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Forty-second session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 24 September 1987, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. FLORIN	(German Democratic Republic)
later:	Ms. ASTORGA GADEA (Vice-President)	(Nicaragua)
later:	Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Vice-President)	(Sri Lanka)

- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

Prince Hassan ibn Talal (Jordan)
Mr. Junejo (Pakistan)
Mr. Andreotti (Italy)
Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait)
Mr. Goung (Burma)
Mr. Abu Hassan (Malaysia)
Mr. Barre (Somalia)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Prince HASSAN IBN TALAL (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic):

Mr. President, allow me to extend to you my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election as President of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Humayun Choudhury, for the skill with which he was able to guide the last session through a difficult period.

May I also express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his commitment to the cause of peace and his tenacious efforts to promote it. Those efforts, supported by the Security Council, are particularly relevant to the region to which I belong. Despite setbacks, we continue to believe firmly that the United Nations and the Secretary-General remain a decisive factor in the process of peace-making and peace-keeping.

Many people believe that nuclear deterrence has saved humanity from a world war during the last four decades. The so-called balance of terror may have played a role in military strategy, but it negates our common humanity and remains devoid of any ethical content.

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On the other hand, few realize that since the Second World War there have been more than 150 armed conflicts, in practically all parts of the world. These have claimed more than 20 million lives since 1945 - most of them innocent victims of power games and man's inhumanity to man. Right now there are some 40 armed conflicts going on within or between States;

The Eastern Mediterranean region, from which I come, has witnessed all three types of armed conflict which have through the ages blotted human history.

The first type is characterized by internal tensions and armed violence. Lebanon is a tragic example of this. As compared to the First World War, when the ratio of civilian casualties was only 5 per cent, 95 per cent of the lives claimed in the Lebanese conflict have been those of non-combatants - innocent men, women and children. We mourn them all the more because the tragedy of Lebanon is exacerbated by the perpetuation of the conflict by proxy. The continuing war and the partition of Lebanon only serve interests beyond its borders.

The second type of armed conflict is that in which blood is shed when a State, in order to export its revolution, resorts to any means, even armed violence and war. The Iran-Iraq war is an example of this type of conflict. We deplore the use of religion to promote political ends. This war, which has already been ravaging two Muslim nations for more than seven years, is now spreading to the rest of the Gulf area. It represents a serious threat not only to the region but to global peace. Jordan has, without any reservation, supported Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which calls for the imposition of a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognized boundaries, in order to bring an end to this senseless war. The war has already taken hundreds of thousands of lives, including those of children who have been used as soldiers. It must not be allowed to be internationalized by proxy. The super-Powers, which play a decisive role in

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the context of the Security Council, have a special responsibility which they must fully shoulder in order to bring about peace.

The third type is the classic colonial form of armed conflict, where territory is occupied by force for purposes of exploitation and annexation. The Arab-Israeli conflict is a perfect example of that. In this respect, throughout the last two decades Israeli aggression in the occupied territories of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights has continued unabated. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide adequate bases for establishing peace in the area. For its part, Jordan has spared no effort to promote the process of a comprehensive peace through the convening of an international conference, sponsored by the United Nations, in which all parties concerned and the five permanent members of the Security Council should participate.

It has been said that since war begins in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that the defences for peace must be constructed. The time has come for all of us to adjust our thinking to contemporary realities and to recognize that all our efforts to promote human welfare will be in vain if a just and durable peace remains elusive. It is now 70 years since the Balfour Declaration was signed, nearly 40 years since Palestine was partitioned and 20 years since the Israelis occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. I personally represent the fourth generation of my Hashemite family which had the honour of leading the great Arab revolution to gain independence and ensure prosperity for the Arab nation. But the problem of Palestine, for which my grandfather gave his life and which has been the main preoccupation of the Hashemite family for decades, remains unsettled. Time has not healed wounds; on the contrary, it has deepened them. A whole generation of Palestinians has been born and bred in

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refugee camps. These Palestinians have known nothing in their lives but death, horror and deprivation. It is time for the world's conscience to revolt and act decisively to resolve the Palestinian question, including the Palestinians' right to a Palestinian homeland on Palestinian territory.

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The United Nations has rightly emphasized the importance of regional co-operation. We, in our region, respect this principle and look up to it. The Arab League was in fact established for that very purpose. Unfortunately, its structure has weakened over the years, not only because of internal strife and differences, but also because of external influences and interference. We consider regional co-operation to be an essential corner-stone of multilateralism. Unfortunately, recent years have witnessed a steady retreat on this front. Nations, in particular the major Powers, have increasingly resorted to bilateral dealings. In our view, this change is due more to the pursuance of short-term self-interest than to any inherent weakness in multilateralism, which must of necessity remain the corner-stone of our interdependent world.

Bilateralism undoubtedly enables the major Powers to promote their own policy objectives at the expense of regional order. The policy of containment those Powers have pursued vis-à-vis conflicts in our region may have bought time for them, but it has also helped to perpetuate inherently insalubrious situations. Preservation of the status quo can never be a step towards problem-solving. More often than not, it does nothing but exacerbate the problem. In the Middle East, for instance, instead of promoting tangible progress towards peace, the time invested in preserving the status quo has strengthened the potential of irresponsible elements to obstruct rather than promote peace. Thus it can be said that the policy of containment which impedes the achievement of a just peace has nourished the motives which breed terrorism and counterterrorism and has made it possible for those who thrive on chaos, social tensions and political upheavals to pursue their interests very energetically indeed.

The status quo, which has overshadowed region since the 1960s, has now become a source of factionalism and a cause of conflict between minorities and ethnic

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groups, thus paving the way to a vicious divide-and-rule policy that can exist only at the expense of the long-term interests of the region.

If, in the first place, I have dwelt on the problem of conflict, it is because the attainment of peace in the region is our principal preoccupation and because we realize, as should all others, that insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere. We do, however, fully realize that economic stability and social harmony are the prerequisites of human welfare. Thus we welcome the results of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, (UNCTAD VII), which, despite bleak forecasts, was a relative success. There is no doubt that the inherent problems of the present world economic order urgently need to be addressed. Foremost among them is the problem of international debt. Like a malignant disease, the debt problem is spreading and taking its toll in developing countries. It is time we recognized at the international level that there is no panacea and that palliatives will not do.

At the same time, let no one be under the illusion that this is a problem of the South alone. Clearly, international co-operation, cemented by mutual understanding and a recognition of interdependence, is called for if adequate and effective solutions are to be found. The earnings of more and more developing countries are now being swallowed up by mere payment of interest. There is a cash flow from the South to the North. This is clearly an aberration. It is not just a cause for concern in political or economic terms. It is also an affront to the human family that the poor should go on becoming poorer and the rich richer.

When addressing UNCTAD VII, I proposed the establishment of a mixed commission composed of eminent persons of international repute to re-assess the performance of the international economic system in the context of the colossal challenges we face. Such a body should independently and impartially prepare a comprehensive

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executive report on the major economic issues which hamper international co-operation and suggest formulae on alternative approaches to global economic and financial problems.

We in Jordan have steadfastly followed a policy of moderation in all respects. Likewise, our foreign policy has remained steadfast. Jordan's position on questions which figure on the General Assembly's agenda is well-known. We strongly condemn the policies of apartheid, and we deplore foreign occupation and support peaceful solutions to problems which have long been sources of conflict in Africa, Asia and Latin America. If I have not dwelt on those problems and conflicts, it is to save the Assembly time and not because of lack of zeal or concern on my part.

It has been said that the most important lesson of history is that men do not learn from its lessons. However, the nature of contemporary global problems is such that a basic change in thinking and in attitude is called for on the part of the human family as a whole. Despite spectacular scientific progress and technological advances, humankind has remained incapable of resolving the problems of poverty and development. It is indeed ironic that while famine was recently ravaging one continent there were mountains of grain, beef and butter causing serious storage problems in another. Penury and plenty cannot coexist without causing the human conscience to revolt. The dilemma of our times is that human wisdom has not kept pace with human knowledge, and man, alas, has not learned to be more humane.

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No statement in this Assembly can be complete without reference to the ultimate beneficiaries or victims of the policies and practices that we discuss here - individual human beings, whatever their creed, colour or political affiliation.

Representatives may recall that in 1981 I had the honour to propose to the Assembly from this rostrum the promotion of a new international humanitarian order. Since then the General Assembly has adopted, without a vote, a series of resolutions in support of that proposal and received two reports on the subject from the Secretary-General. My proposal was inspired by the realization that in purely human terms the quality of life has been steadily degenerating over past decades, despite modern technological achievements. I stated then that whether one looked at the globe in the East-West or North-South context the overall picture continued to be grim. In human terms we are not yet ready for the next century, or even the next decade. Now, in the late 1980s, that assessment remains even more valid than before.

Encouraged by the support my proposal received from Member States, an Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues was established outside the United Nations framework to play a catalytic role and facilitate the Assembly's task of promoting the humanitarian order. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that the Independent Commission, which had a limited mandate in terms of time and programme of work, and which I had the honour to co-chair with His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has completed its final report. However, the final version will be published in coming weeks and made available to Member States for their consideration.

The Commission took the view from the outset that tangible results can be achieved only if we remain specific and concentrate on a few selected issues of major concern. Consequently, a series of sectoral reports covering a range of

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humanitarian questions reflecting our views and containing detailed recommendations has been published. The final report is a synthesis of those reports, and we hope that it will be helpful in the process begun by this Assembly to elaborate and implement the humanitarian order. We believe that a vigorous follow-up is necessary for any report to produce the expected results. To that end, we have foreseen a series of measures in our report. In that context I should like to suggest that a small group of governmental experts be formed within the United Nations to look into practical ways and means to make further progress and ensure that the relevant recommendations are translated into action by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies. I have no doubt that many Governments would wish to come forward on a voluntary basis to provide the required expertise.

If we are to improve the human condition and make this planet a better and more secure place to live in for our children, we must not wait for things to change; we must change ourselves first. We must adjust our thinking and attitudes to the new realities of the contemporary world in order to bring about a change in the global political, economic and social environment.

Allow me to conclude my statement by quoting a former United Nations Secretary-General, the late Dag Hammarskjöld, who gave his life in defence of the principles and purposes of this Organization:

"Working at the edge of the development of human society is to work at the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. That is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits, but with faith in the ultimate result of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to co-operate."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): As members are aware, the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was scheduled to address the General Assembly last Tuesday afternoon but, unfortunately, he was indisposed and unable to do so. Bearing in mind those very special circumstances, I have decided to reschedule his address for this afternoon and to invite him now to address the Assembly, as the second speaker, on the understanding that this does not establish a precedent.

ADDRESS BY MR. MOHAMMAD KHAN JUNEJO, PRIME MINISTER OF THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,
was escorted to the rostrum.

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The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. JUNEJO (Pakistan): I am deeply conscious of the privilege I have today of addressing the forty-second session of the General Assembly and welcome this opportunity to bring to the Assembly the greetings of the Government and people of Pakistan, a country whose faith in the United Nations has never faltered and whose commitment to the purposes and principles of its Charter has never wavered. I have the honour of reaffirming that faith and renewing that commitment from this rostrum.

I have great pleasure in extending to you, Mr. President, our warm felicitations on your election to the presidency of this important session of the General Assembly. You represent a country with which Pakistan has excellent relations. The exemplary progress achieved by the German Democratic Republic in all fields of national endeavour is a tribute to the quality and dedication of its leadership and the industry of its gifted people. We feel confident that with your great experience and diplomatic skills you will successfully guide the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly.

I should also like to congratulate our brother, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, on the distinction with which he presided over the last session of the General Assembly. His outstanding performance was a legitimate source of pride for the Government and people of Bangladesh and, indeed, for Pakistan, which nourishes abiding goodwill and affection for Bangladesh.

It gives me special pleasure to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, my profound admiration for the sagacious manner in which he steered the United Nations through times most

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testing for the Organization and its Member States. He has just returned from a difficult mission to two countries locked in a tragic fratricidal conflict. We are conscious of the strains which his awesome responsibilities impose upon him and assure him of our fullest co-operation and maximum support in the fulfilment of the stupendous task before him.

