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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 28 September 1987, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. ENGO (Cameroon)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)
(President)

- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Son Sann (Democratic Kampuchea)
Mr. Garcia Rodriguez (Chile)
Prince Saud Al-Faisal (Saudi Arabia)
Mr. Dizdarevic (Yugoslavia)
Mr. Traorè (Guinea)
Mr. Upadhyaya (Nepal)

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Engo (Cameroon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. SON SANN, PRIME MINISTER OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Son Sann, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. SON SANN (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): May I be permitted first of all to extend to Mr. Peter Florin my deepest personal congratulations on his election to the presidency of this Assembly and to wish him full success in his mission.

Today I have the great honour to deliver the message of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, addressed to the forty-second session of the Assembly. This is the message of His Royal Highness:

"It is a pleasure for me to extend to Mr. Peter Florin, on behalf of the people of Democratic Kampuchea, their Coalition Government and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-second session. His political and diplomatic experience, as well as his great personal skill, are tokens that will ensure the success of our work.

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"May I be permitted to pay an earnest tribute to his honourable predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, an eminent son of Bangladesh, who has brilliantly proved himself to be a man of remarkable diplomatic skills, of wisdom and impartiality in conducting the work of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

"Last but not least, I should like to render a fervent and ringing homage to our very distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whom we hold in very high esteem. I am particularly pleased to stress that his untiring and deserving efforts strengthen the confidence we have always had in him. His faith in the United Nations Charter and his dedication to fulfilling his high mandate, which is both complex and exacting, and often thankless, have greatly contributed to strengthening the role of our world Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security.

"My country, Cambodia, has the tragic misfortune of being the prey long coveted by its big predatory neighbour, Viet Nam, whose half-century-old ambition to absorb it into its 'Indo-China Federation' is now well known to all. Never in their long history have the Cambodian people endured such cruel humiliation, grief, misery and suffering as that sown by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam since 25 December 1978, the day of the invasion of my country.

"Like Hitler's Panzer divisions which were dispatched for the so-called liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and Poland in 1939, the Vietnamese divisions sent to Cambodia for its so-called liberation, in their blitzkrieg and later in their countless mopping-up operations, razed entire villages, looted and destroyed public and private property, crops, fields and rice fields, and massacred or starved to death hundreds of thousands of

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Cambodians. With a view to eliminating any kind of resistance to their so-called liberation, the Vietnamese forces did not hesitate to use toxic chemical and bacteriological weapons to suppress all those whom they could not reach with their conventional weapons. Excelling in the art of turning themselves into victims and shifting the responsibility for their crimes on to others, the leaders in Hanoi have baptized their occupation of Cambodia 'national defence' against an 'undeclared war'. Proceeding under that banner, they forcibly conscripted tens of thousands of Cambodians aged between 15 and 45 and sent them to the battlefields to fight and die for the defence of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. Since 1984, under the pretence of 'labour in defence of the motherland' and 'jungle clearing', they have conscripted more than 1 million men and women, young and old alike, and sent them to carry out forced paramilitary labour in mine infested battlefields and malaria and endemic disease-ridden mountainous and forest areas. Several tens of thousands of those conscripts have been killed by mines or maimed for life, while many hundreds of thousands of others have been stricken by malaria. In the name of the 'Viet Nam-Kampuchea special friendship and solidarity', hundreds of thousands of Cambodian villagers have been expelled manu militari and their houses, fields and rice fields have been expropriated and later distributed to Vietnamese settlers who already number more than 700,000, systematically sent to settle in Cambodia, within the framework of a well-defined settlement policy.

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"In the currently occupied areas where, according to Vietnamese propaganda, a marvelous rebirth has been taking place, the population is subjugated, oppressed, arrested, imprisoned, tortured and killed under the slightest pretext or suspicion in the very presence of Vietnamese 'experts', or simply sent to the notorious re-education camps from where people never return. The Vietnamese-installed Phnom Penh régime is one of terror and oppression.

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"This entire exercise of physical elimination is carried out in parallel with a planned attempt to eliminate the Khmer culture. Cambodia's history, and in particular that of its relations with Viet Nam, is rewritten, while in schools maps already show Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea as a single geographical entity. The ultimate goal is all-out Vietnamization, body and soul, of Cambodia as in the cases of the Islamic Kingdom of Champa, which was absorbed in the seventeenth century to form the present-day Central Viet Nam, and of Lower Cambodia - Kampuchea Krom - which was annexed to form the present-day South Viet Nam. In order to escape from this Vietnamese steamroller, almost a million Cambodians have been obliged to go into exile and inside the country millions of others have fled their native villages and lands to seek refuge in remote areas or in areas controlled by our national resistance forces.

