



General Assembly

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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 30 September 1985, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. DE PINIES	(Spain)
later:	Mr. SARRE (Vice-President)	(Senegal)
later:	Mr. DE PINIES (President)	(Spain)
later:	Mr. MOSELEY (Vice-President)	(Barbados)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Maynard (Bahamas)  
Mr. Malile (Albania)  
Mr. Essebsi (Tunisia)

Address by General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand

A statement was made by:

Mr. Herbert (Saint Christopher and Nevis)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MAYNARD (Bahamas): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas and on my own behalf, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this body. Yours is a challenging task, which I have every confidence you will execute with aplomb and with the dignity befitting such a high office, particularly during this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Your diplomatic experience and skill augur well for a successful session.

I would also take this opportunity to commend Ambassador Lusaka for the excellent manner in which he conducted the business of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His abundant knowledge, cheerful manner and qualities of leadership enabled him to guide the Assembly through the difficult issues of his term of office.

In addition, I am pleased to note this year with great appreciation the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to uphold and bring to fruition the high ideals and principles for which this great Organization stands.

As the United Nations commemorates its fortieth anniversary, I recall with pleasure that over the years significant efforts have been made by the Organization to realize its purposes and principles as expressed in the Charter to which all of us as Members subscribe. Critics of the United Nations would have the world believe that the Organization is not effective in world affairs, that it is no longer the best tool to promote and maintain international peace and stability, but I say to such critics, what if there were not a United Nations? What if there were not a multilateral forum wherein nations could sit together and discuss their

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

problems in an atmosphere of order and civility? I would hate to consider the perils of a world without a United Nations. As a noted commentator said at the birth of this Organization, "the world is inherent in the United Nations as an oak is in an acorn".

Therefore I am pleased to note the varied efforts being undertaken by Member nations to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. All over the world, national ceremonies, concerts, conferences, workshops, seminars and other events have been planned to commemorate the fortieth anniversary and, I trust, to serve as a recommitment by Member nations to their obligations under the Charter and its fundamental purposes.

I have taken note of the recommendations made at the meeting of past Presidents of the General Assembly. The ideas put forward by the Presidents reflect years of experience, knowledge and familiarity with the United Nations system and provide important advice as to how that system could be improved. Therefore it is my hope that due attention will be given to those recommendations.

The Bahamas, in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary, has throughout this year sought to revive the spirit of the United Nations through a series of lectures and displays in schools, government departments and service organizations. This we shall continue to do as our way of recognizing and asserting the importance of the United Nations.

This fortieth anniversary year is a fitting occasion for us to renew our commitment and dedication to the achievement of world peace. On 24 October 1985, when 1986 is declared the International Year of Peace, I urge that we all recommit ourselves to the fulfilment of the admonition of this General Assembly expressed in 1982, namely,

"to devote a specific time to concentrate the efforts of the United Nations and its Member States to promote the ideals of peace and give

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

evidence of their commitment to peace in all viable ways" (resolution 37/16).

The global economy continues to be plagued by serious problems which demand our urgent attention. Such problems are exceptionally acute in developing countries, as the debt crisis has placed a severe burden on their economies. Protectionism threatens to exacerbate further our trade imbalance. Additionally, the international financial system has failed to respond effectively and efficiently to the plight of the poorer countries. The structural adjustments necessary to effect long-term solutions can be achieved only with the co-operation of the North and the South.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

From a long-term perspective, we must bolster the adequacy and efficiency of the international monetary and financial systems with a view to stabilizing international financial conditions and rendering them less capricious. This calls for, among other things, a wider sharing of the adjustment burden, ongoing consultations between debtors and creditors, international assistance to developing countries on debt management at the national level, including information on all aspects of external debt, and the application of the multi-year rescheduling mechanism to more debtor countries.

We therefore concur with the view that, in an effort to mitigate future world economic crises, the traditional roles of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must be expanded so that they might operate in a manner which would, first, facilitate adjustment processes, which at once sustain inflationary growth and protect and improve basic living standards; secondly, provide them with a catalytic stimulus to mobilize greater flows of private capital; thirdly, improve external debt management by developing better early warning and debt rescheduling mechanisms; and, fourthly, temper, rather than reinforce, cyclical fluctuations.

The world has been visibly shaken by the devastating effects of the drought situation in sub-Saharan Africa and the untold human suffering it has engendered. The Bahamas commends the laudable efforts of the international community, which have, to some extent, alleviated this dire situation. The Bahamas was pleased to be a part of this timely international endeavour.

Alleviation of the acute situation may be acceptable as a short-term measure. To overcome the prevailing economic and environmental problems, however, increased sensitivity on the part of donor countries and international financial institutions is as vital as domestic policy reforms.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

Realistically speaking, the international community has no alternative but to come to grips with the interdependence of countries, not only in terms of international peace and security but also in terms of the global economy. This would of necessity involve the immediate strengthening of multilateral co-operation. Our challenge is to create a new era of prosperity. It is imperative, then, that we make the choices which lead to expansion of economies and markets.

Everyone agrees that, if the arms race continues to escalate, all mankind would be annihilated. I am therefore amazed that billions of dollars are being spent on the acquisition of arms while millions of human beings are starving to death because of the unavailability of food.

The international community has been seized of the question of disarmament since 1945 and to date we can point to few resolutions on disarmament that have been implemented. More than ever before there is the need to develop strong measures for a freeze on nuclear and conventional arms and to abolish the use of chemical weapons. States must be encouraged to adopt the concept of interdependence as the main course to positive solutions.

To help make disarmament a reality, my Government welcomes regional approaches in establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones, or peace zones, as deterrents. We further support the view that effective implementation can be achieved in the following manner: first, the initiative must come from all States in the region; secondly, provision for compliance and verification must be made; thirdly, all parties should be prohibited from developing nuclear explosive devices; and, fourthly, existing security arrangements should not be disturbed to the detriment of regional and international security.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

My Government is confident that, if serious negotiations are carried out at the forthcoming summit meeting between the Heads of State of the United States and of the Soviet Union, positive and concrete steps towards slowing the arms race could be realized.

In the past few years the matter of the security of small States has been addressed in various international bodies, including the General Assembly. The Commonwealth, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) have all played an important role in identifying the problems of small States.

Small States are particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of the international economic system. When global economic crises occur, the already fragile economic structures of small States are further weakened. Also, many small States, like the Bahamas, are archipelagos, and their configuration makes the absence of adequate transportation and communication a formidable obstacle to economic development. Added to this disadvantage is the fact that many small States, particularly in the Caribbean region, face the threat of exclusion from international developmental aid on the grounds that they are not among the most needy. The World Bank's process of "graduation" is one that ignores the real needs of small States. In particular, it overlooks the need to develop the domestic economic infrastructure of many small States.

Equally important in the economic context is the fact that a large number of small States are constantly grappling with the need to develop economic alternatives in societies that operate largely on one major source of economic activity.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

Many small States are prone to natural disasters, such as hurricanes, tornadoes and floods. The precautions for, and the aftermath of, such natural disasters cause a severe drain on scarce resources.

Various illegal activities threaten the stability and security of many small States. It has been the fate of the Bahamas, due to our archipelagic make-up, to be the subject of a significant illicit transit traffic in narcotic drugs, violations of air and maritime space, and illegal fishing. At times, we have been virtually helpless in the face of these adverse developments. Other small States have experienced illegal flows of arms and migration. The smallness of our populations and, in some cases, the wide dispersal of territory, does not easily enable us to police our borders.

In the presence of larger, more powerful neighbours who threaten their territorial and political integrity many small States feel compelled to incur the expense of building up a defence force at great cost in manpower and financing.

Given the difficulties many small States face in the economic sphere and in allocating human, financial and other resources to combat illegal activity, and in endeavouring to maintain their territorial and political integrity, it is incumbent upon the international community to help sustain their economic viability and assure their sovereignty. The Bahamas, a developing island State, would appeal to the international community to adhere strictly to the rules and norms enunciated in the Charter, which are indispensable to the stability and security of small States.



(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

The Government and the people of the Bahamas have already conveyed their profound sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of the Republic of Mexico regarding the recent disastrous earthquakes. In this connection, my Government was happy to become a sponsor of the United Nations resolution on international relief to Mexico and applauds the swift action taken by this Assembly in adopting it.

The Government of the Bahamas is gravely concerned about the deterioration of the situation in the Central American sub-region, which further imperils regional and international peace and security.