Pakistan is a young country, but it is steeped in history and heir to a proud tradition. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of 100 million people who carved out a national home for themselves after immense sacrifices. In their march towards freedom, independence and a democratic system of government the people of Pakistan have waged a long and hard struggle. I am deeply conscious of the honour of speaking for such a country as the Prime Minister of its elected Government.

Pakistan was born in a hostile environment. It faced internal difficulties and external dangers of a magnitude such as might have smothered it in its infancy. The inherent strength of the ideology on which it was founded, the faith and dedication of the people and the example of its founding father Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, ensured its survival and steered it safely through the most difficult period of its existence.

Democratic institutions are shaped by a nation's political and cultural ethos. In Pakistan the democratic process has been deeply influenced and enriched by the pervasive egalitarian spirit of Islam.

We are not only resolved to consolidate and strengthen the democratic process; it is our endeavour to free our people from the spectre of want, hunger and deprivation. Last year I initiated a five-point programme of socio-economic reforms encompassing bold and determined action to promote literacy, provide shelter to the homeless and eradicate inequality, rural backwardness and poverty. We hope to be able to achieve the broad objectives of this programme within the next three years.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

Last month we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Pakistan's birth. The day after we achieved independence our founder, Quaid-e-Azam, proclaimed the following goals of our foreign policy:

"We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world."

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

Our commitment to the ideals of the United Nations is embodied in our approach to every global and regional issue. Born to freedom by the exercise of the right of self-determination, Pakistan joined the battle against colonialism from its very infancy. We cannot forget those who have yet to win freedom. To them I pledge Pakistan's unflinching support in their struggle to achieve national independence and sovereignty.

The tragedy of Palestine is ever fresh in our minds. We share the pains and anguish of generation after generation of Palestinians who have been banished from their homeland and condemned to a desperate existence. This year in particular has a unique significance for the Palestinian people. Seventy years ago, the Balfour Declaration sowed the seeds of the Palestinian problem. Forty years ago the Palestinian homeland was forcibly rent asunder. Twenty years ago the remaining territory of Palestine was occupied by Israel.

A peace settlement in the Middle East will be durable only if it is just and comprehensive; if it brings about Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Al-Quds-al-Sharif; and if it enables the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and statehood in their homeland.

It is my fervent hope that a consensus will soon be achieved to convene an international conference to negotiate a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be enabled to participate on an equal footing in that conference.

Apartheid is a cruel and perverse creed, repugnant to the laws of God and a crime against the laws of nations. Many nations, including my own, maintain a stringent and comprehensive boycott of the racist régime in Pretoria. We appeal to

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the international community to agree to the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the perpetrators of apartheid.

The hour of decision is fast approaching. The oppressed people of South Africa have risen to defend their dignity. They have been subjected to untold misery and undergone great sacrifices. Common humanity entitles them to the political and material support of the world community. Pakistan will stand by the embattled people of South Africa until the pernicious system of apartheid has been dismantled and racial discrimination and domination have been demolished.

I pray that Namibia will soon win its freedom. The demand for implementation of the plan for Namibia's independence, agreed on since 1978, cannot be resisted indefinitely. The right of a people to self-determination cannot be held hostage to global power politics. The freedom of Namibia cannot be made dependent on developments in neighbouring Angola. My Government has extended full recognition to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and I assure it of Pakistan's unswerving support in its heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

In Afghanistan foreign military intervention represents an attempt to reverse the tide of history. A country that was historically independent, a founding Member of the United Nations, was overrun eight years ago. Its sovereignty was usurped, its land desecrated.

No objective observer can deny that the intervention of the Soviet Union's forces in Afghanistan violated the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter; that the people of Afghanistan are waging a legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination; that the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan poses a direct threat to the security and stability of the entire region; and that, unless reversed, this intervention could set a dangerous

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precedent, giving encouragement to the forces of aggression and to the revival of the era of darkness and domination.

Pakistan has provided shelter and relief to over 3 million refugees from Afghanistan as our Islamic and humanitarian obligation to our neighbours. We could not have carried this burden alone. I should like to express our gratitude to all those who have joined the international effort to bring relief to this, the largest refugee concentration in the world.

The General Assembly has adopted a clear and unambiguous stand. It has called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces, the restoration of the independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, respect for self-determination and the return of the Afghan refugees to their homes in safety and honour. The Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international organizations have endorsed those principles.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

After eight years of the war in Afghanistan, it is clear that military force can never suppress the valiant Afghan struggle for national liberation. The situation in Afghanistan can be resolved only through a political settlement. Pakistan has participated constructively in the Geneva proximity talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. The comprehensive settlement being negotiated through the Geneva process is virtually complete. The principal missing element is the provision of a time-frame for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces.

The demand for a short time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops is based on the decision of this Assembly. It also flows from the purpose and spirit of the settlement under negotiation. Its logic is irrefutable. Once a political settlement is reached under the Geneva Accords the Soviet forces must immediately abandon the military option. The insistence on an extended time-frame for troop withdrawal arouses legitimate suspicion of a lurking desire to pursue the military option to crush the Afghan resistance even after a settlement has been signed.

Nor can the demand for "national reconciliation" be made a pre-condition for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. The Afghan resistance has rejected the proposal, because "national reconciliation" under foreign occupation would, by definition, be hollow and transitory. A people's right to self-determination cannot be exercised freely in the shadow of a foreign army.

The crux of the problem in Afghanistan is the presence of foreign forces. Throughout the history of Afghanistan, divisions among its people have arisen only when imperialist Powers have intervened in its internal affairs. Left to themselves, the Afghan people have always found a way to reconcile their differences. Once foreign forces leave Afghanistan, agreement on its future governance will be speedily achieved. Indeed, a short time-frame for Soviet

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withdrawal would encourage all the Afghans to reach agreement on the way in which they wish to govern themselves.

Pakistan would welcome the return of normalcy in Afghanistan under any political arrangement acceptable to the Afghan people, including the five million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran, who constitute one third of the population of Afghanistan.

Contrary to our hopes and expectations, the favourable trends evident early in the year appear to have come to a stop. The military operations inside Afghanistan have been intensified. There have been heavy casualties on both sides. The outcome, again, is a stalemate. Refugees from Afghanistan have continued to flow into Pakistan, this year at the rate of 4,000 to 5,000 every month. Pakistan has also been subjected to repeated aerial attacks and a systematic campaign of terrorist bomb explosions in the crowded bazaars of its cities. Hundreds of innocent men, women and children have been killed or maimed.

I may warn those responsible for these crimes that, while we are most anxious to achieve a political settlement, we will not falter in our resolve, nor submit to pressure.

The absence of a positive response from Kabul has stalled the Geneva proximity talks since March this year. Then, a few weeks ago, Kabul suddenly asked for a new round of talks. Pakistan promptly agreed and the talks were held from 7 to 10 September. We shared a legitimate international expectation that Kabul would come forward with a reasonable time-frame. I sent the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to Geneva with instructions to respond positively to a genuine offer of a short time-frame for Soviet troop withdrawals.

I must confess I was deeply disappointed by what transpired in Geneva. Kabul's representatives continued to insist on an unreasonable and lengthy period for foreign troop withdrawal. Consequently, the talks proved inconclusive.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

The conclusion is inescapable that Kabul's initiative for this last round was not motivated by a desire to reach a settlement. Its target was this Assembly, whose members, I am aware, have been deluged with false propaganda about the so-called national reconciliation programme and the imminence of the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan.

This Assembly, I am confident, will reconfirm its principled position on Afghanistan. By its consistent demand for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, the world community has contributed immensely to bringing closer the day when a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan will be achieved.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

The Soviet Union is Pakistan's neighbour. My Government seeks to promote friendly and co-operative relations with the Soviet Union, despite our differences over Afghanistan. From this rostrum, I fervently appeal to General Secretary Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership to help resolve the tragic situation in Afghanistan on the basis of justice and equity. I assure the Soviet leadership of Pakistan's fullest co-operation.

By agreeing to the early withdrawal of its forces the Soviet Union would regain the good will of the Afghan people and earn the gratitude and appreciation of the Members of the United Nations. The withdrawal of Soviet troops would also contribute to the improvement of the global security environment, which is consistent with Mr. Gorbachev's noble vision of a new and peaceful world - a vision which I fully share, and which Pakistan would wish to see translated into reality.

The Kampuchean problem, too, is also the result of foreign military intervention. It is particularly distressing that this iniquity should have been perpetrated by a country which had suffered the long rigour of foreign domination. We urge an early end to the occupation of Kampuchea.

Pakistan cannot be tranquil while the Gulf is in turmoil. The tragic war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq has entered its eighth year. This war has resulted in a colossal loss of life and caused immense destruction in both countries. Its tensions have already gripped the entire Gulf region.

Since the war began we have made sustained efforts to bring it to an end. During the past tense months we have counselled caution and restraint to all the parties concerned. The growing involvement of the great Powers in the Gulf carries grave portents. The Third Islamic Summit, held in Taif in Saudi Arabia, declared that the security of the Gulf was the responsibility of the States of the Gulf themselves. Observance of this principle can help defuse the current confrontation and rebuild peace in the region. Security Council resolution 598 (1987) contains

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the elements which can serve to end the war and to ease current tensions. Following the Secretary-General's recent visit to the region, we are today closer than ever before to implementation of the resolution in a manner acceptable to both parties. Pakistan stands ready to assist in this endeavour.

Pakistan is closely linked to the States of South Asia. These countries confront many common challenges, the foremost being that of economic and social development. By establishing the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) they have acknowledged the value of regional economic co-operation. It is my hope that in the near future they will embark on a joint endeavour to build mutual trust and confidence, to enhance regional security, and to control arms expenditures, on the basis of SAARC's agreed principles.

Pakistan desires peaceful and co-operative relations with India. We look forward to an early resumption of our dialogue. The conclusion of the non-aggression accord, which has been under negotiation since 1981, would strengthen mutual trust. Pakistan remains committed to a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question, on the basis of the United Nations resolutions, which will usher in a new era of complete normalization and durable peace, as envisaged in the Simla Agreement.

We share the concern about nuclear proliferation in the South Asian region, where one country has already demonstrated a nuclear capability. Pakistan does not have that capability, nor does it have the desire to develop nuclear weapons. Pakistan does not wish to carry out a nuclear explosion.

Pakistan is prepared to go further and subscribe to a comprehensive test ban in a global, regional or bilateral context. In June this year I proposed to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that Pakistan and India should conclude a bilateral nuclear-test-ban treaty. I look forward to a positive response. The conclusion of such a

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bilateral test-ban agreement between Pakistan and India would serve to assure each other, and the world, that neither country has any intention of pursuing the nuclear-weapons option.

A regional approach offers the most promising avenue to prevent a nuclear-arms race in South Asia. Pakistan has proposed several equitable and non-discriminatory modalities by which this could be achieved. Our proposals include simultaneous acceptance by India and Pakistan of the Non-Proliferation Treaty or comprehensive International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards; mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities; a joint declaration renouncing nuclear weapons; and the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

Almost all the regional States, and a vast majority of this Assembly, support the objective of a South Asian region free from nuclear weapons. Surely, all legitimate concerns could be reconciled through dialogue and compromise. At least a serious diplomatic endeavour should be made to explore the possibilities of an agreement. For this purpose, I propose that, under the auspices of the United Nations, a conference on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia should be convened, as soon as possible, with the participation of the regional and other interested States.

The growing nuclear weapons arsenals of the super-Powers pose an ever-present threat to the survival of mankind. We welcome the understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate nuclear forces. I hope this will be a precursor of further accords between them to reduce drastically their strategic nuclear missiles and to refrain from extending the arms race to outer space. Their decision to open talks on nuclear testing should lead to the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. In the Geneva Disarmament Conference, a convention to ban chemical weapons is now closer at hand. This must be rapidly finalized.

Among and within nations, extremes of affluence and poverty cannot coexist indefinitely. Economic inequality eventually produces strife and conflict. Injustice breeds inefficiency. This is the primary cause for the multiple economic crises confronting us today. If the world economy slows down, the developing countries will again be the principal victims.

The world's economic difficulties can be overcome only through simultaneous and co-ordinated actions by developed and developing countries, to channel trade surpluses for development, to revive growth in flagging economies and thus overcome debt difficulties; to expand export access to the developing countries and stabilize commodity prices, to regulate currency flows and exchange rates more closely, and to provide emergency relief and assistance to the poorest countries.