"For many people, first the invasion of Cambodia and then the array and scale of the crimes committed by the leaders in Hanoi called for a heart-rending explanation. They did not understand why those same people, who for a span of 30 years of resolute patriotic struggle had managed to make their people and country a symbol of resistance to foreign domination and of struggle for national independence should have revealed themselves almost overnight to be - as we have known them to be for many centuries - a perfect model of an anachronistic imperialism, the expansionist strategy of which has become a principle of Government.

"Nevertheless the persistence of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has enabled the most sceptical, and even some supporters of Viet Nam, to face the facts. The longer this occupation lasts, the greater is the evidence of Vietnamese crimes in Cambodia. Moreover, the obstinate refusal of the leaders

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in Hanoi to withdraw their forces and allow the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, reveals their will to pursue at all costs their policy of 'Indochina Federation'. Despite their repeated denials, that policy is very much alive. In addition to numerous past and present proofs there is a quite recent one.

"According to directives broadcast on 6 June 1987, the first objective of the celebration of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the puppets in Phnom Phen was:

'to demonstrate clearly that the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has its origin in the Indochinese Communist Party founded by President Ho Chi Minh and that all the victories of the Kampuchean revolution have always been linked with the revolution of Viet Nam and Laos.'

"One of the keynotes of this celebration was that:

'President Ho Chi Minh, founder of the Indochinese Communist Party, lives for ever in the revolutionary cause of our country.'

"I shall not add any comment to that exuberant and enthusiastic pride of the Phnom Phen puppets at being Viet Nam's subjects and working for the elimination of the identity of their own nation.

"Judging by the endless flow of the ill-fated boat people, the régime imposed on the Vietnamese people by the leaders in Hanoi is one of the worst dictatorships that have ever existed in the world. More than a million Vietnamese - men, women, children, the elderly - have already fled their native country, preferring to risk their future to the often deadly perils of the sea rather than to living under the repressive régime imposed upon them. Thousands of others continue to do so every month. Who can still believe that

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the Vietnamese leaders are philanthropists who have mobilized all the resources of their country and sent hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese soldiers to fight and die for the freedom of the Cambodian people when they have not been able to ensure a decent standard of living for their own people? The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has never believed that and every year, by an overwhelming majority, it adopts a resolution which, inter alia,

'reaffirms that the continuing illegal occupation of Kampuchea by foreign' - that is Vietnamese - 'forces deprives the people of Kampuchea of the exercise of their right to self-determination and constitutes the primary violation of human rights in Kampuchea at present.'

The resolution also stresses that, inter alia,

'the continuing illegal occupation of Kampuchea and the reported demographic changes in Kampuchea are a threat to the survival of the Kampuchean people and culture.'

"The Vietnamese crimes in Cambodia bear witness to the fact that the war stirred up and sustained by the leaders in Hanoi is not an ordinary war of aggression as witnessed so far in world history but rather a war of genocide. As a corollary, they show that we have the right to fight against an implacable and perfidious enemy, whose cynicism is equalled only by the refinement of its hideous crimes. They explain why the sacred goal of our struggle, beyond the liberation of our motherland, is the very survival of our nation and people, the preservation of our national identity.

"In 1979, after the Vietnamese blitzkrieg, the situation in Kampuchea was very gloomy and even, for many people, desperate; indeed it seemed inconceivable that small, weak Cambodia could oppose a Viet Nam 10 times more populated, infatuated with its powerful army - ranking third in the world - puffed up with pride after a long and victorious war of national liberation

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and, in addition, strongly supported and armed by the Soviet Union. For the Vietnamese leaders, the Cambodia case was definitively settled, the situation being irreversible and their dream of an Indochina federation being at last realized. Today it is well known to all that this dream, far from being a reality, has truly turned into a nightmare.

"The scale and the enormity of the Vietnamese crimes have accelerated the national resistance, which is now mobilizing the entire people and an increasing number of soldiers, self-defence guards and civil servants at every level of the puppet Phnom Penh régime as they become aware of the real meaning of the struggle - which means the very survival of their nation and their national identity. The unceasing and extensive attacks launched by the national resistance forces in order to dismantle the administrative centres at village and commune levels have liberated the people and large tracts of territory and as a result have done much to dry up the human, economic and material resources of the enemy. The Khmer soldiers forcibly enlisted by the enemy in order to serve as a pillar of the Phnom Penh régime have become an important force, participating actively with us in the national resistance movement. The irresistible vitality of the national union against the Vietnamese occupation has led to the military impasse into which the Vietnamese forces have been driven for several years, to a point where they are now mainly on the defensive, confined in towns and entrenched along the main lines of communication and in some strategic positions, isolated from one another and kept under repeated attacks by our forces. The Vietnamese forces are caught in the guerrilla net of our national resistance and that net keeps tightening upon them year after year. The political and military map of Cambodia has drastically changed in favour of national resistance.

