget the equally disturbing disruptions in the international political situation. Foremost among these is apartheid, that abominable practice which has accurately been declared a crime against humanity. The racists in Pretoria have already demonstrated to the international community that they are the enemies of peace, both in South Africa and throughout the region. While developments throughout the world show that it is time to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the black majority, the racist minority in Pretoria is stubbornly perpetuating the abhorrent system of apartheid.

In Namibia, as in South Africa, every day people are arrested, tortured and killed for the sole crime of having peacefully demonstrated against pass laws, forced displacement to bantustans and arbitrary arrests.

Ten years ago, when the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), the world recognized that the process of independence for Namibia had entered a decisive phase, and more than one observer rightly thought that Namibia would soon regain its independence. Unfortunately the advocates of apartheid persist in linking independence for Namibia to questions having nothing to do with Security

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

Mali stands in solidarity with the heroic struggle of the liberation movements in South Africa. We also support the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole, authentic representative. Hence we have always advocated the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Those positions flow from Mali's conviction that peace and harmony can reign in southern Africa only after apartheid is abolished and Namibia has acceded to independence.

It is in the name of that peace and that harmony that my country encourages the steps now under way to find appropriate solutions to the other tensions and conflicts that disrupt Africa, in Chad and Western Sahara. In contributing to a positive solution to those various crises, the international community would be doing tremendous service to the peoples of those regions and to Africa as a whole.

With regard to the Middle East, Mali is concerned over the tragic fate of Palestinians and the situation in Lebanon. It can never be said too often that the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East problem and that peace can never reign in the region until there is a just and lasting solution to the question.

Accordingly the international community advocates the convening of an international peace conference in the Middle East. Unfortunately, that proposal has encountered opposition because there is a desire to settle the Palestinian problem without the Palestinian people and the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative.

Very near to occupied Palestine and martyred Lebanon, the brother peoples of Iran and Iraq are killing each other. Mali is profoundly concerned over that fratricidal war and repeats its appeal for an end to the tragic conflict. In this

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context my delegation hails the recent peace mission of the Secretary-General to the region, and we urge him to persevere in his efforts.

Similarly, dialogue must triumph over weapons, and war yield to peace, in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

On the question of the Korean peninsula, Mali has often expressed its position on the matter and supports the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation.

Mali is opposed to any partition in Cyprus. That is why my Government supports initiatives to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

Committed to a return to peace in Central America, Mali welcomes the peace agreement concluded on 7 August 1987 in Guatemala City. Furthermore, it encourages the Contadora Group and the Support Group to continue their efforts to bring peace and co-operation to that region.

Our peoples want to live in a world where peace will be guaranteed on a lasting basis through genuine disarmament. To that end, we must become convinced of the imperative need to limit defence systems and the geographical proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. My country welcomed the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development and prospects for continued dialogue between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The step-by-step approach to questions will help to establish the climate of mutual trust so essential in the search for appropriate solutions. What is at stake is of vital significance to the human race, for its very survival is in the balance.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

My delegation welcomed the recommendations made last year to enhance the effectiveness of our Organization. While supporting those recommendations, we emphasize that criteria for choosing measures to implement them must take account of the universality of our Organization and its objectives, which can in no way be identified with those of a commercial enterprise.

(Mr. Keita, Mali)

In this situation, marked by violence and by the continuing and disturbing deterioration in international relations, we must reaffirm that our Organization is an irreplaceable mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Whether it be a question of collective security, dialogue between rich and poor countries, peace and disarmament, or the international economic crisis, our Organization has served as an appropriate forum for the reconciling of views, a place where many answers have been given to many questions.

Lastly, the international situation in the economic and political spheres continues to be a matter of serious concern. However, day by day man demonstrates that he is able to take action to affect his environment. Perhaps, alongside the prodigious scientific and technical developments, man must get down to dealing with another kind of development, namely, cultural development. We should not confuse such development with that of knowledge or of how to do things. What I refer to is developing our understanding of how to live so that people can accept one another, transcending their differences, so that generosity, solidarity, tolerance and freedom can inspire all people in their daily lives.

In any event, our Organization, because of its vocation, can play a role in this new cultural development. May I here reconfirm my country's belief in, and dedication to, those ideals of peace, security, democracy, equality and freedom.

Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to offer you, Sir, the sincerest congratulations of the delegation of the State of Bahrain on your assumption of the presidency of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. I should like to assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation in discharging the duties of your high office.

I take this opportunity also to express my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, for the competence and prudence he displayed in guiding the proceedings of the forty-first session and for the great efforts he exerted towards its success.

I should also like to express deep appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his relentless efforts to enhance both the role of the Organization and its efficiency in fulfilling its international responsibilities for the well-being of the world community and in the interests of freedom and global peace.

This year the United Nations General Assembly is meeting as the spectre of war looms large over different parts of the world and as political, social and economic problems worsen by the day. Faced with such conditions, our only consolation could well be our faith in man's ability to adjust to reality and in his insistence on contending with difficulties in the hope of overcoming his troubles and solving his problems. It was in response to this will on the part of man that the United Nations came into being, to seek solutions for such problems and to meet the challenges in order to save the world from the scourge of war and the perils of chronic economic crises.

Today's world is shackled to the bonds of tension and threats of war. Troubled international relations have become a characteristic of our times and a dangerous phenomenon threatening the future of coming generations. Although the

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Charter of the United Nations proclaims the fundamental and main objective of the Organization to be the prevention of future wars and specifies that international relations should be based on co-operation, interdependence and mutual respect, as well as on the principles of good-neighbourliness, aggression and hegemonism continue to be dominating trends in the contemporary world, thus further complicating matters year after year.

With peace and development being the main preoccupations of this world, one cannot but feel frustrated at seeing, after many years, the same major international problems still being inscribed on the agenda of this Organization, with no concrete progress being made towards their resolution, even though the majority of the international community recognizes the danger they constitute to the stability and security of mankind. Thus, if this year, as in previous years, we are meeting to consider our common political and economic issues, driven by hope and brought together by a resolute determination to solve our problems in order to establish international relations based on justice and equity, then our deliberations and points of view must rise to the level of our responsibility, in accordance with our commitments under the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

A cause for optimism and satisfaction on our part is the marked improvement in the relations of the two super-Powers. This no doubt creates a better international climate for promoting confidence and building bridges between East and West, in particular as regards the elimination of medium-range missiles and their nuclear warheads. This should pave the way towards finding solutions to the major international problems which threaten peace and security, reducing military tensions and easing the political crises in various parts of the globe.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations provided an excellent opportunity to discuss the achievements of the world Organization since its inception in 1945, its success in solving certain important political problems and its enormous efforts in the various areas of economic, social and cultural co-operation, thus affirming its natural role as an international forum for dialogue and consultation among States and for the peaceful settlement of their disputes. The United Nations system and specialized international organizations also played a prominent role in the fields of decolonization, human rights, development, the status of women, health, education, mother and child care, the problems of refugees, the environment and population, in addition to the many other areas of economic, social and cultural co-operation, too numerous to recall here.

Profound political and economic changes have taken place since the inception of the United Nations. In the 1960s, the decolonization process resulted in an increasing number of newly-independent States joining the membership of the Organization, thereby causing a change in its composition and the balance of power within it. Thus, the United Nations shifted from a system controlled by a limited number of States to a more democratic one in which the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played a distinctive and prominent role. The 1970s also, brought forth changes, in the political and economic fields. Deliberations on the establishment of a new international economic order acquired political and economic dimensions never before experienced by the United Nations, especially after the emergence of interdependence as a reality and its positive effects in the area of multilateral co-operation, which we have been experiencing and living with every day.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

Some may hold the conviction that in its present state, the United Nations does not fulfil the role entrusted to it by the Charter, particularly in the realm of the maintenance of international peace and security. However, objectivity dictates that no judgement, whether in favour of or against the Organization, should be made until there has been a less abstract and more precise examination based on an evaluation of the conditions under which the Organization was created and the nature and limits of the authority and powers accorded to it, in the light of the political events and the circumstances of international relations then prevailing.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

It is difficult to deny that even when the United Nations has been unable to achieve decisive results in solving some important problems, because of the circumstances of international conflict, it nevertheless has succeeded in reducing tensions and crystallizing world public opinion through collective diplomacy, which, in view of the intertwining of international relations, is the only method capable of settling disputes by peaceful means.