We believe that the threat or use of force can only be counter-productive and should not be resorted to by any country. We therefore continue to support the Contadora Group in its efforts to bring about a negotiated solution to the problems of that sub-region. To this end we concur with the view of the Contadora Group that the Governments of Central America must take action to implement the agreements arrived at in the Document of Objectives of September 1983.

The Government of the Bahamas believes that the path to peace in the Middle East, while elusive, is one which the international community must continue to seek with tenacity. The crucial milestones on this path are as varied and tenuous as the conflicts themselves. Recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to a State of their own, implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and recognition of the right of Israel and all States in the region to exist peacefully would, we believe, go a long way towards establishing stability in that region.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

Similarly, the tragedy of Lebanon has been played on the world stage for far too long and must be brought to an end. This calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country, with concomitant recognition and respect for its territorial integrity and sovereignty. There is one ray of light and hope in this dark, tragic state of affairs: the realization that a solution must be just, lasting and comprehensive.

A solution to the Cyprus problem has eluded us for far too long, and now once again recent developments in that country pose a serious threat to international peace and security in that region. The Bahamas takes the view that peace, human freedom and social and economic development are indivisible. We urge the speedy implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The Iran-Iraq conflict continues to contribute to the instability, fragility and volatility of the entire region and we believe that every effort should be made through the Security Council and other diplomatic channels, involving closely those most aware of the dynamics of the region, to bring this conflict to an end.

Our commitment to human rights should not be confined within our national borders but also be reflected in the international spirit of recognizing the fundamental and human rights of each and every individual. The Bahamas guarantees the full enjoyment of human rights to each and every citizen and resident, as outlined in articles 16 to 27 of its Constitution. Furthermore, article 28 provides for redress in the case of violation of human rights. The Bahamas, in its 12 years as an independent sovereign nation, has maintained the protection of human rights as a basic priority and it is our firm intent to remain thus committed.

We take this opportunity to stress anew the importance of guaranteeing fundamental rights to human beings and recognizing that this principle is essential to the strong growth and development of individual nations as well as of the international community. May we in particular utilize 10 December, Human Rights

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

Day, of this fortieth anniversary year, to renew with a fresh commitment and dedication the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Government and people of the Bahamas are heartened by the continuing and heightened defiance of the system of apartheid by the majority of South Africans. We are appalled by that abhorrent political, economic, social and legislative structure which denies fundamental rights and freedoms to people because of the colour of their skin.

Apartheid is a deplorable system; it is objectionable and offensive. It degrades and tramples on the dignity of human beings. The intent of the racist régime to maintain this system has become increasingly evident, in spite of the people's struggle for freedom and democracy. The state of emergency has occasioned the most brutal repression in recent history even of those committed to peaceful change.

The Bahamas pays a special tribute to such noble persons as Nelson Mandela, who languishes in prison for daring to ask for justice for his people and Steve Biko and Victoria Mxenge, who made the supreme sacrifice for this cause. We unequivocally support such patriots as Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak, who continue to strive for justice. This Assembly should go on record as having called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

We are pleased to support the struggling people of South Africa, both morally and materially, and in this connection, are in favour of mandatory sanctions against South Africa and wish to commend those who have taken positive steps in that direction.

As members of this world body we must support and give effect to its high principles regarding the dignity and worth of the human person. The eradication of apartheid demands our urgent and immediate attention.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

Years of work by the United Nations, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the front-line States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were crystallized in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which represents a blueprint for independence for Namibia.

South Africa's intransigence in defying the decisions of this Organization and its inflexibility and unwillingness to accept reasonable and sensible approaches have now been exacerbated by its recent unilateral decision to install a so-called interim government in Namibia. International outrage is surely justified in this instance. Further, the irrelevant and extraneous arguments introduced by South Africa serve only to justify its continued intransigence and its incursions into the territory of the front-line States.

The Government and people of the Bahamas are committed to the achievement of independence for Namibia. We know that this is inevitable, because the international community cannot and will no longer tolerate the denial of self-determination to the people of Namibia.

The Bahamas also reiterates its support for SWAPO, the recognized representative of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

I take this opportunity to congratulate the United Nations and its relevant bodies on the work undertaken to date in the fight against the international traffic in drugs.

Nevertheless, illicit traffic in drugs and drug abuse continue to be an extremely grave problem in our societies. It will take the massive resolve and commitment of the entire international community to defeat this illicit activity and thereby the destructive influence it has on the moral and social fabric of our societies.

The Bahamas is in the unenviable position of being squarely located between the major producer and consumer countries and the geographical configuration of the Bahamas itself makes it a haven for drug traffickers. As has been pointed out in past General Assemblies and other bodies of the United Nations, the Bahamas is not and has never been a producer of drugs nor a major consumer. However, consumption has increased directly in proportion to trafficking. Conversely, a direct and systematic campaign for the reduction of consumption would diminish production and trafficking. The developed consumer countries, with their superior resources and scientific expertise, can play an especially catalytic role in combating drug trafficking and abuse.

The Bahamas is a young society. We are also a small resource-poor developing country dependent on a continuous influx of visitors who feel safe and relaxed in our islands. We cannot afford to have drug trafficking gain and retain an influential position in our society.

The Government of the Bahamas remains fully committed to the eradication of international drug trafficking and drug abuse. We are working and will continue to work, for however long is necessary, with the relevant bodies of the United Nations and like-minded States in combating this problem.

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

In this regard we welcome the proposal for the drafting of a new convention against drug trafficking and the proposal by the Secretary-General for a conference at ministerial level to address and find viable solutions to this problem.

I am pleased to note that the United Nations Decade for Women was brought to a culmination with the consensus adoption of the document entitled "Forward-looking Strategies to the year 2000" by the Conference recently held in Nairobi, Kenya. This document is not only designed to improve the status of women and to integrate them into all aspects of development, but also seeks to ensure that during the next 15 years the international community strives as much as possible for world peace.

It is particularly noteworthy that during this fortieth anniversary year of the United Nations such a historic document has been adopted by 157 nations of the world. This display of solidarity shows our efforts to integrate and cement our ideas not only on issues affecting women but also on many matters of over-all international concern.

During the next 15 years, to ensure that the goals set forth in the "Forward-looking Strategies" are realized will require the good will and dedicated commitment of all nations to work actively towards that end. The Bahamas has always paid particular attention to promoting the interests of women.

It is said that today's youth is probably the best-schooled generation in history and that over 850 million of the world's population are between the ages of 15 and 24. By the year 2000 it is expected that there will be 1 billion young people. It is also said that one of the most valuable resources of any country is its youth.

Given these factors, the Bahamas has paid considerable attention to the development of its young people. The average age in the Bahamas is 25, and so it is our view that it is a vital necessity, and not mere idealistic fantasizing, to

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

ensure that the needs and aspirations of young people are met. A number of activities and events were initiated in 1985 by the Ministry of Youth that were specifically geared not only towards the identification of the problems of youth but also towards working along with young people in seeking solutions to those problems.

As the International Youth Year draws to a close I should like to commend the organizers on the very successful conferences and other international meetings and events which have been organized during the year. I am also pleased to note the conscious effort undertaken by the United Nations in focusing on young people and identifying the contribution they can and must make in shaping the future of humanity. In this regard particular note is taken of the important role of the United Nations youth training centres and the volunteers programme.

The Bahamas will continue to work actively in the interest of youth and to support the United Nations in its various endeavours to promote the interests of young people with a view to their developing their full potential as positive contributors to society and the world.

From 16 to 22 October, the Bahamas will have the honour to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Nassau. This conclave will be attended by the leaders of 49 States which represent over a quarter of the world's population.

It is a happy convergence of events that the meeting will take place during this session of the General Assembly, as I am sure that the meeting will have a positive impact on this Assembly's deliberations and will result in a healthy cross-fertilization of ideas and policies on the major issues that characterize the international environment today.

The hosting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government involves for the Bahamas a reaffirmation of our strong support for international organizations as a whole,

(Mr. Maynard, Bahamas)

including the United Nations. Our support is as strong as it has always been, and continues to grow. On the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations it is my fervent hope that this Assembly's deliberations will be crowned with much success.\*

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\* Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.



Mr. MALILE (Albania) (interpretation from French): First of all, I should like to congratulate Mr. Jaime de Pinies on behalf of my delegation for his election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. We wish him every success in carrying out his important duties.

I wish to extend to the people and Government of Mexico the deep sympathy of the Government and people of Albania and to express our feelings of solidarity and sympathy for the losses caused by the earthquakes which have struck that country.