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"Foreign observers agree on this.

"The Phnom Penh régime continues to exist thanks only to some 180,000 Vietnamese soldiers and advisers.

"The Vietnamese political and military set-backs in Cambodia have brought about inextricable socio-economic problems in Viet Nam and serious internal conflicts within the Vietnamese leadership. The country whose leader, Ho Chi Minh, gave an assurance that it would be 10 times more beautiful after liberation is today struggling with an annual rate of inflation of 700 per cent, a stagnant production, millions of unemployed, an undernourished population and widespread corruption within the party, the Government and the army. Instead of the promised paradise, the leaders in Hanoi have opened 're-education camps' for political prisoners and created more than a million boat people, who prefer the vicissitudes of exile. They have turned Viet Nam into one of the poorest countries in the world, kept afloat thanks only to Soviet aid. The irony of fate has led Viet Nam, after a long struggle for independence, to become more and more dependent on the Soviet Union, to which, in exchange for the support of its expansionist policy, it has already yielded the strategic military bases of Cam Ranh and Danang.

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"Moreover, fear of Cambodia has become widespread among all social strata, as stated by Jean-Claude Pomonti in his article 'Viet Nam: Mend Itself or Sink', published in Le Monde on 18 June 1987.

"Internal rifts between Vietnamese leaders in their race to occupy the vacant seats of power are no secret to anyone. After the Party Congress we did not know for six months who would take those seats. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, himself a candidate for Prime Minister, told Agence France Presse on 18 June 1987 that

'The election of a new Prime Minister and President of the Council of State has given rise to much debate because of varying opinions on the choice of candidates.'

"The new Hanoi leaders speak of reforms to alleviate the suffering cruelly afflicting their country and their people, but they continue to be intransigent in their annexationist adventure in Cambodia, which is the main cause of that suffering. Everyone agrees that if they do not end their aggression against and occupation of Cambodia and withdraw all their forces they will never solve their political, social and economic problems and proceed to the development of their country. Such development demands the mobilization of all the country's human and material resources and the creation of the climate of trust necessary for international co-operation.

"But, instead of listening to reason in the interest of Viet Nam and its people and of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, the Vietnamese leaders actively pursue their efforts in the international arena to obtain by tricks and traps what they have been unable to conquer by military force.

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To attain that unavowed goal they are trying hard to conceal the root cause of the problem of Cambodia - their invasion and occupation of the country, dismember the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, destroy our national unity and prevent national reconciliation. They are also striving to sow confusion among our friends in the world and weaken, if not eliminate, international support for our struggle.

"Indeed, by proposing negotiations on the problem of peace and security in South-East Asia between Viet Nam and the Indo-Chinese countries on the one hand and the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the other, the Vietnamese leaders are attempting to deny the existence of the problem of Cambodia, thus perpetuating their occupation of the country.

"By proposing negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea or certain components of that Government and the puppet régime in Phnom Penh or certain leaders of that régime, they are attempting to turn the problem of Kampuchea into an internal problem of civil war, thus bringing about the de facto recognition of the régime they have installed in Phnom Penh. Such negotiations would also make null and void the relevant resolutions adopted for eight years in succession by the General Assembly, the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and our eight-point peace proposal. They would disavow the noble and valuable support for the just cause of the people of Kampuchea and their Coalition Government granted, to date, by 115 States Members of the United Nations. If Viet Nam succeeded in this manoeuvre it would free itself from world condemnation and international isolation, and make the international community accept, de jure if not de facto, its fait accompli in Cambodia, the Indo-China Federation.

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"To achieve a political solution of the problem of Cambodia it is essential for the Hanoi leaders sincerely to accept reality. There is no way that they can evade the well-known fact that the problem of Cambodia is not a problem of civil war, but rather the result of the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, an independent sovereign State Member of the United Nations, by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, the principles of non-alignment and international law. The continuance of that invasion and occupation is the principal threat to peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and Pacific Asia.