We live in a fast-developing world. Technological advances proceed at such a pace that it is hard to keep up with them. Thus, despite relentless attempts on the part of the United Nations to modernize and develop methods that respond to international changes, it has not always been able to keep abreast of the multitude of new technologies. There exists a gap between the rate at which the world is developing and the ability of the United Nations and its institutions to keep pace with certain scientific developments. We therefore believe that concerted efforts within the framework of the international Organization to explore urgently the best ways to adapt to today's world have become a pressing necessity. The United Nations is here to stay. We must support it and help it evolve into what we meant it to be: a mechanism that can keep step with technological and scientific progress, as well as an instrument for economic development and for the maintenance of peace, security and stability in the world.

We speak of the lofty purposes and noble principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter as being the basis of conduct by States and of the peaceful settlement of disputes between them, in conformity with the principles of international law, while in several regions of the world international security continues to be threatened. The Arabian Gulf region, in particular, has for the past seven years been suffering from the scourge of a senseless war whose dangers have increased as its scope has widened and whose flames have been fanned to such

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an extent that the war is almost out of control and is becoming difficult to contain. For seven years the entire Gulf region has been living in a state of tension and disquiet as a result of the continuation of this war, which has seriously jeopardized the region's security and changed its peaceful and tranquil life into a life of strain and turmoil - first because of the threats to international maritime routes and then because of the attacks on commercial vessels, the laying of marine mines, and the various dangers of destruction to which the people of the region are exposed.

Thus, there has arisen a constant danger to freedom of international navigation. As a result, many nations now maintain a heavy military presence in the region, which could cause grave developments. In addition, Iran's shelling with rockets of residential areas south of Kuwait and the abuse of religious rites of pilgrimage in the Holy City of Mecca by Iranian pilgrims have led to an escalation of tensions, which could further complicate the war and widen its scope. The Co-operation Council of the Arab States of the Gulf has warned of the consequences of such a destructive war and expressed its willingness to undertake any peaceful endeavour aimed at ending the war. Time is precious. We feel that we have entered the countdown stage, and the search for a just and speedy solution to this bloody war between Iran and Iraq has therefore now become even more compelling.

We repeat today what we have already frequently stated: The lessons of history and experience teach us that this war does not serve the interest of either party to the conflict or of any of the other States of the region. Hence, we regard Security Council resolution 598 (1987) - which specified that the bases for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict between the two sides were a cease-fire and withdrawal to international borders - as a most important endeavour emanating

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from the conscience of the international community, an expression of its increased concern over this dangerous war.

In that context, we applaud the positive response of brotherly Iraq to the regional and international appeals and initiatives, in which it expressed its willingness to implement Security Council resolutions 582 (1986) and 598 (1987). We also once again address a sincere appeal to Iran to comply with the international will and to the endeavours of the Secretary-General by implementing, in its entirety and as an indivisible whole, Security Council resolution 598 (1987) calling for an end to the war. We are hopeful that the Security Council will maintain its unanimity with respect to the implementation of that resolution without delay, and impose on the non-complying party the sanctions called for in the Charter, in order to put an end once and for all to this tragic conflict.

The question of Palestine has two basic dimensions: the land and the people. Both are still prey to the avaricious designs of Israel and world Zionism, within the framework of an international colonialist conspiracy aimed at Palestine, the land and the people - a conspiracy which, since 1948, Israel has used to wage successive wars of aggression against the Palestinian territories and the territories of other neighbouring Arab States.

The great tragedy forced on the Palestinian people is that of a people deprived of its homeland, driven out of its homes and forced to live dispersed in exile, in conditions of injustice, suppression, persecution and expulsion, constantly subjected to attempts to obliterate its Palestinian personality and identity, desecrate its Holy Places, confiscate its property, plunder its natural resources and deprive it of all means for a decent life. And all this is done while Israel continues illegally to establish settlements in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

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Despite the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council in this respect, including resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) - which stressed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of armed force and clearly demanded the withdrawal of the invading forces from the occupied Arab territories and a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict by peaceful means under the auspices of the United Nations - Israel has not complied with the international will and has continued its aggression by occupying more and more Arab territories.

The same arrogance, insolence and total disregard for resolutions has been apparent in the treatment that Israel has accorded those adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and other international organizations which have recognized the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return, and their rights to exercise self-determination and establish their own State on their soil and homeland, like all other peoples of the world.