This year, the General Assembly is meeting at a significant time for the United Nations - that of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization's founding. Even in the heat of battle during the Second World War, when the forces of the anti-fascist coalition of peoples were fighting to overcome the Nazi fascist hordes, the foundations of the United Nations were being laid.

The peoples of the world who paid with their blood for the war prepared by the imperialist Powers aspired to build a better and more just world on the ruins left by the war. They hoped that the United Nations would also play an important role in this endeavour.

From the very first lines of its constitutive act, the United Nations proclaimed as its fundamental purpose the preservation of international peace and security, the liberation of mankind from the horrors of war and the development of friendly relations among nations on the basis of mutual respect.

But at this anniversary session of the United Nations, which also offers an opportunity to reflect on the Organization's role and functioning, the delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is compelled to point out that the period since the Organization's foundation, as well as the existing situation, have shown that the United Nations has not justified the people's expectations, in accordance with the obligations stipulated by the Charter.

This is because the imperialist Powers have tried to manipulate and use the

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

United Nations as an instrument to justify their policy of war and aggression. Countless resolutions on very important problems pertaining to the safeguarding of peace and international security have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council but have remained mere dead letters in the United Nations archives. The right of veto has been flagrantly abused and has therefore today become synonymous with arbitrary action and injustice. Indeed, during these four decades, the United Nations flag has been used to cover up acts of imperialist intervention and aggression, as in Korea, the Congo and the Middle East, to name only a few examples.

By both their policy and actions, the super-Powers have trampled underfoot the principles of liberty and justice sanctioned in the Charter. They have fabricated and put into effect various theories, such as those of interdependence and limited sovereignty, which in reality mean dependence and subjugation.

They have responded to legitimate demands for disarmament with a frenzied arms race accompanied by such fraudulent slogans as arms control and the preservation of the balance of power. It is common knowledge that the United Nations was created as a universal organization of sovereign and peace-loving countries and peoples, which the Albanian people - who were among the first active participants of the anti-fascist front - warmly welcomed, immediately applying for membership - a lawful right that was denied them for 10 years as a result of the discriminatory policy of the imperialist Powers and, in the first instance, of the United States.

Throughout these 30 years as a United Nations Member, Albania has not failed to make its modest contribution to the cause of freedom for the peoples, peace and international security. We have consistently upheld the view that within and without the United Nations, in international relations, all States - large or small - should be equal.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

Together with other democratic and peace-loving forces, socialist Albania has opposed the efforts of the super-Powers to manipulate the United Nations and to turn it into an instrument of imperialist policy. Albania has always taken a responsible stand towards this world Organization and has spoken up here with its own voice alone. By expressing its views openly and without reservations, whether or not those views were to the liking of one or the other super-Power, Albania has made a modest contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to fulfil the mission entrusted to it by the Charter.

As in the past, the Government of Albania will continue in the future to be an active Member of the United Nations. Consistent in its resolute stand of opposing the super-Powers' policy, Albania will collaborate with the democratic and freedom-loving countries in efforts to safeguard peace and international security and to develop just and fruitful relations among States on the basis of equality and mutual interest.

Both our principled and independent foreign policy and the just and resolute stands taken by the Socialist People's Republic of Albania in the United Nations are all indissolubly linked with the name and work of the architect of socialist Albania, the outstanding and immortal leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Under his leadership, the Albanian people fought valiantly against the fascist beast and liberated the country in 1944. They embarked on the road of socialism, and in four decades turned Albania from a semi-feudal country, the most backward in Europe, into a developed industrial country with an advanced agriculture and a flourishing education and culture.

Leading our party and people for nearly half a century, he rendered Albania services that make him the greatest and most outstanding figure in the history of the Albanian nation. Enver Hoxha was an indomitable fighter against all forces

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

of regression and an ardent supporter of the struggle of peoples for national liberation, social progress and socialism. Hence for us he will forever remain a hero, a teacher and a symbol of the struggle for the conquest and defence of freedom and independence and the construction of a new life. That is why our party and people are determined always to follow Enver Hoxha's road, because it is the road of progress, freedom and genuine independence for our homeland.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to the General Assembly of the United Nations, on behalf of the Albanian Government and people, our sincere gratitude for the homage it paid to the memory of Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people, at its plenary meeting on 12 April of this year.

For years on end, much has been said inside and outside the United Nations about problems which are of concern to mankind: the rights of peoples to self-determination, the problems of safeguarding peace and opposing war, disarmament, and establishment of equitable international economic relations. The concern of peoples about these matters is as great as it is well founded.

It is true that in these 40 years the world has not been engulfed in a global conflagration, but this is no great cause for satisfaction, for the absence of world war cannot be identified with the existence of genuine peace. We cannot forget the fact that during this post-war period the world has seen more than 100 local conflicts and wars, which, in terms of the total number of weapons used and the human losses incurred, stand comparison with the Second World War.

It is true that the super-Powers have up to now avoided a direct conflict between them. This has come about not because they wish to spare the peoples but because they fear the catastrophic consequences that such a conflict might have, above all for themselves. Hence, they do not fail to seek and to find temporary solutions through a so-called dialogue directed towards what has been termed

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

"competitive coexistence" or "controlled rivalry." But this cannot be regarded as real security. We need only recall that during most of the post-war period many countries and peoples had to endure again the experience of war, devastation and destruction. Others are still living through the anguish of war or of famine and an uncertain future.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The hegemonist policies and militarist course of the super-Powers are leading mankind towards a new world war. The war budgets of the United States and the Soviet Union have today reached astronomical figures. Military bases and nuclear weapons have been placed in every corner of the earth. The skies have been filled with their spy aircraft and satellites and the seas and oceans with their fleets and warships, all of which threatens the peoples and peace.

Under the pretext that the balance of power has been upset and must be restored they attempt to justify the build-up of their war arsenals with the most sophisticated weapons and to make preparations for the so-called star wars. We do not wish to minimize the danger posed by the emplacement of weapons in orbiting space stations and the extension of the arms race into outer space, and we cannot but point out that by these means the super-Powers are trying to keep the world and its peoples in a state of constant tension and anxiety about the new weapons they are making. At one time it was the neutron bomb, then the latest nuclear missiles, and now they want to suspend a sword of Damocles above our planet in outer space, thus making mankind a kind of hostage. Thus, they hope that the threat of star wars will cause the peoples to forget that hundreds and thousands of missiles armed with nuclear warheads have been deployed throughout the world and are capable of destroying the earth in a far more barbarous fashion than are space weapons. They also want the threat of star wars to cloud the vision of the peoples so that they will not see Grenada or Afghanistan, not think about Lebanon or the fate of the Palestinian people, and forget Hiroshima and Viet Nam for ever.

Both in the East and in the West a great fuss is at present being made about the value and importance of the impending talks between the super-Powers. It is said that the future of peace and of mankind will depend on the agreements reached

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

between them. The United States and the Soviet Union may well sit down and talk together, but the facts thus far have shown that the most they can agree on is making deals, particularly at the expense of the peoples. It is no accident that many of the agreements they reach are kept secret not only from the peoples but even from their allies.

The Albanian delegation believes that it is very dangerous to harbour any over-optimism or illusion that the problems weighing upon mankind will be solved by talks and agreements between the super-Powers. Quite apart from anything else, these mean that the role which can and must be played by the Members of the United Nations is being disregarded and that the United Nations is being ignored.

The fate of international peace and security cannot be left solely in the hands of those who want to dominate the world. In the present circumstances, the preservation and strengthening of peace demands the forceful denunciation of the policy of aggression and war, oppression and exploitation, and for the rejection of super-Power demagogy, which has spread a fog designed to cloud and distort the true picture and obscure future prospects.

A few months ago occurred the tenth anniversary of the signature of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on so-called security and co-operation in Europe. Yet, 10 years after Helsinki, Europe is more insecure than ever. This is to be seen also in new developments, in which the focal points of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union are shifting from the periphery to the zones where the borders of the military blocs meet. The euphoria of a decade ago has died away, to be replaced by mutual accusations of non-implementation and violation of commitments undertaken. Albania did well not to attend a conference which, as it was manipulated by the super-Powers, was doomed to failure. Time has shown that we were right.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

Today the peoples of Europe see clearly that the super-Powers have further pursued their policy of putting the old continent under the shadow of their nuclear missiles and their atomic umbrellas, and that they are behaving in their respective spheres of influence like real overlords. Indeed, even matters of national defence are no longer within the sovereignty of the individual countries concerned.