"The relevant United Nations resolutions on Cambodia and the Declaration of the 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea have set out all the components of and defined the framework for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution. On 17 March 1986 I put forward, on behalf of the Cambodian people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, an eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea in conformity with those United Nations resolutions and the Declaration. I spoke here last year of that magnanimous proposal. I stress now that to reach a political solution it is indispensable that those now fighting on the battlefield come to the negotiating table. There can be no political solution so long as the Hanoi leaders refuse to negotiate with the representatives of those against whom they are fighting. Their proposals for negotiations are nothing but ruses and diversions to enable them to remain in Cambodia indefinitely. As evidence of our good faith and desire to arrive speedily at a political solution we have, even before the commencement of negotiations, made all the necessary concessions to enable our adversary to withdraw without losing face, in the interest of all: our interest, theirs, the region's and the world's.

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"First, we propose that Viet Nam withdraw its forces in two phases, within a definite time-frame and under United Nations supervision. Secondly, even before the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, we propose that those installed by Viet Nam in Phnom Penh participate in our Coalition Government, which would then become a quadripartite Coalition Government of Kampuchea, thus achieving national reconciliation and enabling all components to have the same rights as political forces. Thirdly, to Viet Nam - which claims that it is threatened by small, weak Cambodia - we offer an independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned Cambodia, with no foreign bases, with United Nations guarantees and with a United Nations presence. Fourthly, we propose also to Viet Nam that relations be established between our two countries in all fields, including even the signing of a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence.

"What more can we offer, apart from surrender? It is this that the Hanoi leaders actually want to achieve by continuing to reject our proposals and demand that we lay down our weapons and agree to dismember our Coalition Government by eliminating one of its three components or those not to Viet Nam's liking. We must remind those Hanoi leaders of the following points: first, no law of international relations authorises them to interfere in the internal affairs of another State or impose their laws on it; secondly, the Cambodian people cannot exercise its right of self-determination and national reconciliation so long as Vietnamese forces are present; thirdly, national reconciliation is not an exclusive process, but is extended to all citizens of the country; and, fourthly, it is a sacred right and a patriotic duty for all Cambodians to fight in every way to regain and defend national independence.

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freedom, honour and national dignity, as was true of the Vietnamese people in its pre-1975 struggle and of all the peoples of the world in their struggle against warmongers during the two world wars.

"So long as Viet Nam refuses to withdraw all its forces from Cambodia, the Cambodian people and its Coalition Government have no choice but to pursue their struggle resolutely and call upon all countries that cherish peace and justice to continue to support that struggle and exert pressure on Viet Nam. If we stray from that path or lack resolve we shall lose for ever our motherland, our freedom and our national identity.

"It is for the Hanoi leaders to decide whether they will continue the occupation of Cambodia, in the framework of their policy of an Indo-China Federation and in keeping with their strategy of regional expansion, and maintain their hostility towards the countries of the region and the rest of the world or agree to heed the international community's repeated calls to reason urging them to withdraw all their forces from Cambodia, abandon their expansionist policy, re-establish good relations with all the countries of the region and once again become a part of the family of nations.

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"The Soviet Union bears a heavy responsibility in the Vietnamese choice. Indeed, it is the Soviet Union that provides the important and seemingly inexhaustible financial, economic and military means without which Viet Nam could not carry out its policy of 'Indo-China Federation' and regional expansionism. More particularly, Viet Nam could not have invaded and occupied Cambodia up to now without Soviet supplies. It is undeniable that the cessation of Soviet aid would rapidly force Viet Nam to withdraw from Cambodia, for even with that aid Viet Nam has been struggling for nine years already with inextricable and growing difficulties in Cambodia, at home and in the international arena. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has thus far continued to support Viet Nam's policy of aggression and expansion and has even come to the rescue of Viet Nam so that it can maintain its occupation of Cambodia. The South-East Asian tour of the Soviet Foreign Minister was not designed to seek a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea, but rather was aimed at completing the manoeuvres to split up the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to ease the international pressure on Viet Nam. So long as the Soviet Union continues to help Viet Nam to pursue its occupation of Cambodia, it will not convince anyone, especially not the peoples of South-East Asia, of its 'glasnost', still less of its peaceful intentions and willingness to establish friendly relations with all countries in the region.