(Mr. Junejo, Pakistan)

Pakistan achieved statehood at a time when the hopes of mankind for peace and progress rested heavily on the United Nations, which has emerged as the authentic voice of justice and equity. Its decisions - even those which remain unimplemented - constitute the criteria by which the conduct of States is judged.

The Charter is a precious document. It enshrines a new global ideology, and its principles and purposes re-emphasize the universality and immanence of the timeless virtues proclaimed by great religions and philosophies. The Secretary-General has repeatedly stressed the need for the renewal of our commitment to the Charter. We should heed his words.

On behalf of the people of Pakistan, may I say: We applaud the many accomplishments of the United Nations; we understand the reasons for its shortcomings; and we remain fully committed to its purposes and principles. Now more than ever, we believe that the United Nations is indispensable for mankind's survival and progress.

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

Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,
was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to convey to you the congratulations of the Italian Government on your election. You represent a country which, because of its geographic position, strategic significance and economic weight, is called upon to provide, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a major contribution to the existing delicate balances on the European continent. Your personal skill and experience are important guarantees for the success of our work.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

I should also like to convey my appreciation to the outgoing President. He carried out his functions at a particularly difficult time for the United Nations and succeeded in ensuring results in the work of the General Assembly to the general satisfaction of all. He deserves our gratitude for his endeavours and our appreciation for his accomplishments.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the considerable efforts he has undertaken - for which we should all be grateful - to put an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict, which represents one of the longest and most destructive tragedies of modern history.

The opening of the forty-second session of the General Assembly took place at almost the same time as the announcement of a virtually concluded agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the total elimination of intermediate and short-range missiles.*

* Ms. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua, Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

For the first time in the history of humanity, massive quantities of armaments - enough to devastate the entire European continent - will be destroyed as a result of negotiations rather than of war.

The significance of the agreement in principle to conclude a treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces, however, does not just lie in arms reductions - in its thinning of the forest of missiles that threatens Europe. Its real significance, in my view, lies in the process it will set in motion as well as in the search for new concepts of security which will no longer be based only on the accumulation of arms and which will put an end to the present state of instability, where peace is impossible and war is improbable.

It is thus fitting that the United States and the Soviet Union consider this agreement to be an historic event. I would add that this agreement constitutes a turning-point, more because of its future potential than because of what it can achieve in the short term.

We must therefore unreservedly praise those men of good will who were the architects of this major achievement for the tenacity they have shown in the search for a middle ground between two concepts of the world and two very different political programmes.

President Reagan, in close consultation with his allies, worked long and hard to translate into deed his long-declared intention to create a world in which the role of nuclear arms would gradually be reduced.

General-Secretary Gorbachev, for his part, deserves our appreciation for the vitality and openness he has imparted to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. He has shown considerable courage in recognizing that there is not necessarily a relationship between the historic ambitions of his country and the steady accumulation of offensive weapons.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Italy has always worked to encourage the policy of dialogue. My country was the first nation to hail unhesitatingly the achievements resulting from the Reykjavik meeting. We did so because we were convinced that the approach adopted on that occasion was the correct one. Dialogue must be based on strongly held convictions but it must also be marked by the humility needed to renounce intolerance and by trust in the other party's understanding and good faith.

No other lesson could be more timely in an era when mistrust is often the main stumbling-block. Let us not forget that in international politics there are opportunities that might not recur and that history is made by seizing such moments. For the first time, the United States and the Soviet Union seem ready to heed the concern expressed by John Fitzgerald Kennedy when he pointed out that if humanity did not put an end to war, war would put an end to humanity.

The meetings that took place in Washington last week are likely to promote the development of the entire spectrum of East-West relations. They will facilitate the establishment of a network of reciprocal interests that will enable the international community more effectively to contain and resolve its crises.

We should, of course, refrain from harbouring illusions. We must not think that overt or latent rivalries will disappear, that suspicion regarding the intentions of the other side will suddenly be replaced by complete trust. However, we can expect greater convergence in the search for stability. That is why the importance of the understanding reached by the United States and the Soviet Union transcends East-West relations - it heralds a model of behaviour and collaboration based not on the search for unilateral advantage but, rather, on the conviction that a disadvantage for one party is not necessarily an advantage for the other.

This convergence can also be seen in the manner in which the great Powers have confronted the crisis that most concerns us today - the Iran-Iraq conflict - and in the unanimity shown by the Security Council in adopting resolution 598 (1987).

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The war between Iran and Iran is a very complex phenomenon, whose implications can only be perceived with difficulty since it is a war with both religious and political aspects. It has the potential to alter the balances in the region and to make its consequences felt throughout the Middle East, even transforming the area into a Lebanon of enormous dimensions.

It is for this reason that we value highly the peace effort undertaken by the United States and the Soviet Union. Here, again, a convergence has been achieved between the two countries - this time through the exercise of joint responsibility, the framework for which has been provided by United Nations machinery. It will be necessary to bear this in mind at all times in the course of a peace progress that is likely to be difficult. No effort should be spared in safeguarding the process launched by Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and in inducing the interested parties fully and rapidly to implement its provisions.

Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's mission to Teheran and Baghdad resulted in the gathering of elements capable of providing a basis for future action. I wish to assure the Assembly that Italy, as a member of the Security Council, where it will assume the presidency for the month of October, will do everything possible to ensure that the Secretary-General may be able successfully to implement the mandate entrusted to him.

I sincerely hope that the intransigence of the two parties and the difficulties in overcoming ill will, hatred and aggravated nationalism will not prevent us from harvesting the fruits of the determined efforts of the Secretary-General and of the wider participation of the international community in this effort to restore normal conditions to the area.

In my view, the search for peace in the region between Iran and Iraq revolves around the relationship between a cease-fire and the restoration of normal conditions at the borders between the two countries, on the one hand, and the

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determination of the responsibility for initiation of the conflict, on the other hand. The problem is difficult but not insoluble, and it is necessary to continue to do everything possible to bring the belligerent parties to join in the peace process laid down in Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

Finally, in the event that the efforts of the Secretary-General and our support were to prove unproductive, new measures would become necessary. The very threat of such measures, even before they become a coercive instrument, should constitute a matter for reflection for the nations involved in the conflict.

The determination of responsibilities is certainly a complex problem. I believe, however, that it should be possible to distinguish at least two phases in the process which, in conformity with Security Council resolution 598 (1987), should lead to this result. The first phase would be the determination of the party that initiated hostilities. A second phase would be the determination of the underlying and immediate causes at the origin of the conflict, which, in any event, must be removed in order to strengthen the peace process and render it definitive.

The decision taken by my Government to send naval units to the Gulf to offer protection to the merchant ships flying the Italian flag does not represent a deviation from this policy, which has as its principal objective the end of this conflict and therefore also the protection of the freedom of navigation in international waters. Our action has the limited goal of protecting well-defined Italian interests with no hostile intentions towards any countries of the area.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

We have all had bitter experiences with the ability of regional crises to turn into global conflicts. Such experiences should strengthen our common resolve to support the action of the United Nations and its capacity to prevent destabilizing developments in the various regions of the world.

We are aware of what abandonment of the principles and instruments of multilateralism meant in terms of destruction and violence in the history of the European continent. For that reason, we strongly believe in the United Nations often unique capacities for action and intervention. The Organization is all the more indispensable in that peace and stability are challenged by groups that are expressions of North-South and East-West rivalries and inspired by divergent ideologies, strategic requirements and economic interests.

It was the very awareness that regional crises can unleash global conflicts that strengthened the determination of the Western European countries to unite, together with the countries on the other side of the Atlantic, in a defensive alliance and to initiate among themselves a process of political and economic integration.

The history of the 40 years since the end of the Second World War demonstrates how such regional agreements have uniquely contributed to creating, on the one hand, security conditions not otherwise attainable and, on the other, the premises for the development of East-West relations.

The search for dialogue and solidarity on regional bases, which corresponds with one of the principles of the United Nations Charter, is making headway in other regions of the world, owing in large part to the example and impetus provided by Europe. We see the movement progressing today, despite great difficulties and widespread inertia, in a region such as Latin America, whose destiny Europeans had for too long considered to be confinement in - to use the expression of Gabriel Garcia Marquez - its "hundred years of solitude". But the recently signed

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Guatemala City agreement provides an example of vitality and creativity. It is a victory for a reason that deserves the support of the community of nations, which it needs in order decisively to assert itself.

Then there are other conflicts, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, over which a veil of silence seems to have descended, particularly of late. However, problems are not solved by ignoring them. It is necessary to confront them openly and in a timely manner. It is also necessary to avoid giving the impression that they become matters of concern only when they reach a stage where they directly endanger our own interests.

I am aware that the path towards an international conference on the Middle East is still long, strewn with obstacles and rendered uncertain by numerous elements yet to be defined. However, I wish strongly to reiterate that it is necessary to overcome paralysing doubts and to avoid turning the Middle East into yet another forgotten and hopeless conflict, as was until recently the case with the Gulf war. It is necessary to defuse this process that fuels violence and frustration, because it would be illusory to think that its consequences could be confined to purely local dimensions.

The problems of peace that we face are immense. In addition to those I have mentioned there remain other unacceptable situations of regional tension, situations dealt with extensively in the statement made yesterday by the current President of the European Community on behalf of its 12 member States. I do not, therefore, believe it is necessary for me to comment further on those crises. I would only note that one sometimes has the impression that our Governments and the international organizations, including the United Nations, are unable to work out viable solutions to the problems before them.

This consideration should not be construed as criticism of the actions of the United Nations or of individual countries. Rather, it is the expression of the

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general conviction that, inevitably, not only our State institutions but our societies as a whole, particularly those sectors with the greatest knowledge of the instruments needed to confront current difficulties, must become involved in the search for peace.

Here I am thinking of the world of science, which we should like to be more open and not divided by ideological barriers, a vehicle for common progress rather than just an arena for competition. The idea of joint nuclear tests raised in the contacts between the two major Powers would be in keeping with that goal.

At the meeting held at Erice, Sicily, this summer, Edward Teller recalled the extent to which great discoveries of physics were subjected to secrecy as a consequence first of the Second World War and then of the cold-war climate. That famous scientist warned that in the future it would be necessary to prevent the cloak of secrecy again descending on scientific discoveries.

Science can respond to all the challenges that are bound to carry increasing weight in the approaching third millenium of our era. It can do so by spreading an awareness that in our time fundamental balances can be achieved by involving science and those who have mastered it. Here I am thinking of meteorological and seismic phenomena and climatic variations, and endeavours such as the protection of the environment and the war against hunger and disease, which can be included in the framework of the larger effort to keep our planet under control.

Of the evils that afflict our daily lives but can be combatted only on a global scale - that is, through the United Nations - the drug problem is, next to terrorism, certainly one of the most alarming. In some countries more than half of all crimes are linked to the use of drugs. Drugs are connected with the illegal arms traffic, with terrorism and with subversion. According to some calculations global profits from the drug traffic are equivalent to the gross national product of my country. That is one of the reasons the Italian Government has become the

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main supporter of the United Nations specialized agency entrusted with the struggle against this silent and clandestine scourge that saps the roots of our societies. We also welcomed with great satisfaction the results of the conference held last June at Vienna.

The bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq has once again drawn the world's attention to the problem of the transfer of conventional weapons and of their reduction.

Exactly 10 years ago the United States President, Jimmy Carter, drew the General Assembly's attention to the fact that the rate of growth of military spending was increasing at a faster rate in the developing countries than in the more advanced countries, at a time when the cost of equipping a single soldier was 60 times greater than the cost of a child's education. Ten years later this situation has certainly not changed for the better. Indeed, there are countries where it can be said that weapons kill ever before they are used, since they drain resources from economies already on the edge of subsistence.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Aware of this situation, Italy proposed as long ago as 1977 that the possibility be considered of establishing within the framework of the United Nations appropriate machinery to place the conventional arms trade under control. We think that it would be possible to go even further and agree on a code of conduct in this area. In my view, recent developments make our previous proposals particularly timely and we might well put them forward again.

It is increasingly evident, as was noted recently at the summit meeting in Venice of the seven most industrialized nations, that peace and prosperity can be pursued only on a global scale. Interdependence makes it necessary not only to ensure co-ordination of the stronger economies but also to follow with close attention the economic development of developing countries.