It is obvious that while the military-political blocs of the super-Powers - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty - exist, there can be no question of genuine security and co-operation in Europe, despite the marathon conferences and meetings held and the fine words spoken.

Nor is the situation in the Balkans tranquil; new negative factors are making it even more complicated. National resentments and chauvinistic passions are being stirred up and this creates tensions. It is our belief that the Balkan peoples will not allow the region to be turned once again into a powder keg. They are capable of grasping the situation and of deciding in full sovereignty on the relations between them without falling victim to the intrigues of the imperialists, which would be to the detriment of the interests of each and every people of the peninsula.

As for Albania, it will continue as before to pursue a policy of good-neighbourliness. As a result of that policy, and through good will and common efforts, friendly relations have been established between our country and Greece, Turkey and Italy. Albania will continue to be a factor for peace and stability in the region. It will not permit any harm to its neighbours or to the interests of peace and security in the region to originate in its territory.

The imperialist Powers have turned the Middle East into a region of ceaseless explosions, which have often threatened world peace. For several decades now the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have been keeping the fires of war burning, sometimes fanning them, at other times letting them die down.



(Mr. Malile, Albania)

It is clear that they want to keep this sensitive region in a state of permanent tension as each strives to hold a dominant position.

The tragedy of the suffering Palestinian people has worsened. In Lebanon, Israel continues to sow death and destruction among the innocent people of that country. The intrigues and plots of imperialism, social-imperialism and Zionism in that region have led to a fratricidal war, with extremely grave consequences.

We have always believed and now we are convinced that the Arab peoples, with which we are linked by an ancient tradition of friendship, which are known throughout the world as the founders of illustrious civilizations, and which have withstood savage hordes and invasions during their thousand-year history, will be able to demonstrate the power of unity and stay the criminal hand of imperialism and Zionism.

The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, consistent in its position, will continue in the future too to give powerful support to the heroic Palestinian people in its struggle to regain its plundered homeland, as well as to all the brother Arab peoples in their struggle to drive the Israeli aggressors from their occupied lands.

The war between Iran and Iraq, which has already lasted five years, must be ended. That would not only be in the interest of the friendly peoples of those two neighbour countries, but would serve the struggle of the peoples of the Gulf and of the region as a whole against the imperialist Powers.

It is hard to find a single region in the world today which is not experiencing interference by one or both of the super-Powers. In Central America, the valiant people of Nicaragua is facing an undeclared war on the part of the

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

United States. In Afghanistan, the Afghan patriots continue their armed resistance aimed at driving out the Soviet occupiers. In South-East Asia, the imperialist Powers will not leave the people of Kampuchea in peace to build a free and independent life. The lawful Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is unjustly denied the place in the United Nations to which it is entitled.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The Albanian Government supports the just demand of the Korean people for the achievement of its national aspiration for the independent reunification of the homeland without any outside interference.

Today the countries and peoples of Africa, which have long experience in the struggle against colonialism, are encountering the interference and trickery of neo-colonialism and the rivalry of the two super-Powers which are striving to dominate Africa. They will not allow the African peoples to heal in peace the grave wounds inherited from centuries of colonial exploitation, but incite conflicts and bloody wars among different African peoples and States who in fact do not have opposing interests but, on the contrary, have a common bond in the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism.

South Africa, the bridgehead of imperialism on this continent, where the savage fascist régime of apartheid rules, not only oppresses the Azanian people with fire and steel, but also behaves arrogantly and carries out continuous provocations and aggressions against the surrounding African States.

The recent events in South Africa, where the racist régime of Pretoria has perpetrated barbarous massacres, killing and wounding hundreds of people, and imprisoning thousands of others from the black population have aroused profound anger and indignation among honest people all over the world.

But we are confident that the terror and the diabolical manoeuvres on the part of the racist régime of South Africa will never be able to put down the just struggle of the Azanian people, nor that of the Namibian people for freedom and national independence. The peoples and countries of Africa have never reconciled themselves to this situation. The Albanian people and Government, who nurture profound feelings of sympathy and friendship for the African peoples, will continue to give unreserved support to their just struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression, racism and apartheid.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The peoples of the world, especially those of Africa, Latin America and Asia, are more and more feeling the heavy burden of the crisis and the exploitation of monopolies and transnational corporations which have in our day replaced the armies of old time colonialists. The colossal loans, which represent a new strategy of the imperialist Powers for the subjugation of countries and peoples, have suffocated the economies of many States and brought them to the verge of total bankruptcy. The industrialized imperialist Powers are using their technological and scientific monopoly as a tool of pressure in order to have the peoples of the developing countries remain backward forever and to intensify their neo-colonial exploitation.

The 10 years that have elapsed since the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly on economic problems have witnessed countless meetings and conferences within the framework of the United Nations and outside it, at which the developing countries have asked for more equitable international economic relations. It is precisely during this period that the industrialized Powers have totally disregarded the demands of the developing countries and have stepped up their exploitation, making those countries more economically dependent. A typical manifestation of this grave situation lies in the foreign debts of those countries which, from about \$152 billion 10 years ago, today amount to the unprecedented sum of \$1,000 billion.

Experience is convincingly proving the need for peoples and countries to exercise their sovereign rights over their national wealth.

In the four decades of its free and independent development, socialist Albania has advanced with sure steps towards all-round progress and the improvement of the well-being of its people. We are confident that a better future lies ahead, for it is based on solid foundations.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

The experience of socialist Albania has refuted the capitalist outlook that no State can go forward on its own. Our implementation of the principle of self-reliance in no way precludes international collaboration. On the contrary, we have been and are for the development of normal trade, without discrimination, based on mutual benefit. We are also in favour of useful cultural, scientific and other exchanges. In the future, too, we shall extend our collaboration with neighbouring countries and other States on the basis of the recognized principles which govern relations among sovereign States.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, has said:

"Our policy towards our neighbours, as towards all the other States, is a consistent, principled policy. Those who dream about and expect changes in our course, who interpret the normal political and diplomatic activity of our independent and sovereign State as the 'opening up' of Albania, as a 'tendency' to rapprochement with one side or the other, do so in vain. Albania neither 'opens up' nor 'closes up'. It will proceed on the course which it has followed hitherto, a course which has secured its freedom and independence, the defence of socialism, and its good name in the world."

We are confident that the course of socialist Albania and the Albanian people is in harmony with and conforms to the interests of peoples who fight for national liberation, social justice and democracy, for peace and genuine international security.

Although we are living in a troubled world, full of contradictions and confrontations, tensions and conflicts, we look into the future with confidence. It has always been our belief that, through the struggle of the peoples and the efforts of democratic and peace-loving countries, the hand of the imperialist warmongers can be stayed and progress promoted.

(Mr. Malile, Albania)

In conclusion, allow me to assure the Assembly that the Albanian delegation will spare no efforts to ensure that this fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which has before it many important problems for discussion, will face them with realism and in the interests of the peoples.

Mr. CAID ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): I have special pleasure in expressing to Mr. Jaime de Piniés my warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency, which is a fitting culmination to a lifetime spent mostly in the service of his great country and of the United Nations.

I should also like to take this opportunity to convey Tunisia's condolences to the Government and people of Mexico and also to express to them our feelings of heartfelt sympathy and sincere solidarity following the tragedy that has befallen them.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

The present session is taking place as our Organization is reaching maturity after 40 years of existence. The representatives of our nations will soon be gathering to celebrate as they should - this great event. We can already rejoice in this, aware as we are of the opportunity we have, which is certainly unprecedented in history, of coming together each year in ever-increasing numbers to discuss our problems, compare our points of view and endeavour as best we can to reach solutions in our common quest for a better world, a world in which peace, understanding and progress prevail.

We cannot, however, hide our concern at our Organization's inability to deal with the challenges facing mankind, in particular in carrying out the paramount mission entrusted to it by the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. This inability exists not only with respect to the means of enforcing the resolutions emerging from the deliberations of its various bodies, but also with respect to the initiatives which need to be taken and unremittingly pursued in order to prevent tensions and conflicts, to intervene at the flashpoint of a fire and take steps to extinguish it or at least contain it. Increasingly, it seems as if the Organization has no influence over the course of international relations and as if the treatment of the ills besetting our planet has become the prerogative of the super-Powers, whose rivalry is expanding into an ever-widening area, relegating our Organization, which nevertheless represents the entire international community, to the role of sound-box for some recording device. Thus, we should not be surprised that the problems troubling our world persist and the international situation grows steadily worse.