"Our eight-point peace proposal attests to our sincere willingness to put an end as quickly as possible to the war that is ruining both Cambodia and Viet Nam and proves the importance we attach to the fundamental and long-term interests of our two countries, which are bound to live side by side for all eternity. We are of the opinion that it is time for us to sit at the negotiation table in order to find together a solution to the immediate and

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long-term problems between our two peoples and nations, leaving behind the past which has divided us so much. Once again we declare that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is ready to start at any time to embark upon negotiations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam so as to put an end to the war in Kampuchea, to re-establish normal relations between our two States based on the principles of peaceful coexistence in the interest of our two peoples and countries, as well as those of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, Pacific Asia and the world at large. It rests only with Viet Nam and the Soviet Union to put an end to the war in Kampuchea and tension in South-East Asia.

"Peace and co-operation are not built on words and deceit, but on deeds and sincerity. Viet Nam and the Soviet Union are in a good position to understand that no power, still less a power imposed by foreign forces, however strong, can indefinitely resist the struggle of a people who unite against it and are determined to free themselves, in so far as this struggle is firmly supported by the international community. History has provided sufficient examples showing that it is impossible to suppress a people's freedom for a long time.

"This forty-second session of the General Assembly is taking place in a still tense international atmosphere in which, despite an agreement in principle and some encouraging signs, no concrete act has so far been carried out with a view to a balanced and verifiable reduction of nuclear weapons, in which the race for conventional weapons and programmes of armaments modernization are being stepped up, in which local and regional armed conflicts continue to worsen and the problems of under-development, external indebtedness and the food shortages of third world countries are getting worse all the time.

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"The International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development has stressed the correlation between security, disarmament and development to such an extent that it is undeniable that the threat to peace and security is not merely military, but also social and economic, and that there cannot be development without peace. It is the balance to be brought to this correlation that will determine the stability of international relations and the continued improvement of the human condition and peace in today's world, where boundless discoveries of science and technology make interdependence even closer and international co-operation vital for all.

"The seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which was successfully concluded with the adoption of the final act, again stressed this interdependence and the need to find an equitable solution to the problem of the indebtedness of developing countries and that of restructuring international economic relations for sustained, sound and balanced economic growth that benefits developed and developing countries alike.

"However, those efforts of the international community to preserve international peace and security and to make life on this planet more stable and harmonious are being impeded by the repeated and continued violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, which were solemnly proclaimed and accepted by all. This violation is the main cause of the breaches of the peace in various parts of the world, and it creates and maintains hotbeds of tension and wars that cause death, suffering and devastation for victims, prevaricators and violators alike.

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"In southern Africa, so long as the Pretoria régime is not compelled to give up its apartheid policy and its illegal occupation of Namibia, tension will only increase and the front-line States will continue to be the victims of acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization by that racist régime. The bloody events which are continuously intensifying as a result of the intransigence of that immoral and inhuman régime attest nevertheless to the irresistible rise of the struggle of the South African black population under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other political movements and organizations. They also attest to the favourable development of the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). They show more than ever before that only implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will lead to a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of decolonization of Namibia and that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime, followed by a plan of assistance to the front-line States, will bring about the swift eradication of apartheid and hasten the establishment in South Africa of a genuinely democratic and non-racial government, which will result in the restoration of peace, security and stability in the region.

"In Chad, in welcoming the recent successes of the brotherly Chadian people and Government, we wish to assure them of our constant fraternal support as they pursue of their noble and just struggle for national reconciliation and recovery of their territorial integrity.

"In the Middle East, the efforts aimed at bringing the parties concerned to the negotiating table are being hampered by reciprocal suspicion, denial

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of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, failure to implement the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force and reluctance in recognizing the right of all States of the region to live and coexist in peace and security. We continue to support and encourage the efforts made by the Arab countries and the Palestinian people to find a just and lasting political solution to the problem of Palestine and the Middle East. We believe that a propitious framework for negotiations could be that of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"The tragic and devastating war between Iran and Iraq keeps intensifying and causes the greatest concern to the international community because of the risk of its spilling over to other States of the Persian Gulf, which has become alarming. The longer this painful conflict lasts, the stronger will be the conviction of all that only a peaceful settlement can bring it to an end. We wholeheartedly hope that the mediation efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General, backed by Security Council resolution 598 (1987), will result in such a settlement.

"The chaos and internal strife in Lebanon, which has been going on for more than 10 years, is a source of grief to us all. It is our sincere wish that that country might recover its cohesion and national unity, free from any foreign forces.

"In Central America, the initiatives of the Contadora Group, with the assistance of the Support Group, deserve the support and encouragement of all. It remains the only regional body promoting a peaceful solution based

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on respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of the region. Its steadfast efforts have caused the peace initiatives of President Arias of Costa Rica to become the Guatemala Agreement, which attests to common desire to restore peace in the region through peaceful means and democracy.