The struggle against underdevelopment is a means of relieving human misery and especially of fighting the terrible scourge of hunger. Solidarity with those who bear a burden so much greater than ours is also a means of establishing new relationships in a world which increasingly requires the co-operation of all, a world which is constantly becoming smaller, in which no one can remain a spectator of the misfortunes of others, in which on the contrary all must consider themselves members of the same team.

This solidarity must also permeate the international economy, although I am well aware that the idea of a single world with common problems and of the interdependence of the regions of the earth gives rise to many objections, to selfishness and to the compromises of the policies of the day. In fact, only with a sense of solidarity will we be able to make steady progress and belie catastrophic visions and predictions.

It is the responsibility of all countries, but above all the industrialized ones, to overcome existing economic imbalances. The international community,

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through its various mechanisms, is trying to resolve the serious challenges within the North-South framework, such as the grave situation of indebtedness of many developing countries, the recurring food crises and the difficulties of access to the markets of the industrialized economies.

The economist Arthur Lewis could write in the 1960s that the combined economies of Africa, Asia and Latin America amounted to less than 0.5 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized countries. The numerous ties that we maintain with the economies of those regions through international trade and because of their external debt show the extent to which such an assessment would no longer be valid today.

Italy's resources are inevitably limited, but my country is nevertheless determined to make a special contribution to the solution of these problems by intensifying its programmes of development assistance through increasingly effective and diversified instruments of intervention. The massive integration of our programmes of bilateral assistance in the activities of the United Nations in the form of either financial contributions or participation in the Organization's projects is an element of this action which lends greater coherence to our foreign policy as a whole.

The difficulties that we will meet should not lead us to indulge in pessimism and inaction because, as I have already said, the most recent evolution of the international political situation requires of us an even greater commitment to the well-being of developing countries. It is a commitment that is in our own interest. Abraham Lincoln said of his country on the eve of its most testing experience that America could not live "half slave and half free". I conclude with that quotation, which applies today to our entire planet.

Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): I have pleasure in extending to Mr. Peter Florin my sincerest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is particularly gratifying in that he is a representative of the German Democratic Republic, to which my country, Kuwait, is tied by the strongest bonds and mutual interests. I am confident that his experience and wisdom will lead this session to success and positive results.

I also wish to express our appreciation of the efforts of his predecessor as President, our colleague Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, the Foreign Minister of friendly Bangladesh, during the forty-first session.

I must also praise the strenuous efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in dealing with the various international issues to which he sincerely and resolutely seeks appropriate solutions while highlighting the significance of the role of the United Nations in achieving and maintaining international peace and security. We the Member States of the United Nations must spare no effort in helping him not only to uphold the Organization and its important role in the world, but also to enhance that role with a view to ensuring the better future we desire for ourselves and coming generations.

The present and future of the United Nations depend on the uninterrupted and unconditional flow of material and moral support from the Member States. Of primary importance are political support, the honouring of pledges and total commitment to the obligations and responsibilities defined in the Charter and in resolutions. In the absence of a true commitment to the implementation of the Organization's resolutions, which spell out the will of the international community, our Organization would be no more than a rostrum for people who cry out and give utterance to wishes in words which are promptly dispersed by the wind or

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submerged in adverse facts, leaving behind cries that undermine the prospects of peace and human well-being and progress.

The Prince of the State of Kuwait, His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, spoke of this in a recent statement as follows:

"The United Nations is the world's conscience and executive power. The conscience is in the General Assembly and the power is wielded by the Security Council. Of the latter body the world expects mandatory resolutions which reaffirm its unshakable desire for a solution to the crises that threaten international peace and security."

Kuwait, which urged and supported the consolidation of United Nations processes last year, believes that it is the duty of all Member States to honour their financial obligations as defined in the Charter to ensure the proper performance by the United Nations of its historic role in the service of world peace.

The leaders of the Muslim nation bestowed upon Kuwait the honour and responsibility of presiding over the fifth summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Kuwait. His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah will head the Organization for the next three years.

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At their Conference in Kuwait, the leaders of the Muslim nation discussed the political and economic challenges facing the world, and the Islamic world in particular. That summit Conference adopted a set of resolutions on regional and international issues. His Highness the Chairman of the Conference pledged to oversee the implementation of those resolutions so that, God willing, they may bear fruit.

The leaders of the Muslim nation accorded the highest priority in their deliberations and resolutions to the question of holy Jerusalem - Al-Quds-al-Sharif - the cradle of religions and civilizations. That was hardly surprising: such priority flows from the basic objective of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It constitutes the fulfilment, recognition and discharge by the Conference of its religious obligation towards the Holy City. The leaders therefore reaffirmed the imperative necessity of preserving its Islamic and Arab character and reiterated that all Zionist legislation concerning Jerusalem are null and void.

The overriding concern of the leaders of the Muslim nations in their Kuwait meeting was the Iraq-Iran war, which this month entered its eighth year. This is a war between two principal members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It was regrettable that Iran saw fit to boycott that important meeting, under false pretexts, and that it mounted an unjust propaganda campaign against the meeting and the State of Kuwait, despite the considerable efforts made by Kuwait, the host country, and by the leaders of the other Muslim countries, to persuade officials in Iran of the necessity and usefulness of participating in the meeting to present and defend their views and listen to the views of others. But Iran has been adamant in its boycott of the meeting and rejection of its outcome and unanimous resolutions,

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which were a sincere, conscious contribution to the quest for a quick and just end to that war.

The Conference's resolution on the war stemmed from and was inspired by the teachings of true Islam. It was an expression of the leaders' resolve to fulfil their duties towards two Muslim neighbours. It showed an awareness by the leaders of their historical and religious responsibility to preserve the unity and coherence of the Muslim nation and their desire to avoid further shedding of Muslim blood in vain. The resolution was aimed at upholding the right of the peoples of the two countries to enjoy their wealth and resources in peace, security and stability, and the right of the countries and peoples of the region to protect themselves from the dire consequences of the continuation and expansion of the war.

By contrast, Iran's policy has been to exacerbate matters and to push the war towards perilous extremes. The flames of that war have started to engulf other countries not parties to the conflict, thereby seriously setting back the international economy. International security and freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf have been obstructed and jeopardized by strikes at ships from countries not parties to the conflict. The Arabian Gulf has always been a bridge of love for nations of the region, an oasis of co-operation, security and peace, and a source of well-being for the world. We have to preserve its distinct character; that is our collective responsibility, we the countries of the region.

This war erupted, we in Kuwait have been aware of its dangers and have sensed in it and in its undercurrents and developments the potential for expansion. Our preoccupation with the necessity for peace, neighbourliness and the tenets and ties of Islam, prompted us to initiate contacts, both on our own and collectively contacts with other States in the Gulf Co-operation Council, and other regional and international organizations, through the League of Arab States, the

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Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, in an attempt to bring this war to a prompt and just end. Subsequently, we tried to persuade the leaders of Iran to opt for peace - just as our brothers in Iraq had done - to heed the international will as reflected in numerous resolutions and initiatives.

But the Government of Iran rejected all those sincere calls, initiatives and resolutions. It erroneously and arbitrarily interpreted Kuwait's actions and endeavours to achieve this noble aim and thereby set out to target us - though we have never been a party to the conflict. Since 1984, Iran has been striking at our tankers in the waters of the Arabian Gulf. We have exercised the utmost self-restraint in the face of those provocations and assaults. We have no wish to see them intensify and expand. We have sought an end to them and have had recourse to international legitimacy as embodied in the Security Council, with a view to halting the attacks and safeguarding the interests of countries not parties to the conflict.

Nevertheless, the leaders in Iran are determined to continue to deprive us of the secure flow of our oil exports, thereby undermining our ability to meet our domestic and international obligations and play our role as contributors to the economic development programmes of developing countries. Faced with such a posture, we had to make certain normal and habitual commercial arrangements - arrangements previously made by many other countries, including Iran itself - to ensure safe passage to our tankers.

Iran raised an unjustified commotion about those commercial measures. This was a ruse by Iran to divert attention from its policies and practices directed against us. This Iranian posture is one of the most ominous aspects of the escalation currently witnessed by our region.

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In formulating its foreign policy, Kuwait has always held that the security of the Gulf region is the exclusive responsibility of the countries of the region. That strategically important region supplies the world with a valuable, indeed indispensable, resource and makes a considerable contribution to the development and well being of the world. The region must therefore remain free of tensions and crises; if major-Power rivalry and sinister foreign interventions are to be avoided, the use or threat of the use of force should have no place in the region.

Iran's determination to continue the war, its expansion of the hostilities, its threats to and bombing of ships of countries not parties to the conflict, its mining of waters throughout the Gulf, have brought matters to their present state, turned the Arabian Gulf into a highly volatile tinder box and led to the presence of foreign fleets and warships, each seeking to protect interests and freedom of navigation in that international waterway. It has now become clear, particularly through developments over the past few weeks, that Iran is determined to infringe upon our sovereignty and territorial integrity by all means. Residential and industrial areas in some parts of Kuwait, as well as its islands, have come under attack by Iranian missiles in overt acts of aggression that have no purpose but expanding of this war, further fanning its flames and increasing the number of its victims.

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Moreover, the inviolability of our embassy in Teheran was breached, its members were detained and mistreated, its contents were ransacked and burned and the embassy was, and still is, occupied in violation of the most basic rules of international law and norms of diplomatic behaviour. The tragic incident in Holy Mecca during one of God's holiest and more glorious days bears witness to Iranian irresponsibility. From this rostrum we call upon Iran to desist from such practices and to respect the rules and laws that govern relations between countries and ensure good-neighbourliness, in the interests of the region. Good-neighbourliness can never be achieved through aggression and provocation. Only through co-operation, cohesion and fraternity can people live as good neighbours.

There is not a single war in contemporary history that has lasted as long as this one or has wrought as much destruction. There has never been so much effort, on the regional, international, individual and collective levels - as that which has been directed at putting an end to this war. The latest in the series of international efforts has been Security Council resolution 598 (1987). This has been a historic resolution indeed in terms of the very fact that it has been adopted, the balance, fairness and unanimity which have characterized it and the popular support and official enthusiasm it has generated.

We now find that this resolution could well be the last chance to secure a just and lasting peace between the two Muslim neighbours and ensure peace in the region. The responsibility for pressing ahead towards the implementation of the resolution is shared by all. History will judge us mercilessly should we fail to make the effort and exert the pressure that will ensure implementation. Interests among countries have become so shared and interlocked that there are no longer any limited conflicts that affect only those who are party to it. Therefore, we are

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all partners in good and evil, as well as in war and in peace. So let us all work together for peace, and while hailing Iraq's acceptance of this resolution, let us call upon Iran to accept it fully and unambiguously and implement it without delay so that the curtain may fall on the last act of this tragedy which is at odds with heaven's values, let alone earth's laws. While we fully appreciate the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General to implement the said resolution, especially his recent trip to both Tehran and Baghdad, we believe that we are all in duty-bound to support fully his endeavour without falling into the snares of deception or chasing a mirage.

The Palestinian question was at the forefront of the agenda and attracted the attention of leaders of the Muslim nation during their meeting at Kuwait. In-depth and detailed consideration was given to the current statement; the continued suffering of the Palestinian people under the sway and oppression of the Israeli occupation forces; the continued occupation of the Arab territories, most notably Holy al-Quds, and the preventing of the Palestinian people from establishing their independent State on their national soil, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The leaders' resolutions expressed the unity of purpose and the awareness of a common destiny with regard to this sacred cause. The leaders found that moving the issue along the path of a solution will be achieved only through an international conference held under the auspices of the United Nations and attended by all parties on an equal footing, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We in Kuwait have always considered and will continue to consider the Palestinian cause as our principal concern. It is a cause that involves our dignity and credibility as Arabs. Thus, while thanking the countries and regional

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organizations that have supported the convening of the international conference, we ask those countries that wield decisive influence over Israel to join the mainstream of the overwhelming international majority and pressure Israel in to ensuring the holding of that conference, whose purpose is to establish peace in the Middle East region and secure the Palestinian people's right of return to their homeland from the torment of homelessness and ruin.