Indeed, East-West relations continue to be tense. Although negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of nuclear weapons resumed a short while ago, rekindling hopes which had been seriously dampened by

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

the suspension of talks for several months, missiles continue to be deployed and counter-deployed. The arms race, spreading into space, goes on. We are still far from the realization of our fundamental aspiration for collective security leading to a lasting peace and fruitful co-operation.

Moreover, the succession of regional conflicts and destabilization operations jeopardize world peace and hamper the work of co-operation among nations. This development is all the more disturbing since some régimes, for which violence is the preferred instrument for advancing their hegemonistic designs, are making increasing use of force and aggression, in defiance of the principles and rules of law governing the international order. Innocent populations in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America are faced with a dramatic situation, which heavily mortgages the development prospects of the third world and, moreover, undermines the equilibrium and stability of the international community. There is a clear field for foreign intervention and rivalry between the major-Powers which, for strategic reasons or out of self-interest, tend to accommodate themselves to the situation.

The serious events unfolding in southern Africa are a perfect illustration of this state of affairs. Faced with a minority régime which has institutionalized, in an unyielding system, the total denial of the most basic human rights and the refusal to recognize the political and civil rights of the indigenous majority, the latter is fighting the good fight and making the heaviest of sacrifices. Tunisia, which has consistently supported the just causes of freedom and dignity wherever they have been at stake, feels a special affinity with the South African and Namibian peoples in their heroic struggle to win their legitimate rights. It reaffirms its unqualified support for the liberation movements which are their authentic representatives.



(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

The bloody repression which is buffeting the South African people under the state of emergency, no matter how harsh it might be, will be to no avail. The same is true of the punitive expeditions which a Government with its back to the wall is carrying out against neighbouring countries. Tunisia reaffirms its support to them in the performance of their duty of active solidarity with the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, whatever the price.

Never before has the Pretoria régime aroused so much indignation and criticism around the world as a result of its racist and segregationist policy. Even the countries which have continued to give it the benefit of the doubt are now joining the ranks of others which have been actively condemning that policy and advocating vigorous measures against it with a view to bringing about its demise. Let us welcome in that connection the vast movement of protest which has swept public opinion in those countries and which has not failed to elicit a response in government circles.

But in spite of its isolation, the Pretoria Government has no intention of changing course. Gestures of appeasement, like the release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela, have clearly been ruled out.

In these circumstances, the international community cannot stand idly by while the situation worsens with potentially dire consequences for both Africa and the world. The United Nations must take appropriate action, such as mandatory sanctions as called for by the overwhelming majority of its Members. There is an urgent need for the United Nations to take strong measures to induce the Pretoria authorities to negotiate with the legitimate representatives of the South African people on the immediate accession by the latter to the status of a free people under a system cleansed of all discrimination and segregation.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

The South African tragedy extends into Namibia, where the same racist and obstinate régime persists in denying the Namibian people their right to self-determination and dignity. In so doing it defies the international community in the most blatant manner. For seven years now it has obstructed the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) calling for the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

In Namibia, as in South Africa, there is no sign that the Pretoria authorities are prepared to back down. It is therefore more necessary than ever to set a definite date for Namibian independence. In addition, members of the Security Council, especially those belonging to the contact group, must at last shoulder their responsibility to give practical effect to resolution 435 (1978), which was adopted at their initiative.

Tunisia, which has always supported the just causes of freedom and dignity everywhere, stands by the South African and Namibian people in their heroic struggle to win back their rights. It reaffirms its unreserved support for the national liberation movements and their authentic representatives.

Developments in the situation in Chad, notably the agreement on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Chadian territory concluded last year between France and Libya, have unfortunately not yet led to a lasting solution to the problems of that brother country in accordance with the principles of international law and the charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Its territory is not yet completely liberated and national reconciliation has not yet been achieved.

Tunisia has consistently called for such reconciliation as a prelude to the reconstruction of the country in unity, brotherhood and peace, free from all outside interference. Thus, it supports the commendable efforts which are being made to that end and hopes that they will soon be crowned with success.

The situation in Western Sahara remains a source of uncertainty and instability in the Maghreb. Fearing a dangerous slide towards armed confrontation between the parties, which seemed a possibility in the light of the rising tensions late last year, and in response to the wishes frequently expressed to it by many friendly brother countries, Tunisia, at the instigation of President Habib Bourguiba, the dean of the Heads of State of the Maghreb, took the

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

initiative of proposing a summit meeting of the countries of the Maghreb. The main objective of the summit would be to identify the principles and, if possible, devise ways and means for achieving a united Maghreb on the basis of mutual trust, good-neighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the co-ordination of positions on issues of common interest and the promotion of co-operation between the countries in the region. The summit was intended to afford, in a calm and forward-looking spirit, a valuable opportunity to consider together the problems which constituted obstacles to a united Maghreb, with the problem of Western Sahara, of course, ranking first among our concerns.

The first steps we took, which were well received by all concerned, produced the not insignificant result of encouraging the continuance of the talks already under way between the parties concerned with the problem of the Sahara and the initiation of new talks, one outcome of which, as Members know, was the re-establishment of relations of friendship and co-operation between Morocco and Mauritania.

Unfortunately, our efforts foundered on the delicate problem of Sahara and the failure of the discussions on that issue. Tunisia had no choice but to abandon its initiative temporarily. Tunisia remains committed to the initiative because of the noble ideals on which it is based, but it is none the less aware of the long way still to go and, particularly, of the obstacles still to be overcome.

One of the most serious obstacles lies in the atmosphere of growing tension induced by the régime of a country in the region which is practising a policy known throughout the world for its deliberate lack of respect for international legality and morality and for the elementary rules governing relations of peace, friendship and co-operation among nations. As a projection of its policy, this régime is directing repeated threats against its neighbours, instigating violent acts within its borders and often threatening unequivocally to make use of military force.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

In the face of this dangerous situation, which could develop into a new conflict, the international community must be watchful. As for Tunisia, it will shoulder its responsibilities as it has whenever the principle of independence and its security requirements have been in question, and particularly when it has itself been directly concerned.

The Middle East presents a heart rending spectacle of death and rampant destruction. It is a fire with numerous flashpoints which threatens to spread even further if we continue to fail to pay it the necessary attention, and which could eventually engulf the peace and security of the entire world.

Tunisia reaffirms its belief that the central issue of the serious situation which plagues this troubled region is the Palestinian problem and that the reality faced by the Palestinian people, who are deprived of their legitimate rights, remains at the heart of that issue.

Our Organization found a solution to this problem, which was, of course, the 1947 Plan of Partition, which in our view still constitutes the basic document in any genuine endeavour to bring about real peace and a lasting settlement of this conflict, which is now nearly as old as our Organization.

It is hardly necessary to go back over what came of that Plan and the clear facts that give proof not only of the stubborn refusal of the Israeli party to comply with international law as laid down by the United Nations, but also of its unremitting intransigence in denying the Palestinian party any rights, endeavouring to rob that party irrevocably of the land that is recognized as belonging to it, rejecting any compromise proposal from any quarter whatsoever, including that of its closest allies and persisting in trying systematically to gain control and to win ground.

For the present, the important thing is to stress that, as far as the Arabs

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

are concerned, the Fez Plan, which is based on United Nations legality, provides a realistic basis for a just and lasting settlement in the region. Tunisia, which reiterates its support for the Plan, believes, however, that any solution that calls for recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own State and has the support of the legitimate representative of that people must be not only considered but also, and above all, backed by appropriate action on the part of the international community.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

In Lebanon, the Israeli army is not ending its occupation of a portion of the southern part of the country, once again on the specious pretext of guaranteeing the security of Israel. It keeps that area of Lebanon under the yoke of a military administration whose repressive activities are matched only by the arbitrary policy imposed upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The failures suffered by the invader in the region are clear proof that neither a policy of the iron fist nor the recruiting of misguided militiamen will succeed in overcoming the heroic resistance of the Lebanese people.

That is why the international community must call upon Israel to withdraw its forces, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). Israeli interference in the affairs of Lebanon must cease permanently, and the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon must be established, once and for all.

After five years of hostilities, during which the two belligerent countries were put to fire and sword, no end to the fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran is yet in sight.