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"In Asia, the unanimous sacred wish of all the Korean people to see their fatherland reunified is far from being realized, despite the commendable efforts made each year by Marshal Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with a view to maximizing the process of an independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean fatherland. It is essential that the two parties - the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea - meet to build reciprocal understanding and confidence that could pave the way for a peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation. We are of the opinion that the wise proposal of President Kim Il Sung to organize high-level political and military talks between the two parties is a realistic one. We hope that those talks can be held as soon as possible for the good of the Korean nation and people.

"In Afghanistan, after nearly eight years of a devastating and an exterminating war, the Soviet Union is more than ever bogged down and has learned to its cost the vanity of its anachronistic ambition. It is time that it realized that the sole, just and lasting solution to the problem does not reside in the slaughter and destruction it is committing in Afghanistan, or in its deceit and manoeuvres, and still less in its bombing of and pressure on Pakistan, but rather in the framework of the relevant United Nations resolutions calling for the immediate and total withdrawal of its forces, so as to enable the Afghan people to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination. The sooner it reaches this inevitable conclusion, the quicker it will restore its prestige as a super-Power and the credibility of its rhetoric. We should like to pay tribute to, and reiterate our support for, Pakistan, its Government and its people for their compassion towards the

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Afghan refugees and also for its steadfastness in not yielding to any intimidation.

"Last but not least, we wish to reaffirm once again to our neighbours to the north, our brothers and sisters of Laos, our unswerving support for and fraternal solidarity with their just and heroic struggle to free themselves from the same Vietnamese yoke that is also imposed upon us."

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

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted from the
podium.

Mr. GARCIA RODRIGUEZ (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to convey our greetings to Ambassador Florin of the German Democratic Republic and express the hope that his term as President of the General Assembly will be beneficial and positive for the work of our Organization.

I wish on behalf of my country, to extend to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation for his work and constant dedication to the cause of peace. His work reflects distinction on all Latin Americans.

The art of governing, always a difficult task, is especially arduous at the present time. In earlier times, managing and assuring the well-being of communities lacking expeditious means of communications and dependent to a large extent on their own resources, without a sufficient basis for comparison, was even then a formidable undertaking that could bring about discontent and criticism.

The advances of civilization, the transformations brought about by science and technology, the accelerating rate of change and life style, and the publicity

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about goods and services that makes them appear to be easily available, linked with the development of world-wide communications systems, have tended to distort the assessment of the individual and social realities of our peoples. They have urgent, enhanced expectations of progress and well-being which, even though now available only to the few, motivate them all to want to see their expectations realized at the very moment they are perceived.

This revolution of expectations, as it has been so rightly called, together with the crisis in moral values, has added to the tasks of governments in meeting the present requirements of their peoples the inescapable obligation to formulate, in accordance with the country's potential, the path, programmes and projects which may enable them to approach the degree of well-being enjoyed by the most developed centres of the world.

The responsibility of governing today includes the need to advance development in an internationally comparative context. In policies and actions, it calls for harmonizing the objectives of the more developed communities with the concrete realities and effective potential of the nation being governed.

The close interrelationship that now characterizes the life of nations requires more urgently than ever that we become able to regulate our shared existence upon this planet, giving due consideration and respect to our own geographical, political, economic, social, technical, historical and cultural differences. It also requires that we foster a spirit of true unity that will facilitate harmonious progress where equity will prevail over our present and future relations.

This Organization, which brings us together, is designed to be the instrument for that profound goal. Its creation and existence respond to one of the most

(Mr. Garcia Rodriguez, Chile)

constructive aspirations of nations, and its principles to the common ethical values that should prevail in relations between men and peoples.

The complexity of relations in a world vulnerable to confusion and exposed to rival interests and ideologies means that those goals, no matter how lofty, are difficult to realize in a timely and effective way. The greater and the more cherished our aspirations, the more we want to see them promptly realized, and the more we tend to feel frustrated over the slow progress in attaining them.

This understandable reaction should not undermine the strength of our determination. Difficulties cannot halt the progress of this integrated process. If difficulties do arise, they should, on the contrary, provide added impetus to rededicating ourselves to achieve our goals.

(Mr. Garcia Rodriguez, Chile)

Many have maintained that the efforts of the United Nations have not succeeded in leading to the high objectives that have been established. Certainly it is not difficult to point - as has been done on other occasions in this forum - to the frustrations of the international community at the frequent failure of its deliberations and conclusions to lead to successful results.