Since the brutal Israeli invasion of its territory five years ago, Lebanon continues to see parts of its native soil in the South languishing under the heel of Israeli military occupation. Despite numerous resolutions by the Security Council demanding Israeli withdrawal, Israel continues to refuse to withdraw in pursuance of its policy of expansion at the expense of others, interference in Lebanon's domestic affairs, undermining its security and destabilizing its independence. The world community must force Israel to withdraw from all Lebanese territory. We are also required to stand firmly by Lebanon and support the steadfastness of its people in order to ensure Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the security of its people and institutions.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to be a source of great concern to Kuwait. That question was taken up by leaders of the Muslim nation in Kuwait. They have demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces and supported ongoing efforts by the United Nations to reach a just solution to this issue, securing the return to their homes of all Afghan refugees, non-intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the preservation of its Islamic and non-aligned character.

We in Kuwait welcome the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and hope that the negotiating parties may show sufficient flexibility in their endeavours to reach a solution that ensures the region's safety and security.

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With the same attention and sense of historic responsibility accorded to the study of the question of Zionism and Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories, the Muslim leaders in Kuwait discussed the question of racism, the persistent occupation of Namibia and South Africa's repeated attacks against its neighbours, the front-line States. They found that a comprehensive and sincere boycott of the racist régime in South Africa is the only means of forcing it to respond to the will of the international community and respect the rights of the black majority, primary among which is their right to be treated as equals.

Kuwait has always supported the legitimate and courageous struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and believes that it is no longer permissible or fair to let Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be held hostage to elements extraneous to that resolution and detrimental to the achievement its legitimate objectives, namely peace and security in the region.

On the basis of its commitment to support international and regional efforts towards a peaceful solution of political problems, Kuwait views with satisfaction the signs of agreement among Central American countries in the development of well-thought-out and approved bases for solving the political problems of that region in a manner that precludes super-Power intervention and manipulation of situations to serve their own ends. We support the aspirations of the region's nations to an environment of tranquillity and stability wherein the national energies may be focused on development, reconstruction and the achievement of human well-being.

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Among the primary concerns of the Muslim nation's leaders during their meeting in Kuwait was the issue of terrorism - the phenomenon that has spread in our world today to the extent that it now threatens the very foundations of world stability. The leaders expressed their concern and dismay at the alarming proportions which that phenomenon had now reached and declared their utter rejection of the tendentious attempts by anti-Islam forces to link terrorism to Islam.

Both in essence and substance, Islam rejects violence in whatever shape or form because it is a faith based on affection and fraternity and depends, in precepts and practice, on dialogue and persuasion. The Muslim nation is willing to co-operate among its members and with the world community to eradicate international terrorism and highlight the differences between terrorism and the sacred right of peoples to wage a legitimate liberation struggle. To that end, the leaders supported the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices to draft a definition of terrorism.

Whenever signs of concord in the relations between the two super-Powers appear on the horizon, their positive effects are reflected on the peace and security of the whole world. In that connection, Kuwait welcomes the tentative agreement reached between the United States of America and the Soviet Union on eliminating their medium-range missiles and nuclear warheads, and hopes that that will be the beginning of an ongoing process that leads to disarmament.

Announcement of that understanding gave peace-loving peoples hope for the dawning of a new era in which co-operation will prevail among the world's major Powers instead of the rivalry which has squandered huge resources and diverted them away from their real functions of serving mankind and upholding peace.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

In the interests of peace, we call upon the super-Powers to give regional wars and conflicts the same attention they have accorded to their unresolved bilateral issues. We in Kuwait believe that preserving the lives of people, wherever they may be, must be our goal, because man is the maker of peace and progress and the generator of their motive power.

In the turmoil of the political situation of today's world, the Islamic Summit Conference was held and concluded its work under the shadow of critical international economic conditions. The leaders discussed those problems thoroughly in the light of their commitment to the right of Muslim and other nations of the world to a secure and stable life, economic development and social well-being.

Throughout, the participants in the Conference were able to steer, with God's help, the ship of the Islamic Conference clear of storms and rocks towards a new horizon where Muslims' blood is spared and their ranks closed, while basking in brotherhood, co-operation and peace.

We confidently hope that the United Nations - the living model of international co-operation - will benefit from the success of the Islamic Summit Conference, to which my country, Kuwait, served as host.

Mr. GOUNG (Burma): May I first of all congratulate Ambassador Florin most warmly on his unanimous election as President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. The delegation of Burma believes that the deliberations at this session will prove constructive and fruitful under his able guidance.

I take this opportunity also to pay a sincere tribute to Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury for his most valuable contribution to the work of the Assembly at the preceding session.

The regular sessions of the General Assembly have always afforded us a very welcome opportunity to look at the years that have gone by and to look ahead, into

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

the future. During past years, and particularly since the last World War, the winds of change have swept all over the world. We have seen the collapse of colonial empires and the birth of newly independent States. Science and technology - the essential key to modern progress and prosperity - have marched apace with all the attendant developments, both positive and negative, in our international environment. The world's population has been multiplying, and we have witnessed the rising tide of expectations among people throughout the world for such fundamental rights as equality and dignity, sovereignty and independence, peace and security and, above all, economic and social well-being.

It is perfectly fitting that the United Nations Charter opens with the solemn vow "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind ..." and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". The provisions of the Charter thus continue to reflect the constantly changing mood and aspirations of present-day human society and the circumstances of our time. This surely is proof of the continuing validity of the Charter principles, which constitute the foundation of our Organization.

No aspects of human life have been spared the impact and influence of the forces generated by the constantly changing circumstances of the international environment. Consequently, the history of the post-war years is particularly one of an endless and extremely difficult process of great human endeavours to adjust and readjust to the rapidly changing needs of the time. The United Nations has indeed played a very necessary, an essential role in charting our challenging path towards a more secure and prosperous world. Notwithstanding that fact, the international scene has been clouded by tensions, instability and uncertainties which are very much in evidence wherever we look - in the political and social spheres, in trade and commerce, in transport and communications, and so on.

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

This brings us to the question of international peace and security. The collective security system envisaged in the Charter is based on the recognition that, by and large, the maintenance of international peace and security depends on the big Powers which have, together or individually, the capability to make or mar its prospects. It was on the basis of that very recognition that the founding fathers of the United Nations saw to it that a special status of permanent membership was conferred upon the big Five in the Security Council, the supreme body in matters of war and peace. Indeed, the grim reality of today is also the continued dominance of the super-Powers in international relations.

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

Unfortunately, the harmony that marked the relationship between the big Powers when the Charter was being hammered out in San Francisco and before, diminished rapidly after the conclusion of the Second World War. Meanwhile, the problems that confront our Organization have increased many fold, broadened in scope and become increasingly complex. Any effort to promote peace and security in any part of the world can be restricted by sheer indifference or greatly enhanced by the support of the big Powers. A certain degree of understanding between them is essential before we can hope to gain tangible results in any peace-making process.

The foremost issue of international concern is the prevention of a war in which nuclear weapons will be used. This is a common danger that all countries face and no national security policy can protect States from that threat, for the dynamics of a nuclear war know no sanctuary. In past wars it was possible to destroy a village, a town or even a country. Now, nuclear weapons threaten all mankind in its planetary dimension. So long as nuclear weapons exist there can be no guarantee that they will not be used and we cannot dismiss the possibility of an outbreak of nuclear war due to accident, miscalculation or failure of communication. World peace and security cannot endure indefinitely in conditions in which the spiralling of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, continues without respite. The attainment of general disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons are issues of paramount importance not only to the major Powers but to all other countries of the world.

The United Nations came into existence a few short weeks only before the age of nuclear weapons and the implications of the nuclear age were not fully anticipated when the Charter was constituted. However, the collective security envisaged therein, born of the realization of the Second World War, requires that

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

nations settle their differences by peaceful means without recourse to arms, and is to be realized through disarmament.

From all accounts the bilateral process of disarmament negotiations has not only been intensified but also accelerated recently. In our view, these are steps in the right direction worthy of universal acclaim and we are encouraged by the present course of developments.

The situation in the Middle East and its implications for international peace and security continue to be of concern to the United Nations. The international community has reiterated year after year that the success of the continuing search for peace in the Middle East lies in the solution of the Palestine problem. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) remain valid as embodying the principles for a just and comprehensive settlement. These, indeed, are essential prerequisites for a peaceful solution. Moreover, central to the solution of the problem is recognition of the right of all States in the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries and the right of the Palestinian people to regain their national rights, including the right to sovereignty and independence.

The viable option towards the path to peace lies in a negotiated settlement among all the parties concerned. That is why the idea that has once again been gaining ground of the convening of an international peace conference and the need for the Security Council to take initiatives on this matter is indeed a positive development.

Lebanon is still tottering under the impact of external encroachment upon its sovereignty and independence. The two major Powers in the region, Iran and Iraq, have been fiercely locked in armed hostilities. The situation in the entire region of the Middle East is really ominous. Unless timely action can be taken to bring them under control there is a very real danger of the hostilities spilling over to

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

other areas, thereby engulfing all the countries in the region. The delegation of Burma highly commends the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General with a view to bringing about a process of negotiation in the spirit of the Charter and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Assembly continues to witness a situation in South Africa in which there is no sign of improvement as the country's régime continues, by the perpetuation of the system of apartheid, to deny the majority its rights as a people. The illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime continues to deprive the people of that country of their independence, and its acts of aggression against and territorial violations of neighbouring countries pose a continuing threat to the peace and stability of the region. South Africa shows no inclination to begin the process of peaceful dialogue. The international community has condemned apartheid with one voice and the need has been recognized for a concerted course of action by the United Nations consistent with Chapter VII of the Charter, to exercise pressure in a peaceful way so that the South African régime may abandon its present policies and practices.

Nearly a decade has passed since, as a result of foreign intervention and occupation, the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan were deprived of their independence and the right of self-determination. The restoration of their rights has been consistently on the agenda of the United Nations. Moreover, the peoples of those two countries have suffered much, and that has given a humanitarian dimension to the problem. Although the situations are somewhat similar in their basic character, they arose out of particular developments and circumstances in the region and their solution lies in resolving the problems of each country within the regional context. The similarity is that the solutions to the problems would require the complete withdrawal of foreign forces and a negotiated settlement of a

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

comprehensive character between the parties concerned. Despite the complexity of the issues, the United Nations General Assembly has, year after year, adopted resolutions, with the support of the vast majority, embodying the principles and modalities for a just and negotiated settlement.

Burma has consistently supported the General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea and Afghanistan since it believes that peaceful settlements on the basis of those resolutions would create the conditions for the restoration of the right to national sovereignty and self-determination of these two peoples.

With regard to the situation in Kampuchea, the implications for regional peace and stability are of particular concern. We believe that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Kampuchean people would create conditions favourable to the mutual trust and understanding which are essential for the realization of regional co-operation on peace and development. At the same time a solution to the conflict in Afghanistan would also create conditions for peace within the region, which in turn would enhance the prospects for the solution of international issues with global dimensions.

The performance of the world economy has been sluggish for some time. Two years ago, three major factors - namely, the fall in the price of oil, the value of the dollar and interest rates - gave rise to some hopes for more vigorous growth in 1986 and 1987. The general assessment now is that these hopes did not materialize in 1986 and that the prospects for 1987 are also far from bright.

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

Developing countries generally rely on their export of primary commodities to earn the precious hard currency for financing their investment projects and essential imports. The dramatic decline in the prices of primary commodities started some 10 years ago and has continued without much interruption. They have subsequently fallen even faster. This situation is true for most primary commodities, agriculture and forest products and minerals and metals alike. On the other hand, the developing countries have to pay ever higher prices for the import of manufactured goods from developed industrialized countries. These factors naturally set in motion a chain reaction of adverse effects for all developing countries in terms of their capacity to save, to import and to invest, thereby creating grave difficulties in their balance of payments and terms of trade and necessitating resort to more and more borrowing abroad.

This is how the developing countries come to be overburdened with an immense volume of international debt and debt-servicing needs, which has the effect of dissipating the most energetic efforts of the developing countries in their search for a viable economy, which proves elusive. Over-indebtedness and an increasingly deteriorating balance of payments and trade cannot be expected to be confined to any country or group of countries or to any sector or sectors of the world's economy. They cannot but be pervasive and far-reaching in effect. This has indeed been evident in the difficulties encountered world-wide by both developing and developed countries, and also in the recent upheavals caused to the international banking and financial institutions.