Grateful acknowledgement must be made to the Secretary-General of our Organization for having succeeded, with much effort, in sparing towns and villages large-scale shelling that was aimed at civilian targets and, thus, threatened to wipe out entire populations. However, it is urgent to put an end to this conflict, which, in addition to bringing ruin upon the two countries at war with each other, is already having a dangerous impact on the countries of the region as a whole and is on the verge of entering a stage of internationalization, which is a serious development, not counting the damage done in both countries. Some do not seem to have become aware of this serious development, and must become aware of it while there is still time.

(Mr. Caïd Essebsi, Tunisia)

Tunisia, which is aware of how tremendously dangerous it is for this war to continue, wishes to renew its urgent appeal to the United Nations, particularly to the permanent members of the Security Council, to end this vicious circle and to prevail upon the parties to the conflict to embark on a process of peaceful settlement. Their beneficial action will be all the easier in that, let us not forget, Iraq has already accepted an immediate cease-fire supervised by the United Nations, with a view to achieving a solution in accordance with the principles of international law and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Foreign interference, in the form of armed intervention, is an obstacle to progress in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, whose populations are still being denied their inalienable right to determine their future and to have the government of their choice. We are witnessing with revulsion the successive waves of bloody repression and punitive expeditions that are triggering the exodus of millions of innocent people from their homeland. The international community appears to be obliged to act within the framework of this de facto situation characterized by flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter and of the law of nations in the two countries in question, which are full Members of our Organization.

Tunisia, which has often called upon the United Nations to take energetic steps to deal with this situation, cannot but reaffirm, once again, the importance it attaches to the principles that must govern the endeavour to achieve a peaceful solution to these two conflicts, namely withdrawal of foreign forces from these two countries and respect for their independence, their territorial integrity and their status as non-aligned States, as well as the right of refugees to return to their homes.

We are following the situation in Latin America very closely. We welcome the coming to power of democratic régimes in many of the countries of the region. Our satisfaction is all the greater in that this process of normalization has taken



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place smoothly, on the basis of a popular consensus. We are convinced that the governments which have resulted from universal suffrage will be able to realize the aspirations of their peoples and guarantee progress and prosperity for them.

Our concern at the situation in Central America is mitigated by the successful action taken by the Contadora Group, which is endeavouring to bring about peace and co-operation among the States of the region. We believe that this action springs from a conciliatory state of mind and respect for the legitimate rights of the States concerned and from the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples that inspire us as a State of the Maghreb. Tunisia therefore wishes to express its support for the Contadora Group and the hope that the process that has thus been set in motion will spare the countries of the region tensions and conflicts that cannot but prejudice their security and their development, as well as peace in that part of the world.

The deterioration in international economic relations has resulted in a recrudescence of protectionist measures, rising external debt, and the increasing contraction of financial flows towards development and a steady drop in raw material prices, all of which represent so many challenges to be taken up by an interdependent international community.

Africa, which has among its ranks 26 of the 36 poorest countries and approximately half of the refugees in the world, is without question the most seriously affected by this situation. Drought and desertification have seriously compromised the economic development process of many countries south of the Sahara, which have become dependent on international assistance to meet the basic needs of their populations.

Admittedly, important initiatives have been taken at the United Nations, in the specialized agencies, and by the World Bank and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which have resulted in an impressive surge of international solidarity,

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

for which both its initiators and those who have responded generously to their appeal are to be commended.

However, we wish to emphasize the link, which must not be forgotten, between emergency action and medium-term and long-term measures designed to give new impetus to economic growth. In addition to what is, when all is said and done, humanitarian assistance, the international community is expected to give the African countries substantial support in their endeavour to achieve stable and steady economic growth.

In our view, this complementarity should have two facets. The first facet would consist in a new international division of labour, whereby economic sectors would be distributed among countries and groups of countries, taking into account the capacity and aptitudes of each country or group of countries. Africa has created and developed, with the financial and technological support from its partners in the developed countries, crops and industries of proven quality.\*

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\* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

By contributing to an improvement in quality through expanded financial flows and a greater transfer of technology within the framework of common projects and joint ventures, the developed countries would benefit from low-priced products obtained as a result of cheaper labour. They would deliberately abandon the economic activities in which they are still engaged, with the aid of subsidies that constitute a heavy burden for the taxpayer, and with the help of customs dues and other protective measures that are hampering international trade and bringing about an increasing disequilibrium in their African partners' balances of payment; instead, they would concentrate on activities that are more profitable for their economies, particularly those calling for advanced technological skills and financial means that are within their reach.

The second facet of the desired complementarity would be the development of co-operation between regions throughout the whole continent of Africa and between African countries and countries in other regions of the world with which they have traditional ties resulting from geography and history or which are at an equivalent stage of development. The mobilization of the African countries' natural, financial and technological resources and of their markets in order to carry out joint projects in keeping with their priorities would of necessity have a beneficial effect on their development capacity.

Accordingly, judicious action recommended by the various international and regional forums would be integrated into a global strategy. Partial results could be obtained without such a strategy but would not put an end to the crisis, which, it should be stressed, is affecting countries both south and north of the Sahara, although to varying degrees.

This exhaustive statement, by means of which we wish to demonstrate our committed and active participation in the work of our Organization on the occasion of this anniversary session of its General Assembly, shows both the extent and the

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

complexity of the problems confronting the international community - indeed, the challenges that it must take up. However, it also refers to approaches and policies that can be adopted in order to achieve genuine solutions that are likely to reverse an international situation that is grim from many standpoints and that is deteriorating so fast that the point of no return may be reached.

Tunisia is convinced that a better informed, more sensitized international community, one that is aware of the interdependence of its members, will have both the will and the ability to make the necessary changes. For that purpose, it assumes a prominent role for our Organization, which remains a special forum for a frank and sincere dialogue directed to harmonizing points of view and bringing about the understanding required in order to improve international relations. It is also the role of the United Nations to take initiatives and to carry them through by creating favourable conditions for their implementation.

In that connection, we welcome the observations and suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization.

With regard to the maintenance of peace and security, we join the Secretary-General in suggesting that:

"... a determined and conscious effort be made by members of the Security Council, and especially the permanent members, to use their membership to make the Council more the guardian of peace ... and less the battleground on which to fight out political and ideological differences..."

We also share the view of the Secretary-General that:

"... it has become increasingly clear in recent years that economic, financial, monetary and trade issues are so interrelated and are of such profound political and social importance that they can only be dealt with effectively as part of a wider political process."

(Mr. Caid Essebsi, Tunisia)

We conclude, as the Secretary-General does that:

"In the economic as in the political sphere, we are faced with the necessity of making our institutions relevant and effective in the realities of our time."

ADDRESS BY GENERAL PREM TINSULANONDA, PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, His Excellency General Prem Tinsulanonda, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. TINSULANONDA (Thailand): It is my great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Thai delegation, our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election to this high position is a manifestation of the esteem and respect in which the Member countries of the United Nations hold you. Moreover, we are confident that your renowned diplomatic skill and wide experience, as well as your intimate knowledge of the United Nations over so many years, will be of inestimable value to the General Assembly in its deliberations on many important issues. Your country, Spain, has been throughout history, and remains today, one of the greatest founts of Western civilization and culture. Spain and Thailand have witnessed a long-standing relationship between our two peoples dating back many centuries. Both our countries have similar institutions, the Monarchy and a parliamentary form of government, and enjoy close and cordial relations with each other. My delegation is, therefore, deeply gratified to see you presiding over this Assembly.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

In the same manner, I wish on behalf of my delegation to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Lusaka, a distinguished son of Zambia and of Africa and President of the General Assembly at the thirty-ninth session. His qualities of leadership, dedication and wisdom have earned him our profound respect, admiration and gratitude.

My delegation also wishes to extend its warm congratulations to all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, representing the different regions of the world. Their elections clearly reflect the diversity, as well as the universality, of our Organization.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Thailand, as well as on my own behalf, I wish to express to the Government and the people of Mexico our profound sympathy and sincere condolences over the natural disaster caused by recent earthquakes resulting in the loss of so many lives and much damage to property.

Forty years have passed since the United Nations came into existence. The past four decades have witnessed the expansion of the activities of the United Nations to all the far-flung corners of the globe and in nearly every field of human endeavour. While the focus of the world Organization remains constantly on the avoidance of another global conflagration, the areas where the greatest expansion has occurred are concerned with the alleviation of human suffering and the betterment of peoples on planet Earth.