Just as Israel has rejected the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, so too has it ignored the many United Nations resolutions condemning its aggression against Lebanon. It has refused to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolutions 501 (1982) and 508 (1982), calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories invaded in 1982. Israel continues to this very moment to occupy areas along the entire length of the southern border of Lebanon, spreading destruction there and practising against its innocent population the most abhorrent kinds of injustice and torture.

What I have just said is not intended to open the files on the question of Palestine, which is well-documented in the records of the United Nations and with which most members are familiar. Rather, it is meant to draw attention to the gravity of the present situation in the Middle East as a result of the aggressive

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and expansionist policies still pursued by Israel, regardless of the resolutions of the international Organization in this respect. However, if the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are insufficient to deter Israel, it becomes the responsibility of the entire international community to take a clear and unequivocal stand against such total disregard of, and shameless indifference to, the Organization, its Charter and its resolutions.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

Desirous of preserving the peace and security of the region, the Arab States declared, in the Fez Plan of 1982, their acceptance of the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute under the aegis of the United Nations and in accordance with its relevant resolutions. Such a constructive step by the Arab States received no positive response from Israel, which even refrained from proposing any alternative formula for ending the state of war, thus renouncing all international customs and laws. In the face of such an arrogant Israeli attitude, we believe there can be no alternative but to support the decision of the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983, which calls for convening the peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices and supervision of the United Nations with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The confidence and respect which the United Nations commands make it the only international forum capable of finding a comprehensive and just solution to the problem.

Our principled position on the Afghanistan question has already been clarified at previous sessions. It is based on our adherence to the principles embodied in the Charter, which prohibit the threat or use of force in international relations and renounce all forms of intervention, armed or otherwise, by any State in the internal affairs of another. We believe that the only way to settle this question peacefully is through the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and respect for the right of the Afghan people to choose freely, without any foreign pressure or interference, the political, social and economic system to which they aspire.

The minority régime in South Africa continues to apply its abhorrent system of apartheid and to practise all kinds of suppression and persecution against the black majority, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a gross violation of

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fundamental human rights. Its continued illegal occupation of Namibia is an outrageous challenge to the resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. In addition, its repeated attacks against its neighbours, in open aggression against the sovereignty of States Members of this Organization, is convincing evidence of the disregard that régime holds for all principles and international conventions, demanding a firm stand by the entire international community against such challenges and inhuman practices.

The so-called reforms which have recently been adopted by the Government of South Africa, claiming that they would cause détente in racial relations, have not resulted in any improvement in the political situation of the black majority in South Africa nor in their living conditions. Thus the measures adopted by the Pretoria régime in past years have proved a failure in effecting any real reforms with regard to equality of rights between the black majority and the white minority. Moreover, the policy of apartheid still forms the core of the political thought of the Pretoria régime. We believe there will be no way out of this abnormal and inhuman situation until the black majority attain their political rights in full. As regards Namibia, the State of Bahrain is still convinced that the only basis for an internationally acceptable solution to the question is specified in the United Nations plan, as embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

Despite the rapid spread of technology, the successive scientific advances in various fields and the notable increase in agricultural productivity, the gap between the developed and developing countries is still widening, while underdevelopment and poverty are daily on the rise in the developing world. The deep economic depression which hit the world in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s had negative effects on the economic and social conditions in the developing

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countries. The situation further worsened when the economic recovery which the developed countries had been witnessing in recent years failed to cause a parallel recovery in the economies of the developing countries.

This deterioration in the world economic situation necessitates a radical solution to the problems of recession and depression, which had serious adverse effects on the economic and social development plans in the developing countries and increased the wide gap between the standards of living in the countries of the North and the South. The economic situation in the least-developed countries has acquired tragic dimensions, owing to the fragility of their economies and their dependence on foreign aid, which make them extremely vulnerable to any unfavourable changes in the world economy. We believe that the policies and measures arrived at during the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), with a view to addressing the problems facing the world economy, merit all our attention since they undoubtedly could, if implemented, contribute to the revitalization of development, economic growth and international trade.

The dangers facing the international monetary system as a result of the foreign debt burden of the developing countries, amounting to \$1 trillion, is another problem which, owing to the current crisis and receding economic growth rates, is an ever-worsening one.