The world's stage is still the scene of wars, violence, discrimination, fundamental social deprivation, various forms of assault on the life of the individual and the society, scorn for or indifference to the weak and helpless, conquests and disturbing disinformation. Certainly there is no shortage of elements that could give us a feeling of frustration or impotence.

But if, at the same time, we consider the sustained and varied efforts relating to conflicts and the prevention of problems that could become insoluble, the benefits obtained in the most diverse technical fields, the agreements on the use of resources and the fact that we can meet to deal in a civilized manner with the anxieties in the world today and the uncertain tomorrow, a negative judgement is not warranted.

We are building international understanding, and this in itself is difficult because of the growing complexity of the situation. Perhaps we shall not attain it in a short time, but our most responsible determination consistently to support the effort is more than justified. We shall thus be able to face the future creatively and with a shared effort, and therefore to face future generations with the sense of responsibility that they have a right to require of us. We must leave them an inheritance of peace, understanding and progress, not just problems that we could not or did not decide to resolve.

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We know that the world is far from having exhausted its potential for well-being. We are aware that we have forged instruments that enable us to work together. We must pursue faithfully the measures already initiated by those who preceded us. We must use and perfect those instruments for the good of mankind and our peoples. We shall not allow temporary problems or crises, no matter how serious, to divert us from this constant and overwhelmingly important objective.

If we adhere firmly to that decision, we shall find ways to reform the world society and give it a sense of solidarity in the spirit that His Holiness Pope John Paul II has repeatedly urged us to show. We must give force and vigour to the principles that must inspire our relations, seeking peaceful solutions to controversies, respecting the self-determination of peoples, rejecting intervention in the national affairs of sovereign States, respecting international treaties and seeking an international order that benefits all and ensures lasting peace and progress.

Motivated by these convictions, my country welcomed with particular satisfaction resolution 598 (1987) on the Iran-Iraq war, adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 20 July 1987. The aim of that resolution was to re-establish harmony in the region and bring to an end a confrontation that has brought suffering to two developing nations that need peace. We are now following with special concern the developments in that area.

Similarly, we are following the efforts to achieve disarmament and remove the danger of a nuclear confrontation. We hope that the improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union will make it possible to arrive at a balanced and just agreement that will remove this factor of uncertainty for mankind.

Similarly, we welcome the promising agreements signed in Central America and hope that they will lead to deeds that make a reality of the aspirations on which

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they are based. We hope, too, that they will benefit the sister nations to which we have been linked by close bonds throughout our history.

In view of these positive developments, it is our duty to note with concern that, unfortunately, there are actions that do not fall within that pattern of peace and respect. There are untrammelled acts of support for violence and terrorism which call for the attention of the international community. The phenomenon of terrorism, with its cruelty and the advantage that permits it to act against society anywhere, against any of its members and with anonymity, tends to divide the organized community no matter what its social, economic, cultural or political characteristics.

This is a scourge that affects the basic principles and values of mankind, and every possible effort must be made to eradicate it. It is, to say the least, deplorable that there are still terrorist movements that can count on support from Governments that approve of their activities. In order to confront this evil it is necessary, on the basis of a firm, universal decision, to put a strategy into practice in which all civilized countries participate. My country makes this special appeal with the greatest determination, since it is well known that we have been the victim of serious, repeated terrorist acts, and the international community has had proof of foreign interference.

Similarly, we must express our concern over the many actions that reflect intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. International coexistence requires that, together with a sense of unity in progress, we must respect that which is within the exclusive competence of each sovereign nation or State. There must be no intervention in the internal affairs of other nations or interference in the free self-determination of any people.

(Mr. Garcia Rodriguez, Chile)

The great Powers have a special, clear responsibility in this field. Balance will be achieved with the ability of each and every nation to mould its own destiny responsibly. Opposing or intervening in their sovereign and free decisions can lead only to undermining the true foundations of this balance and creating situations that do violence to that reality. We must not forget that neither power nor wealth constitutes legitimate grounds for assuming the role of an arbiter of international morality or a mentor of the historical processes of another country.

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We must denounce as unacceptable foreign interference in national plans. In so doing, we are not rejecting the conventional limitations established in respect of human rights. International regulations govern the field of human rights, and we certainly do not reject them. We regard them as relevant so long as they are applied faithfully, without partiality or political prejudice, and so long as they are not involved out of mere convenience.

However, the arbitrary use that has been made of these legal instruments for political purposes has, on many occasions, exceeded agreed international jurisdiction and has thus eroded the principle of non-intervention. In such cases, responsibility does not rest with the great Powers alone.