Out of the ashes of the Second World War rose the United Nations, casting an aura of hope on war-ravaged nations for a resurgence of reason and a new era of peace. The kind of reason that should prevail was seen as a vindication of human aspirations over the raison d'état. Powerful Governments had been blind to human yearnings and had led their peoples to war. From now on, succeeding generations must be saved from the scourge of war.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

For peace to endure there must be a collective will to enforce it. Such a will would be expressed through sanctions declared by the Organization where representatives are appointed by their Governments. In principle, it is the correct approach, since the Organization is composed of sovereign States. However, subsequent developments have demonstrated that the basis on which the United Nations was founded has been weakened by violations of the principles enshrined in the Charter. As long as Governments adhere strictly to their obligations under the Charter, the Organization will undoubtedly be able to respond, in full measure, to the requirements of our contemporary world.

Herein might lie one of the inherent imperfections of the Organization. The assumption that the genuine aspirations and yearnings of peoples are expressed through their Governments has not always been proved correct. Governments do not necessarily always follow human exigencies in their conduct of foreign policy. Often the vagaries of human experience cannot be brought to bear upon hard and urgent issues which require prompt and decisive actions.

Yet the United Nations can only be - in the words of the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie - "what the Member Governments want it to be - neither better nor worse".

More recently, the present Secretary-General, in his current report on the work of the Organization, has written:

"It is mainly up to Governments to decide if they wish to co-operate in building ... a useful, coherent, effective institution, or whether they choose the alternative that may sometimes seem easier in the short run, each taking their own short-sighted and self-interested course." (A/40/1, pp. 3-4)

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

However, there is growing evidence that public debate in a forum where Government representatives must sooner or later be responsive to public reaction has brought about an emerging awareness of the human dimensions in international affairs. Not only has the individual been vested with greater rights and duties on the international scene, but many international problems are viewed more and more in human terms.



(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

Technological advances in mass communications have also assisted in bringing the pathos and drama of human tragedies to wider audiences. Public opinion is influenced by what we read, hear or see - from the tragic conflicts in the Middle East and Central America and the plight of starving peoples in the Sahel to the displaced persons fleeing foreign aggression and occupation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the oppressed blacks of Namibia and South Africa yearning for liberty and human dignity.

There are also efforts to distort and misrepresent information for public consumption. However, such efforts are designed also to appeal to the heart and to the head. In the battle to win minds over such important issues as man's survival and development, human fears and needs are often cited. Thus, ordinary human beings and their concerns have come more and more to assume a central role on the international stage.

The United Nations has also been instrumental in bringing this situation about. With its earlier preoccupation with decolonization, the majority of its Members today are States whose peoples had been subjected to colonial rule. The fact that they have been liberated from the yoke of colonialism imbues the process of decolonization with human significance and appeal. The same process continues today with regard to the situation in Namibia and elsewhere.

The work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and other bodies in the fields of economic and social development has gained and retained world-wide support because of its human dimensions. Indeed, it is not surprising that such programmes as those concerning immunization of the world's children, a better habitat for the rural population, the role of women in development and food security for all command unanimous support.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

By the same token, perception in human terms of such issues as the nuclear arms race, terrorism and indiscriminate violence has given rise to wide-ranging public debates and been given the increasing attention of Governments and international forums. The danger of nuclear war is rightly perceived as the ultimate threat against not just States or Governments but mankind itself. For this reason, Thailand welcomes the decision of President Reagan of the United States and General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union to hold a summit meeting in Geneva in November of this year.

My delegation therefore believes that the credibility and indeed the future viability of the United Nations depend on the perception of men and nations of how well the Organization continues to maintain not only international peace and security but also its capacity to improve the existence of and the prospects for the human individual.

On peace and security, my delegation agrees with the assessment of the Secretary-General in his annual report, particularly on the useful role of the Security Council. It is indeed an honour for Thailand to be elected to serve as a non-permanent member of that body, for the first time in our history, and we have tried to approach all issues with moderation and objectivity on the basis of principle and in the interest of peace and harmony among nations. The fact that Thailand does not belong to any ideological grouping in the Council should assist it in obtaining a balanced perception of many issues.

The important issues which come before the General Assembly tend also to involve international peace and security and, at the same time, relate to the human consequences which require international humanitarian action. The situations in southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea are cases in point. All these problems confront the international community with the task of coping with the massive influx of refugees and displaced persons into neighbouring

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

countries. While aggression, foreign occupation and alien domination continue unabated, the cries of the victims have not gone unnoticed by this Assembly.

On Kampuchea, for instance, the General Assembly has adopted by an increasing majority resolutions which condemn the foreign aggressor and its military occupation in its small, hapless neighbour, thus posing a threat to peace and security in the whole region and beyond. The same resolutions also address the enormous humanitarian problems arising from the tragic situation. The significant support rendered by the international community year after year is proof that the plight of the Kampuchean people speaks more loudly than any cunning manoeuvre or confusing tactic on the part of the aggressor. Ultimately, however, the root cause of the problem, namely, the illegal Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, must be resolved so as to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their basic human right to self-determination.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

Other problems which touch individuals and their livelihood are also being given higher priorities on the international agenda. While such problems as food shortages and drug abuse seriously impair the social and economic fabric of societies, their main impact is still perceived to be on the individual. This accounts for the outpouring of sympathy and support for the victims from all walks of life, transcending geographical and ideological boundaries. The food aid programmes for Ethiopia and other African countries and the forthcoming consensus to convene an international conference on drugs evince the immediacy of public concern over these problems. Perhaps there is a need to emphasize in a similar manner the human dimensions of such other problems as North-South issues in order to obtain greater public support and wider international co-operation.

In his annual report, the Secretary-General states:

"We are facing economic changes of such magnitude and complexity that no country can adjust to them in isolation. We see this, for example, in attempts to protect domestic jobs from import competition, which result in the exporting of unemployment. What is clearly required is a wider vision and more dynamic understanding of the global nature of the problems we are facing. Such a vision has to be based on the open recognition of interdependence and the practical necessity of a fair sharing of burdens and of the accommodation of others." (A/40/1, p. 10)

There are few problems deserving of urgent international attention than poverty, which affects the economic and social well-being of a billion people. While pundits and politicians tend to discuss such issues in the abstract or in keeping with the narrow interests of their constituencies, statesmen should be endowed with sufficient foresight to see the immense catastrophe into which this situation, if prolonged or exacerbated, would lead all of us.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

There are areas where a government, with the support of the people, must be primarily responsible for corrective measures or necessary adjustments. The Royal Thai Government is among those governments, in particular in the developing world, which can be proud of numerous achievements in the economic and social fields. However there are matters that go beyond the pale of domestic jurisdiction which can worsen prospects for all, especially the developing countries. Because of their backwardness and vulnerable position, the poorer countries, and the poorer people in those countries, would be the first to succumb to the fall-out from a trade war. Such problems as the international debt crisis and the rise of protectionism in the industrialized countries can spell only unmitigated disaster, first of all for the developing countries, followed by world-wide repercussions.

The better alternative is to work together to develop a freer economic climate and trading system where all parties would derive just and lasting benefits. Small developing countries can resort to regional co-operation in order to ensure for themselves and their own peoples a greater measure of self-reliance and confidence in dealing with others. This does not mean that such regional endeavours are designed to create a confrontation with other countries or groups. On the contrary, co-operation that is based on equality yields more lasting benefits in the long run.

What good would the Third United Nations Development Decade do if millions of poor families became destitute owing to a loss of their honest livelihoods in a world that has sought to heighten their consciousness, hopes and expectations?

How can human rights be relevant if over 20 million black people in South Africa and the entire Palestinian people are deprived of their basic rights and human dignity and millions of peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Namibia are forced either to live under foreign occupation or flee their homeland?

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

To what extent can the quality of life be improved when man is living under the constant threat of annihilation and when ever larger amounts of resources are being expended on destructive weapons instead of being put to constructive use?

In the forthcoming decade the United Nations should therefore focus more of its attention on such questions, where the benefit would belong to the vast majority of the people of the world. Thus the results of the United Nations efforts would be felt, more and more, in their hearts and minds. In turn the Organization's relevance would be enhanced in their perception, thus gaining their loyal and active support for an organization then that would become a genuine "town meeting" of the world.

Let the next decade begin with a fanfare for the common man.

(Mr. Tinsulanonda, Thailand)

I should like to close by paying a warm tribute to our Secretary-General. It is fitting that he should be the one to oversee the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of this Organization. He has served with great distinction as the permanent representative of his country and has spent many years in the Secretariat in senior and responsible positions. He knows the United Nations inside and out, so to speak. His commitment is to the success of the world Organization and its noble aims and objectives. Thailand is host to many United Nations bodies, including the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) and the regional headquarters of several specialized agencies. While Thailand has derived some benefit from this, the benefit is not one-sided but accrues also to the Organization, as well as to its Members.