All this points to only one conclusion: if we are to overcome the present economic difficulties - be they trade and aid, money and finance or development - all Member States must work together in a spirit of co-operation in order to explore ways and means for the effective reversal of the current trend and place the world on the path of sustained and balanced growth.

(Mr. Goung, Burma)

Last year the United Nations faced a crisis in its history which ostensibly was financial in nature but the root cause of which apparently went deeper. Out of such difficulties arose an opportunity for the United Nations to improve its administrative and financial efficiency, which led to a decision on a broad range of measures. My delegation believes that the agreement is the first essential step in the implementation of the measures necessary to improve the structural and financial efficiency of the United Nations. It was without doubt due to a spirit of accommodation on all sides that consensus prevailed on such a broad and complex issue. The decisions reached go far beyond organizational reforms. It can be said that they constitute a commitment on the part of all Members to the view that a viable and effective United Nations is needed if it is to serve the noble purpose for which it was intended. Such a commitment requires that Member States fulfil their financial obligations under the Charter. The decision last year to reform the United Nations system was a step in the long-term effort in which we all should persevere. What is essentially necessary is a spirit of accommodation and co-operation which should continue to prevail for the effective implementation of that reform.

The delegation of Burma fully sympathizes with the Secretary-General, who must lead the Organization at this critical phase. We wish him all success in his tireless efforts to bring about the requisite consensus and spirit of mutual accommodation with a view to resolving the current problems. The delegation of Burma hopes that the deliberations of the current session will go a long way to infuse renewed vigour into the work of the Organization.

Mr. ABU HASSAN (Malaysia): I should like first to extend my sincere felicitations to Mr. Peter Florin on his unanimous election as President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. His outstanding ability and statesmanship will serve to guide our deliberations most efficiently and

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

effectively. May I also record my delegation's appreciation of the successful and productive presidency of Mr. Humayun Choudhury, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, at the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

This annual assembly provides yet another occasion for Member States to focus attention on the challenges and opportunities confronting the international community. In the weeks ahead we shall deliberate on the many burning and pressing issues which make up the contemporary world - issues which demand the attention of our Organization. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that in the often frenzied atmosphere of speech-making and lobbying we shall not lose sight of the fact that the ever growing number of issues before this body demand solution. We are here because we believe in the role of the United Nations as the highest and broadest forum for deliberating upon the affairs of the international community, indeed upon the affairs of mankind, and for the construction of international peace and development.

There can be no illusion about the fact that peace, freedom, social justice and economic progress and development are of fundamental importance to the United Nations. It is true that in many parts of the world confrontations still persist, controversial issues remain unresolved and suffering continues. It is true that the sovereignty of nations, small nations in particular, continues to be violated. It is equally true that a large part of mankind is living in poverty, in dire need of food, shelter, medical care and basic education. Hence, the Organization must not be regarded as the special preserve of some parties or be manipulated by others.

Let me state categorically that Malaysia firmly believes in the United Nations and its efficacy in dealing with the expanding contemporary world. Despite the challenges that confront and threaten us, the world is a better place today than it would have been without the United Nations. Today mankind is able to anticipate the future with a degree of optimism.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

Malaysia has given substance to the belief that contemporary international problems should be resolved through the United Nations. In recent years, the international community has been alarmed by the dramatic rise and impact of drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking on societies throughout the world. It was obvious that it was only through effective international action that the problem could be eradicated. For this reason, Malaysia strongly supported the initiative Secretary-General's initiative that led to the convening of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Vienna last June. Our commitment found expression in the fact that our Prime Minister, Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, presided over the Conference. We are pleased with the results of the Conference, which provided the political will and laid down the framework for combating the drug menace. We urge societies everywhere and at all levels to make every possible effort to put that framework and political will into effect.

In Vienna, the Conference agreed to declare an International Day against Drug Abuse and requested the Assembly to choose an appropriate date. It seems to us that 26 June, the day the Conference adopted its Declaration, would be appropriate. It would remain us of our pledge to express the political will needed to sustain the fight against the drug menace. The Assembly must also, at this session, take practical measures for implementation of the guidelines contained in the Comprehensive Multidisciplinary Outline (CMO). Increased contributions must be provided to enhance the effective work done by the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control. Particular benefits can be derived through the convening of drug-related international and regional seminars, training programmes and the vital exchanges of information. The Division of Narcotic Drugs can be made the central depository for all information on drug-related activities and methodologies and such information should made readily available to Member States.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

Similarly, we are concerned over developments in Antarctica and their impact on the interests and concerns of society as a whole. In our view, and in that of many like-minded countries, the Antarctic Treaty does not adequately address those interests and concerns. We have brought the issue before the United Nations, convinced that it is the right place for dealing with the matter in a constructive manner. We are not unaware of the fact that the existing Treaty does contain some provisions that are conducive to international co-operation and regional peace. We must be satisfied that the interests of mankind are not disregarded in those instances. Despite what has been said about our motives in bringing the matter before this body, I should like to state emphatically that it is still our hope that through dialogue and consultations with the parties to the Treaty we shall eventually succeed in arriving at a consensus for an Antarctic Treaty system that would be universally accepted as representing the interests of mankind. The United Nations must of course have a role to play in that exercise.

Our Organization continues to be faced with many cases of failure to adhere to the basic principles of the Charter and to United Nations resolutions. In Kampuchea, Vietnamese forces continue to defy General Assembly resolutions calling for their withdrawal and for the restoration of the right of self-determination to the people of that country. As long as this defiance of United Nations resolutions persists the peace and stability of the region of South-East Asia will be threatened. In spite of the inherent threat posed by the occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam, the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have consistently encouraged a comprehensive and lasting political solution to the Kampuchean problem, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. In this respect, we are grateful that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative are taking an active interest in the matter.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

I am sure that it has not escaped the notice of most delegations that following recent developments there has been a flurry of notes circulated as United Nations documents. If, for some, the circulation of those notes has confused rather than clarified the issue, we are not surprised. There has been no hesitation on the part of Viet Nam to confuse the international community. Viet Nam and all the parties concerned should persist in the search for a political solution. In this context, the recent initiative taken by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia is a step forward. The proposal is for a meeting of certain persons in their individual capacities with a view to effecting the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, and for national reconciliation. This would help to bring about a lasting settlement.

Let me state the basic issues again: first, Viet Nam usurped the sovereignty of a small neighbouring State; secondly, with the help of 150,000 of its troops, Viet Nam installed a puppet régime whose legitimacy has been consistently rejected by the international community through successive resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the survival of that régime continues to be dependent on the presence of Vietnamese forces; thirdly, successive United Nations resolutions have called for the withdrawal of those forces, the restoration of Kampuchean sovereignty, and a comprehensive and lasting political solution; and fourthly, the Kampucheans have suffered needlessly for far too long. Masses of innocent people are displaced from their homes and forced to seek refuge and relief in Thailand.

The ASEAN countries stand firmly behind the resolutions of the General Assembly, and we urge Viet Nam to enter into a genuine and constructive dialogue with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Only on this basis, we feel, can a comprehensive and lasting political solution be reached in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

There is the other question of refugees from Viet Nam itself. The ASEAN countries are still facing a continuing flow of refugees from Viet Nam as a result of Viet Nam's failure fully to implement an orderly departure programme. It is imperative that Viet Nam address this problem urgently.

Afghanistan is another instance where the sovereignty of a small nation has been violated and trampled upon. We continue to follow with interest the mediation efforts conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, and remain concerned that while those efforts are going on Afghanistan continues to be ravaged by repression, resulting in the deaths of many Afghans, while millions more are forced to live as refugees. A political solution is contingent upon the early withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, recognition of the right of the refugees to return to their homeland and the restoration of Afghanistan's sovereignty. We call on the Soviet Union to demonstrate the necessary good faith and flexibility so that the process initiated by the Secretary-General can be successfully concluded and there can be self-determination in Afghanistan.

Some of the major threats to international peace and security, such as the situation in the Middle East, the question of Palestine and the apartheid policy of South Africa, have for a very long time remained resistant to solutions. These questions cannot be resolved as long as the major Powers, in particular, refuse to act decisively and in accordance with United Nations decisions.

In the Middle East, Israel has not ceased its aggression against the Arab peoples; it has not given up the Arab territories that it occupies; nor has it accepted the reality of the Palestinian people as a nation or respected the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, which include the right to their homeland. Israel has continued to pursue aggressive and expansionist policies, with total

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

disregard of the norms of international conduct. Encouraged by the stand of certain Powers, Israel continues to choose the option of brute strength, military might and terrorism, while rejecting peaceful solutions. The attitude of Israel and its supporters has severely constrained the ability of the United Nations to act effectively. Malaysia cannot ignore the fact that these are severe transgressions of the Charter.

Malaysia strongly supports the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, with the participation of all parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, in order to find a comprehensive solution to the problem. This just and reasonable approach has been supported consistently by the General Assembly.

In southern Africa, despite the condemnation of virtually all the Member States of the United Nations, the racist minority régime of South Africa persists in its policy of apartheid. The time is long past for merely debating this issue. What is required now is decisive action against Pretoria in the form of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. Some major nations with vested interests in South Africa remain opposed to mandatory sanctions on the ground that sanctions would be ineffective and create hardship for black South Africans and the front-line States. We reject this argument because these same countries have not been loath to apply sanctions when it has suited their interests.

In any case, if those countries are truly concerned about the repercussions of sanctions, there are practical measures which can be taken to alleviate the effects of sanctions for black South Africans and the front-line States. For instance, the Non-Aligned Movement has established a Fund for Southern Africa for this very

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

purpose. We therefore urge the major Powers concerned to act decisively so that the evil system of apartheid may be terminated.

It is also incumbent on the international community - in particular, the permanent members of the Security Council - to restore the inalienable rights of the Namibian people, on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We reject any linkage of the Namibia question to extraneous issues. In this connection, Malaysia reiterates its firm support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its struggle for justice and freedom for the people of Namibia.

If this Organization is to serve mankind effectively, Member States must abide by the fundamental principles of the Charter. They have the obligation to have recourse to peaceful means for the settlement of disputes. Yet we are witness to the Iran-Iraq conflict, now in its eighth year. Thousands have been sacrificed; cities have been ravaged; chemical weapons have been used; and vast economic resources which could otherwise have been used for constructive purposes have been wasted. Whatever the final outcome of the conflict may be, it is clear that no side will emerge the victor; both sides will inherit the destructive results of the war and the consequences of lost resources and lost opportunities.

The world had hoped that with the unanimous adoption last July of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) some positive result would ensue for the termination of the conflict. Instead, what is occurring is a heightening of tension as the conflict escalates and the warships of several nations converge in the area. Each major actor appears to be putting conflicting national and strategic interests before the objectives of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). Yet we note the unanimity in the adoption of that resolution. Malaysia totally supports the Secretary-General's efforts to secure application of Security Council resolution

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598 (1987) and we appeal to the two belligerents to be responsive to him and to stop the carnage and insanity of the conflict.

Malaysia has consistently advocated the principle that regional countries have a primary duty in the resolution of regional problems through dialogue and consultation. We firmly believe in regionalism as a basis for developing strong neighbourly relations in the interest of peace and stability. That is the foundation of our co-operation in ASEAN, which has contributed to progress and a growing sense of confidence in the region. We believe that this confidence is crucial in our effort to address current challenges and in forging peace and stability in the area. ASEAN has recently commemorated its twentieth anniversary and is currently preparing for a third summit further to enhance co-operation between Member States and make the Association stronger in the coming decades.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

We are happy to note that a similar trend is emerging in Central America, where a peace plan was signed last August in Guatemala. That plan received the support of the Contadora and the Support Groups. I would like to express the hope that this trend will enable the peoples of Central America to attain justice, to defend their freedom and independence and to concentrate on development free from super-Power rivalries.

In North-East Asia, Malaysia urges the resumption of bilateral dialogue between the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for normalization of relations which would reduce tension in the Korean peninsula. It is hoped that through earnest efforts common ground can be found. Malaysia stands ready to support initiatives of either party that are directed to achieving enduring peace and security in that region.

Malaysia hopes that the discussions between the various interested parties conducted through the auspices of the International Olympic Council will bring about positive results and help pave the way for the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to interact in other areas of their relations.