The debt problems between the North and the South can, in our view, be contained through the integration of the developing countries into the international trade system and strengthening its financial and economic ties. It is to be hoped that the competent organs of the United Nations, such as UNCTAD, will play, with the co-operation of such specialized agencies as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, an active and positive role in improving the

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international economic situation and assisting the developing countries, in order to create a better world, where prosperity and well-being are prevalent.

Neither the substantial scientific and technological accomplishments nor the tremendous advances in the field of communication and transportation have, regrettably, helped in achieving the desired understanding among States. Mankind has never been confronted with a greater danger than the one it now faces. Not only does the global arms race today threaten the future of mankind with destruction, but it can also lead to its extinction. The enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the major Powers are capable of erasing all traces of life on this planet in a few seconds, and therein lies the importance of the United Nations and its role as an instrument for finding the most appropriate formula for co-operation and coexistence among the countries of the world, on the basis of mutual trust and security.

As we approach the threshold of the twenty-first century, let us not lose sight of the fact that all peoples of the world are inhabitants of one planet, and that our future and common fate depend on the extent of our co-operation in finding a way out of our insecure present to a more radiant and optimistic tomorrow.

Thanks to the humane purposes and noble principles of our Organization, there are gathered under its umbrella today all the peoples of the world, irrespective of their differing political, economic and social systems. My delegation hopes, therefore, that the present session will adopt the appropriate decisions necessary to confront those global problems which, if not met with organized collective action, can have disastrous consequences for mankind. We also hope that the United Nations efforts to maintain peace, realize justice and provide security for the nations of this world will meet with success and that Member States will exert

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their utmost efforts to ensure that all human resources are utilized for the benefit of mankind and not wasted on the arms race or the manufacture of weapons of destruction.

Once again I reiterate that my country, Bahrain, stands ready to co-operate fully with the other Member States in order to achieve for our peoples those goals of freedom, well-being and progress to which we all aspire; to promote international efforts aimed at establishing a just, comprehensive and durable peace, in accordance with the lofty objectives and principles of the Charter; to strengthen international co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields; and to build a better, more secure world wherein prosperity, progress and development prevail.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to give members an outline of the tentative programme of plenary meetings for the month of October in order to help delegations plan their work.

As the General Assembly decided at its third plenary meeting, Monday, 12 October, will be devoted to the observance, under item 12, of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

On Tuesday, 13 October, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization" and item 13, "Report of the International Court of Justice"; and, in the afternoon, we shall begin consideration of item 24, "The situation in Kampuchea".

On Thursday, 15 October, the Assembly will take up item 22, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference"; item 23, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States"; and item 15 (a), "Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council".

(The President)

In accordance with a decision taken by the Assembly at its third plenary meeting, prior to the consideration of sub-item 82 (e) in the Second Committee, concerning environment, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development will be introduced in a plenary meeting on the morning of Monday, 19 October.

On that same day, the Assembly will consider item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

On Tuesday, 20 October, item 126 (b) "Convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of an international conference to define terrorism and to differentiate it from the struggle of peoples for national liberation" will be introduced at the plenary meeting in the morning before it is considered by the Sixth Committee.

In the afternoon of that same day, the Assembly will take up item 15 (b), "Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council". The Assembly will also begin consideration of the question of the prevention and control of AIDS (acquired immune-deficiency syndrome). It will do so under item 12, "Report of the Economic Council", chapter VI, section C, of which deals with international co-operation and co-ordination within the United Nations system.

On Wednesday, 21 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 34, "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives".

On the morning of Monday, 26 October, the Assembly will take up item 26, "International Year of Peace", and in the afternoon, will begin consideration of item 21, "Critical economic situation in Africa: United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990".

(The President)

On Tuesday, 27 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up item 20, "Return or restitution of cultural property to the countries of origin".

On Wednesday, 28 October, in the morning, the Assembly will consider item 25, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity"; item 140, "Observer status for the African Development Bank in the General Assembly"; item 142, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States"; and item 143, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Latin American Economic System".

In the afternoon of the same day, the Assembly will take up item 16 (b), "Election of twelve members of the World Food Council", and item 16 (c), "Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination".

It is, of course, understood that Committee reports will be considered as they become available.

Lastly, I should like to point out that observance of World Food Day will take place on Friday, 16 October, in the morning.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.