As we enter a new decade, I should like to pledge Thailand's unstinted co-operation with the Secretary-General in fulfilling the commitment we share in common.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand for the important statement he has just made.

General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. HERBERT (Saint Christopher and Nevis): Seeing you, Mr. President, seated in pride of place presiding over this, the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, only serves to convince me that the appropriate conduct of this session has been comfortably placed in your very capable hands, blessed as you are with years of experience.

It is difficult to over-emphasize the historical link forged by the voyages and explorations of the renowned navigator Cristobal Colon between your country and the new world, of which my country forms an integral part.

(Mr. Herbert, Saint Christopher  
and Nevis)

I should therefore like to take this opportunity on behalf of the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis to add my congratulations to those hitherto expressed to you, Sir, and to your country as you continue to superintend and administer these proceedings with your usual consummate skill and innate dexterity.

I must also hasten to pay tribute to and voice full appreciation of the inestimable importance of sessions such as this one to the realization and preservation of international peace, functional co-operation, economic security, respect for the dignity of peoples and the sovereignty of States, however small.

In this context, the people of Saint Christopher and Nevis are proud of their emergence from colonialism into the brotherhood of the United Nations. I bring fond greetings from our Prime Minister, Dr. Kennedy Alphonse Simmonds, who has swiftly and brilliantly spearheaded our transition from colonial dependence to international independence.

I should like at this stage to extend the sympathy and condolences of the Government of Saint Christopher and Nevis to the Government and the people of Mexico on their recent tragic experiences. We who live in an area which is annually threatened by hurricanes fully understand the sense of helpless shock experienced by persons confronted with the devastation of a natural disaster of this magnitude.

Our nation is comprised of the islands of Saint Christopher and Nevis, also called St. Kitts and Nevis, and we are located in the Caribbean, to the south-east of Puerto Rico, near the United States and the British Virgin Islands, near the Dutch colonies of St. Eustatius and Saba, the French island of St. Bartholomew, French and Dutch St. Maarten and the British colonies of Anguilla and Montserrat.\*

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\* Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.



(Mr. Herbert, Saint Christopher  
and Nevis)

It is perhaps because of this geographic situation that our people are quick to understand the significance of a multilateral approach to issues.

We inherited the colonial problems of the monoculture of sugar, but despite limitations of size, economic vulnerability and the vagaries of weather, we have made significant developmental strides during our first two years of independence. Indeed, we have established the basis for economic diversification and a better way of life for all our people.

Within days of our birth as a free nation, we gained admission to this body, and this signifies our recognition of the fact that in an age of considerable turmoil, the United Nations with its body of collaborating Member States continues to play a leading role in the pursuit and retention of a more peaceful, more organized and more contented world.

Of particular significance to us is the question of the multilateral approach to the security of small States and the establishment of order in the exploitation of the resources of the sea.

We who believe in peace must not be dominated by those who believe in force. We who are committed to the lofty ideals of CARICOM, the Caribbean Community, must never allow any of our member States to be manipulated and destabilized by external pressures. This applies to the political pressure of power politics, the economic manoeuvres of industrialized society or the conspiracy of those who would destroy our population by trafficking in illegal drugs.

We have signed the Law of the Sea Convention. As a nation of islands, our people look to the surrounding seas in their effort to achieve a comfortable existence. We have to ensure that no one be allowed to deplete the resources of our maritime economic zone. We have to be able to develop fully and peacefully the economic utilization of the sea-bed and the resources of the seas above.

(Mr. Herbert, Saint Christopher  
and Nevis)

Our Constitution faithfully follows the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was created specifically to suit our particular situation as a twin island State, and we addressed all the issues of fundamental rights and freedoms, ensuring the rights of all, including our women and children.

(Mr. Herbert, Saint Christopher  
and Nevis)

However, constitutional postulations alone cannot ensure the creation of a just society. The Government and the people of Saint Christopher and Nevis continue to have at home a peace, justice and human rights record which demonstrates that they fully and truly identify with and live up to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We have taken many mixtures of race and made them one; we have earned the classification of the freest nation on earth.

With this setting at home, it is with revulsion and shock that we face the distasteful and despicable situation in South Africa. Our Prime Minister has praised France for placing an embargo on new French investments in South Africa, praised the United States Congress for recommending economic sanctions against the dictatorial white minority Government, called vociferously on the international community represented by the United Nations to take a principled stand against apartheid, appealed for an end to the state of emergency and the wanton murder and oppression of the black people of South Africa, and demanded that the people of Namibia and Angola be allowed to enjoy their hard-earned right to freedom and independence.

We are deeply concerned at the prolonged starvation in Ethiopia and other parts of Africa, and we view with alarm the decision that we in the Caribbean should graduate from international development assistance loans on the basis of per capita income. One is forced to conclude that developed countries are galvanized into action by crisis, hunger and starvation.

There is a fundamental need for economic preventive medication and there is clearly a dire need for a total reassessment of the present international economic order, as it is evident that the present criteria work manifest injustice on small nations.

(Mr. Herbert, Saint Christopher  
and Nevis)

The amount that must be expended on infrastructure by a small nation is much greater, in proportion to its income, than the amount that must be expended by a large nation. To reduce this to simplicity, a small country and a large country may require the same sized airport to enable the same sized aeroplanes to operate. There is clearly a need for us to address this issue swiftly if we are not to create undue hardship for countries faced with the problem of markets being closed by the industrialized nations. We intend to raise in every forum the need for improved infrastructure facilities, more trade, assistance in the form of training and equipment, and co-ordinated public- and private-sector investment.

St. Kitts and Nevis has given practical expression to this policy by privatizing its telecommunications system. The system is now owned by a corporation whose shareholders are Cable and Wireless and the Government of St. Kitts and Nevis. This concept of joint venture is being implemented in other fields of investment, including dairy farming, cotton production and processing, and communications.

Regional organizations have their part to play within the international framework. It is of supreme importance to the vigour and vitality of the global framework of the United Nations that such regional bodies as the Organization of American States be sustained in full bloom. The Organization of American States proudly represents the interests of the United States of America, the countries of Central and South America and the French-, Spanish-, Dutch- and English-speaking Caribbean nations. It is highly undesirable that such an invaluable organization, critical to the maintenance and upkeep of development through peace, should be at present languishing on the sick-bed of financial constraints imposed by the unwillingness of the more affluent member States to live up to hitherto agreed

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contributions. This of necessity must have a negative impact on our programme of technical and cultural development.

One hopes that this most auspicious year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will also mark a commitment on the part of nations to encourage the revitalization of the Organization of American States, not in terms of empty rhetoric but through an active demonstration of financial commitment and support.

Equally, such renewed commitment is required to the revitalization and strengthening of the various agencies of the United Nations which bring much-needed educational, cultural and technical assistance to developing countries.

We are pleased to learn of the ongoing dialogue between North and South Korea, and we hope that we will soon see negotiations in relation to areas where other disputing peoples have a similarity of race and history, in the Far East, in the Middle East and in Central America. As the United Nations is celebrating its fortieth anniversary, it is timely for it to take a significant step towards the complete realization of the principle of universality by admitting both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as Members of the Organization. We believe that the admission of both nations as Members of the United Nations could make a positive contribution to the reduction of tension on the Korean peninsula and thus to the promotion of international peace and security.

In this age of the micro-computer, we are beginning to emphasize precision and smallness rather than inefficiency and large size. We in Saint Christopher and Nevis earnestly aspire to become a micro-State which can serve as a model because of the quality of life enjoyed by its people. We were in the vanguard of international thought in calling in Saint Christopher and Nevis the first conference to discuss ways and means to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary

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and Nevis)

of the voyages of Christopher Columbus to the New World. The work of that conference is bearing fruit and will result in positive action.

Because we feel that this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is of such tremendous significance, the Government of Saint Christopher and Nevis has allocated a site in our historic capital of Basseterre. There we shall establish a Centre of higher education and a national library emphasizing the history and function of our great international body. This area we shall proudly dedicate as the United Nations educational complex.

I sincerely hope that everyone here will some day walk into that historic complex and recognize its significance as a symbol of our commitment to multilateralism and our appreciation of the imperative of interdependence as an indispensable ingredient for the achievement of world peace.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.