For decades the international community has been staggered by the arms race. For many years the United Nations has been addressing this vital and complex question. In the final analysis, while the nuclear-armed States, especially the two super-Powers, are primarily responsible to effect real change, all nations must also contribute by working against nuclear proliferation and being supportive of the disarmament process. A stop must be put to this insane race, not merely because of its implications with respect to the survival of mankind but also because, in the stand-off, huge amounts continue to be spent which could otherwise be channelled into more constructive pursuits. We are encouraged by the United States and the Soviet negotiators closing the ground on an agreement covering

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

medium and short-range nuclear missiles. The two super-Powers must enter into serious negotiations on strategic weapons and a nuclear test ban. It is hoped that these negotiations will pave the way for agreements covering the whole range of nuclear disarmament. In this context the recommendations of the recently concluded International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development will provide some impetus for change in the flow of resources from armament to economic and social development at both the national and international levels.

The security and well-being of the peoples of the world cannot be separated from social and economic development. In fact, the United Nations has an equally pivotal role to play in this regard. For the past few years the international community has had to grapple with the growing international debt problem, continuing recessionary trends in commodity prices, major problems in food and agriculture and, in general, international trade. Protectionist measures are on the rise and are being manifested in new legislation and trade restrictive actions in developed countries.

It is difficult to envisage any progress in the international trading environment, unless the developed countries themselves believe in the need to maintain a more liberal and open international trade system and give favourable and differential treatment to developing countries. It is to the interest of all to adopt steps to roll back protectionism and resuscitate international trade. It is for this reason that Malaysia sees a significance in the new round of multilateral trade negotiations.*

* Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

The seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII) concluded recently with a consensus agreement. We are encouraged by this result as it manifests a common desire of States to consult together on major economic problems confronting the world today. We are particularly pleased that all the obligations for the establishment of the Common Fund have been fulfilled. Malaysia would wish to see the Common Fund activated to strengthen trade as well as research and development in commodities. We stand ready to participate positively in bringing equilibrium back to commodity prices.

The international economic trends of the 1980s have convinced us that the pressing economic problems confronting the international economy cannot be resolved in isolation by a particular group of countries, be they developed or developing. Malaysia firmly believes that multilateral co-operation provides an effective means to overcome these problems. We cannot ignore the fact that the world economy is characterized by the high concentration of decision-making power among a few developed countries. Indeed, no country or bloc of countries should claim the wisdom to prescribe cures for what ails the global economy. The close interdependence of the global economy has time and again proved resistant to such selective prescription. Developing and developed countries must honestly acknowledge this simple reality and work together. The best way is to enter into global negotiations. We appeal to those few countries that still have reservations to show goodwill and magnanimity.

Malaysia also believes that meaningful co-operation need not be confined between the developed and the developing countries. Substantial gains are in store for South-South co-operation - that is, between and among the developing countries themselves. Arguably, while most developing countries share somewhat similar levels of development and are competitive in their efforts, there remains among them a range of stages of economic development. This provides opportunities for

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

meaningful and mutually beneficial co-operation among the developing countries themselves. Malaysia has been a prime mover in the call for accelerated South-South co-operation. We welcome the establishment of the South Commission headed by Mr. Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, and look forward to the early commencement of work by the Commission and its recommendations for specific projects for South-South co-operation.

In recent years some institutions of multilateralism have been under increasing attacks by a few - bringing in vogue the description that there is now a "retreat from multilateralism". However, the "retreat" has not brought about solutions to the many problems confronting the international community. On the contrary, it has exacerbated these problems. To our minds, the attainment of a stable and secure world must be accomplished through a genuine search for solutions - through meaningful multilateral co-operation.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

While we accept that there are various areas of institutional imperfection in the United Nations, as well as in other international forums, the answer to that problem lies neither in being oblivious to those weaknesses nor in ignoring or denigrating the United Nations and the process of multilateralism in general. To begin with we should search objectively for a solution to the financial crisis that has beset the Organization. Some momentum towards alleviating that financial crisis was achieved during the forty-first session of the General Assembly with the adoption by consensus of a resolution that laid down the basis for further efforts. It must be emphasized, however, that we should not run away from our common responsibility regarding the proper functioning of the Organization. It is to be hoped that our deliberations on this important issue during the current session will be directed primarily towards ensuring the financial stability of the United Nations.

We cannot overstate the importance of the interests and concerns of mankind that require attention by the United Nations nor the crucial role that the Organization can play in achieving world peace, progress and harmony in the next millenium. We must renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, which represent the collective will and wisdom of our founding fathers and which, remain more than ever relevant to the resolution of the problems of mankind and of the contemporary world.

Mr. BARRE (Somalia): On behalf of the delegation of Somalia, I extend our sincere congratulations to Mr. Peter Florin on his unanimous and well-deserved election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. I assure him of the full co-operation of my delegation in the successful discharge of his responsibilities.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

I take this opportunity to express our appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, under whose skilful guidance there were significant achievements at the forty-first session.

I wish also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his active role in promoting just and peaceful solutions to international problems.

This session of the General Assembly, like others before it, has a long agenda covering a wide range of topics. I think it is true to say, however, that there are just three broad categories into which those items fall - namely, peace and security, self-determination, and human rights. It is to those three areas that the purposes and principles of the Charter are directed. I believe it to be essential that we never lose sight of those purposes and principles as we address ourselves to the specific problems before us.

We must ask ourselves, for example, whether the world community is taking effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace. Is the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples being fully respected? Is there effective international co-operation to promote fundamental freedoms and human rights, including the right to economic and social stability? The extent to which we can answer these questions in the affirmative is the extent to which our obligations as Member States are being fulfilled. Obviously, there is a large gap between the statement of the goals we profess to seek and the attainment of those goals, and the effort to reduce that gap must be a constant one.

With regard to peace and security, it can be said that these benefits ultimately depend on the widest possible compliance with all the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. However, world peace can today be more

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

specifically identified with a strong commitment to disarmament and collective security, and particularly with full adherence to fundamental human rights.

As a former colonial territory which achieved independence under the aegis of the United Nations, Somalia is particularly conscious of the importance of the right to self-determination and independence in the strengthening of regional and international peace and security. In our view, the world community owes a debt of gratitude to the framers of the Charter for affirming those rights at a time when the process of decolonization was in its infancy and the likelihood of its success far from certain. It was their wisdom and foresight which provided the basis for the General Assembly's historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Today, the concern expressed in the Charter and the efforts by the United Nations to promote self-determination have been strongly validated. One of the clearest lessons of the history of our times is that attempts to suppress the will of peoples to self-determination and independence inevitably lead to violence and conflict and are in the end doomed to failure. Oppressed people will make any sacrifice, including the sacrifice of their lives, in order to establish conditions of freedom, justice and human dignity.

The task of creating a community of sovereign States with universality as the final goal is not yet completed, but the work of the United Nations in this area has strongly reinforced the hopes and dignity of millions of former colonized people in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, the Pacific and other areas who have recovered their national identity and now enjoy statehood. Somalia believes that the completion of this task must be a high priority of the United Nations.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

It has been said that peace, in the last resort, is a matter of human rights. I do not think there can be any question about the fact that gross violations of human rights, which undermine the dignity and worth of the human person, provoke both national and international tensions and conflicts. Somalia strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations on behalf of oppressed peoples. We believe that the world community must take an unequivocal stand when confronted by racist, aggressive and genocidal policies.

The United Nations responsibilities in the promotion of human rights do not stop, however, with attempts to put an end to intolerable oppression. Its responsibilities must also include the creation of a climate in which all States have the opportunity to provide adequately for the economic and social needs of their peoples. This, undoubtedly, is the meaning of the Charter's injunction that we promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

It is against the background of these thoughts on peace, self-determination and human rights that I shall address myself to specific international issues of particular concern to Somalia.

The question to which we give the highest priority in our foreign policy is that of peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. Our region has suffered from decades of conflict and tension, from the ravages of drought and desertification and from the human misery caused by mass refugee flows. The establishment of a climate of peace and stability would enable the people of the region to carry out with greater success the tasks of rehabilitation and development.

It was in recognition of this need that the Heads of State of Somalia and Ethiopia initiated a process of dialogue between the two countries at their meeting in Djibouti in January 1986. My Government is strongly committed to the success of

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

the ongoing talks aimed at creating conditions for the normalization of relations, the resolving of fundamental problems and the establishment of a just and lasting peace. We believe it is a measure of progress that the last meeting of the Somali-Ethiopia Joint Committee held in April of this year agreed that the two sides would continue the dialogue and refrain from any action which might jeopardize the peace process.

In our view a climate of confidence and trust must be created in which negotiations on substantive issues can be successfully pursued. We believe that the search for a just and lasting settlement could then go forward, based on a realistic appraisal of existing conditions and, most importantly, with a firm recognition of the legitimate aspirations and fundamental rights of the peoples involved.

It is our firm conviction that respect for the inalienable rights of peoples to justice and self-determination constitutes a solid foundation for peace and stability in the area.

In spite of some difficulties and setbacks, Somalia will continue to promote the peace process that has been set in motion - which would be in the interests, and contribute to the welfare of, all the peoples of the region.

I should like now to state Somalia's position on another urgent and grave international problem: the tragic war between Iran and Iraq. It has continued for almost 8 years without any prospect of an end in sight. It has exacted a heavy toll in human lives, in the destruction of property and in the depletion of the resources of both countries.

Somalia welcomed the Security Council's mandatory resolution calling for a cease-fire, which we considered to be an appropriate response to the destruction and bloodshed and to the widening repercussions of the war. We appeal to both

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

sides, and especially to Iran, to respond speedily and explicitly to international efforts to end the hostilities and to achieve an honourable settlement. The good offices of the Secretary-General in this regard must certainly be given appreciation and support. Bringing an end to this tragic war is in the best interests of the peoples of the area, of Arab and Islamic solidarity and of regional world peace and security.

In the Middle East, after decades of tension and conflict, the path to peace is still being obstructed by Israel's contempt for the rule of international law. Clearly, there will be no peace while Israel continues to deny the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, while it violates the human rights of the Arab people under its occupation and while it pursues expansionist policies of illegal annexation and occupation. The world community must demand an end to those policies and to the arrogant violation of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

My Government will continue to support United Nations resolutions calling for a comprehensive Middle East settlement, which would include the right of the Palestinians to return home and to establish a state in Palestine and Israel's withdrawal from all annexed and occupied Arab territory, including Jerusalem.

We also support the convening of a peace conference on the Middle East as an important step towards a just and lasting settlement.

The responsibility of Member States to promote human rights and remove threats to peace is nowhere heavier than in the case of southern Africa. My Government welcomes the increasing application of measures that demonstrate the world community's abhorrence of South Africa's apartheid policies. Regrettably, the apartheid system remains essentially in place, and institutionalized oppression

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

against the majority population and against all who oppose apartheid has been intensified.

Undoubtedly the situation in South Africa today is one of dangerous crisis, as the confrontation between the forces of oppression and those of the liberation struggle becomes increasingly violent. My Government strongly supports the international consensus on the need to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. This is the only peaceful and effective measure available to the United Nations in its effort to promote the establishment of a just society in South Africa.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

The case for mandatory sanctions is, of course, further strengthened by South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and by its use of the Territory as a springboard for military aggression against sovereign States. In our view, it is the inescapable duty of the Security Council to take firm action to ensure that the plan for Namibia's independence contained in resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) is implemented speedily and without pre-conditions.

In a number of other areas of conflict it is essential that international pressures continue to provide the momentum towards just and peaceful solutions. In this context, Somalia joins the vast majority of States in calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. The independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be fully respected, and the Afghan refugees must be allowed to return home in safety and with honour.

On the question of Cyprus, we urge the parties concerned to take full advantage of the good offices of the Secretary-General in working for a peaceful settlement. In our view, the resolution of this problem lies in the recognition by all concerned that the fundamental human, civil and political rights of the ethnic groups which constitute the population of that island State, must be fully respected and safeguarded, if there is to be lasting peace and internal harmony.

The strengthening of peace and security throughout the world depends more heavily, of course, on progress towards disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. Without doubt, the nuclear arms race overshadows all other issues in importance and urgency. That is why my Government warmly welcomes the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles. This development certainly has historic significance as it represents the first agreement, in principle, on the elimination of a specific class of nuclear weapons. Of equal significance, in our view, is the spirit of

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

co-operation which has fostered agreement in the crucial area of arms control. The world community is now encouraged to hope that a first step has been taken in a process which will lead to the elimination of long-range strategic missiles, to the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and to a freeze on the production and deployment of all nuclear weapons.

I turn now to the economic issues that are of great concern to my Government. Unfortunately, the lack of progress towards the solution of international problems in the political sphere is also evident in the major economic problems before the General Assembly.

The stalemate in efforts to establish a North-South dialogue and to promote a more just world economic order is again cause for disappointment and concern. For African States, the question of greatest urgency is the economic situation on our continent - a situation that continues to generate unacceptable levels of deprivation and misery. The worst ravages of natural and man-made disasters have abated, but one year after the convening of the Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, it cannot be said that the crisis on our continent is over. The pervasive constraints of underdevelopment and the effects of climatic and other disasters cannot be overcome easily.

For example, Somalia has been host for over seven years to successive mass influxes of refugees. Even though basic needs are met through international assistance, the presence of 700,000 refugees in official camps, and as many more in the country at large, continues to place a heavy burden on our weak infrastructure, economy and resources. We naturally hope that efforts to create a climate of peace in the region will help to promote the optimum solution to the refugee problems - that of voluntary repatriation. Unfortunately, the majority of the refugees are still not assured that they can return home to safe and stable conditions.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

My Government is grateful to the donor countries and United Nations agencies which have given the refugees a measure of hope for the future. Nevertheless, I must take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal for the fulfilment of food aid pledges. At the present time, there are serious food shortages and outbreaks of nutrition-related diseases in many camps, and unless speedy and effective measures are taken the situation could soon become catastrophic. We hope that generous and prompt support for immediate and medium-term needs will continue to be made available to the refugees, in accordance with the commitments made at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa.

I believe there must be great recognition of the direct connection between the economic plight of developing countries and the constraints of the existing world economic order. It should be stressed that when the developing countries call for a North-South dialogue on interrelated questions of trade, money, debt servicing and development, they are not speaking of ideologies or economic abstractions. They are speaking of matters of life and death. They are speaking of the need to overcome conditions of widespread hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease.

Somalia strongly supports United Nations policies and programmes dealing with the related questions of the environment, population and human settlements. We believe that the promotion of the status of women, the rights of the child and the needs of youth, the aging and the disabled admirably carry out the humanitarian and social purposes of the world body. Campaigns against such evils as racial discrimination and the traffic in drugs illustrate the continuing vitality and relevance of the Organization.

We are all aware that many issues in critical areas of peace and security, self-determination and human rights remain unresolved. This calls for deep concern because all the goals of human endeavour and human aspirations are encompassed by these three fields of international action.

(Mr. Barre, Somalia)

My delegation is encouraged by the fact that practical solutions, based on the principles of the Charter, have proved successful in many critical situations that have come before the United Nations. Those solutions reflect the collective wisdom of the world community, and thereby bring moral pressure to bear on events.

To conclude, the United Nations must continue to remain the centre for promoting the rule of international law and for fostering co-operation among States for the good of all. In this unique human endeavour, the United Nations can always depend on the full support and co-operation of the Government and people of Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I would remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second, and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): Although the General Assembly has already decided again to defer to next year's session the inscription of and debate on the item on East Timor, the Foreign Minister of Portugal in his statement yesterday saw fit to refer to this so-called question.

It has unfortunately become customary whenever Portuguese spokesmen make mention of East Timor for them to engage in half-truths and one-sided presentations. This in turn compels us to respond, if only to set the record straight.

In his statement the Portuguese Foreign Minister referred to his country's inability to fulfil its obligations as the administering Power but, as usual, conveniently omitted to explain why this came about. The full facts of the matter are these: Portugal ceased to be able to carry out its responsibilities because in August 1975 the colonial authorities in Dili, in a most irresponsible manner, simply abandoned East Timor. They did so after allowing the situation in the Territory to deteriorate to the point of civil war - in fact, after practically instigating civil war by clandestinely turning over its arms and munitions to one particular political group. By this action, Portugal in effect relinquished its responsibility as administering Power and, consequently, forfeited any right, whether legal or moral, to be considered any longer the Administering Authority of East Timor.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Hence, it should come as no surprise that the East Timorese people considered themselves no longer bound to any decolonization covenant with the erstwhile colonial Power and assumed their own, legitimate right and responsibility to determine their own fate. This they did by choosing independence through integration with Indonesia, in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and principles VI, VIII and IX of resolution 1541 (XV).

In Indonesia's view, therefore, East Timor long ago ceased to be an issue of self-determination or decolonization. None the less, guided by our deep commitment to the United Nations and our sincere respect for the Secretary-General, we have agreed to co-operate with him in finding an honourable and internationally acceptable solution to the so-called question of East Timor, taking it into account that there are still a few Member States which for their own reasons would like to keep this non-issue alive in this forum. But, as the Portuguese Foreign Minister knows full well, our co-operation is not and cannot be premised on resolution 37/30 of 1982, a resolution which Indonesia has firmly rejected and which at any rate received such precarious support even then as to be devoid of any substantive meaning.

We shall continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the search for a settlement, but clearly such a settlement can be based only on objective realities and the full facts of the situation and not on fiction - even less on misrepresentations.

Finally, as to Portugal's professed concern over the humanitarian situation in East Timor, we cannot but welcome such expressions. However, we would have wished that those sentiments were present 12 years ago - when it would have done some good to the suffering people of East Timor - and, indeed, throughout the 450 years of Portugal's colonial rule over the Territory. We honestly believe that the world

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

would be better off if nations worked diligently on improving the humanitarian and socio-economic conditions of their own countries rather than intruding into the affairs of other States and passing sanctimonious judgements on them.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): It is with reluctance that my delegation feels compelled to exercise its right of reply to the statement made earlier this afternoon by the Head of Government of Pakistan.

My Prime Minister has repeatedly declared that it is the highest priority of the Government of India to live in peace and friendship with all our neighbours, including Pakistan. The Simla Agreement, signed by the Governments of India and Pakistan, provides the basis for resolving all outstanding issues between the two countries through bilateral negotiations and peaceful means. We therefore regret the reference to the so-called Kashmir question by the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): It is not with a light heart that I exercise my right of reply to the statement made this morning by the delegation of Ghana.

My delegation heard with great astonishment the accusation made this morning by the head of the delegation of Ghana that my country had not co-operated with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), because - quite simply - the sovereign Government of Chad brought the Chad-Libyan problem before the United Nations.

I would point out for the benefit of the delegation of Ghana that Chad's good faith and Chad's readiness to work with the Organization of African Unity, and particularly its Ad Hoc Committee, are quite obvious. Indeed, ever since the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee was established some 10 years ago, there has been no doubt whatsoever that Chad has consistently shown that readiness by participating in all the meetings of the Committee and giving the Committee access to the files in regard to the issue between it and Libya - despite the contempt displayed by the other party to the conflict: Libya.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

Chad's readiness to co-operate was once again resoundingly reaffirmed when President Hisssein Habré personally went to Lusaka, Zambia, to participate in the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee which has just ended. He did that despite the fact that he had suffered the loss of his father during the morning of 21 September - that is, barely three days ago.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

In other words, at the Lusaka meeting Libya was once again the absent party. Therefore, let no one try to befuddle us here with clearly partisan versions of the truth by questioning the readiness and good faith of Chad to bring into play the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as regards achievement of a peaceful settlement of the Libya-Chad dispute. Let no one believe that this was a mistaken assessment by the Ghanaian delegation, because all parties to the recent summit held at Addis Ababa that are logical were able there to take the measure of Chad's good faith and readiness to co-operate with the OAU and the Ad Hoc Committee.

Mr. UMER (Pakistan): In regard to the observations just made by the representative of India, my delegation would like to state the position of the Government of Pakistan on the question of Jammu and Kashmir. This position is well known and needs no reiteration.

The question of Jammu and Kashmir remains unresolved and is to be settled in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations consistent with the spirit of the Simla agreement.

Mr. MATOS PROENCA (Portugal): The Indonesian delegation has exercised its right of reply some 24 hours after the Head of the Portuguese delegation presented before this Assembly the case of East Timor and referred to some disturbing facts on the situation prevailing in that Territory as reported to world public opinion and to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities by such honourable institutions as Amnesty International, the Catholic Church and relief agencies. This delay is not surprising and seems to be self-explanatory.

Our statement had one main objective: to foster an equitable settlement of the question of East Timor and not to embark on sterile accusations and futile rhetoric, as that has proved in other instances to be detrimental to the very cause of peace and justice which we seek to uphold.

(Mr. Matos Proenca, Portugal)

By resolution 37/30, this Assembly entrusted the Secretary-General with a mandate to find a comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of that problems. Our concern has since then been not to contribute to the aggravation of the problem, but rather to show strong support for the Secretary-General in his efforts. We have thus participated in consultations and useful contacts carried out under his aegis as this is, in our view, the only reasonable line to follow if some progress is to be made.

We have repeatedly stated that we do not have territorial claims on East Timor, but we cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of a people with whom we have been linked by history and with whom we share a common culture and common language. How can the international community expect Portugal to remain silent in the face of continuous reports of violations of the most elementary rights, such as the right of free expression, the right of religious freedom and even the right to life. Whatever may be the justifications presented, they will only be words devoid of meaning until there are convincing signs that serious efforts are under way to improve the living conditions of the population in that territory. We are encouraged by the fact that the Secretary-General intends to monitor the situation closely and we will not rest until the Timorese people can enjoy the same rights recognized to all human beings by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments drawn up within the United Nations system.

Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): I am not interested in entering into polemics with the representative of Chad about this question of the conflict his country has with Libya. I should only like to say that I believe that the representative of Chad did not have a clear understanding of what I said this morning. In case it was a problem with the interpretation I should like to repeat what I said in order to put the record straight and I will leave it to everybody in this Hall to determine

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

whether what I said meant that Chad had refused to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

I shall read out what I said this morning:

"On the conflict between Chad and Libya, Ghana wonders whether Chad's interest is best served by raising the matter here in provocative terminology that sets the tone for acrimony. It is as though Chad is repudiating the strategy" -

"strategy" mind you, the word "strategy" is what I used -

"of the OAU Heads of State and Government, which is aimed at avoiding the escalation of the conflict through acrimonious debates in favour of recourse to quiet diplomacy and mediation for the settlement of the dispute. We do not believe that the interest of Africa and the dignity and integrity of the OAU will be advanced by creating the opportunity for mischief by those whose interest lies in fanning conflict for their own national interests, unrelated to Chadian or Libyan interest in preserving their sovereignty and territorial integrity." (A/42/PV.10, p. 88)

In effect what I said was that by raising the matter here and by creating the opportunity to occasion acrimony it would seem as though Chad is repudiating the strategy of the OAU, which is to avoid acrimony and, instead, to have recourse to quiet diplomacy and mediation. Whether that means that Chad had not been co-operating with the OAU is left for everybody to judge for himself.

The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the representative of Indonesia, I should like to remind him that his second intervention will be limited strictly to 5 minutes.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): We have taken careful note of what my colleague the Permanent Representative of Portugal has said. I agree with him that this is not the time for sterile debate or exchange of accusations. However, the record should show that it was the Foreign Minister of Portugal who started to talk about the issue and that we only responded. Our response came a bit later owing to the lateness of yesterday's debate and was intended to provide completeness to the facts made available to the members of the Assembly.

I also agree with him that we should indeed, together, try to engage in constructive efforts so as to find a solution. But I submit that one cannot, on the one hand, laud efforts to have a quiet and constructive exchange while, on the other hand, one party takes the liberty to continue to heap unfounded accusations and to repeat all sorts of slanderous depictions of the situation in East Timor, without expecting us to respond and try to set the record straight. Our efforts cannot be helped by a two-faced approach to this problem.

The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the representative of Chad, I should like to remind him that his second statement will be limited strictly to 5 minutes.

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): A moment ago when I started my right of reply I said that I was not doing so light-heartedly. Hence we do not intend to get into polemics with the fraternal delegation of Ghana, but words mean what they mean. If my brother from Ghana said he thought he was not accusing Chad, then I thank him.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.