It is therefore essential to refine the human rights system, both substantively and procedurally - the latter with regard to both organic and functional factors. To the degree that the bodies of regulations are refined and duly respected, we shall not only be preserving the principle of non-intervention, but the cause of human rights will thereby gain greater protection.

In this regard, we wish again to express our concern that the Middle East continues to be a region in which peace has yet to become a part of the lives of its peoples. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are designed to provide an effective foundation for the consolidation of peace in that region. In this respect, as we have said here, and as we wish to reiterate, there must be recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to form a sovereign state, and of the need to arrive at just agreements that guarantee the peace and security of all peoples, including that of Israel, so that they may live within secure and internationally-recognized boundaries.

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We are also deeply concerned by the tragedy experienced by the Lebanese people. We have very close links with that country; many sons of Lebanon have found a second homeland in Chile. We express the hope that Lebanon will overcome its problems and that peace and harmony will be restored to that country.

We regret to note the absence of progress on the question of Namibian independence. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides a just and realistic solution for the Namibian problem that would ensure the self-determination of its people, its territorial integrity and its unity. We support the efforts of the international community and those of the Secretary-General and the Council for Namibia in this regard. But we are concerned at the politicization of this cause within the Council and the introduction of extraneous matters, which, far from favouring the cause of Namibia, tend to disturb the situation even further.

We also deeply regret to note the continuance of the tragedies in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In Kampuchea, despotic Soviet imperialism, acting through one of its satellites, continues to act with violence and cruelty. The tragic situations of those countries deserve profound and critical thought, and praise is aroused for the courage of those who are resisting the invader and striving to maintain their national identities and achieve freedom.

The complexities and difficulties of those situations prompt us to continue to give the Secretary-General all the support he deserves in continuing to pursue his initiatives in Afghanistan and prompt us also to give continued support to Prince Sihanouk in his unwavering efforts on behalf of his people.

In Korea, the situation continues to be troublesome. We must emphasize that negotiations between the Korean peoples, without foreign interference, constitute the only viable way to address this problem and find a realistic and peaceful solution. In this regard we recognize the efforts being exerted by the Government

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of the Republic of Korea. We believe that the presence of the two Koreas in this Organization would facilitate contact between the parties and the finding of a peaceful solution to the problem. We should thus be complying with the principle of the universality of the United Nations, to which we attach great importance.

To those disturbing questions we must add the grave problem caused by the imbalance of the economies of the industrialized countries and the absence, thus far, of decisions for structural reform - decisions that should be more than mere simple responses to temporary situations and should restore stability and lead to the disappearance of the uncertainty now prevailing in international trade. Because of its scope and nature, this problem requires multilateral attention that will lead to the improvement of situations that now compromise the development of nations, especially those most in need of development. There have been indications of a spirit of understanding of the needs of the developing countries - for instance, the decision to grant 1 per cent of the gross national product of developed countries to development programmes for the developing countries. But that has not gone beyond a declaration of intention; it is not actually happening.

We trust that these problems will eventually be solved because, as is well known, the developing countries are actually sending their creditors, the developed countries, more than they are earning from their exports. And their earnings are already deteriorating because of adverse terms of trade and protectionist initiatives. We must never forget that situations of imbalance such as this have their limits and, if prolonged in the absence of a planned solution, they may cause incalculable damage to the detriment of everyone.

Before concluding, let me add some specific comments about my country, which is going through a historical period of particular importance - a period that, it would appear, the international community does not always wish to understand properly.

(Mr. Garcia Rodriguez, Chile)

Chile has demonstrated and maintains the deepest interest in contributing to the activities of the Organization, to the best of its ability. As one of the founding Members of the United Nations, and a faithful participant in its programmes and initiatives, we have spared no effort to co-operate as regards its lofty aims and purposes. For more than 40 consecutive years, we have pursued this consistent line of conduct, emphasizing our respect for the rights of other nations and their sovereign freedoms.

We must emphasize the unlimited co-operation my country has given to the special rapporteur on human rights, despite the unacceptable discrimination implied by the exceptional treatment involved. We have acted thus because our principles and values correspond to the essential ethic of our traditions and culture and because we desire understanding and peace.

(Mr. Garcia Rodriguez, Chile)

In an eminently constructive fashion and as a contribution to international understanding, my country - unlike others that have not, fortunately, had such experiences - was a victim of an attempt to destroy its sovereignty and its identity, a threat that it was able to overcome thanks to the resolve of its freedom-loving people. In 1973, we began a process of national recovery and of reconstruction of an economy that was falling apart. Despite the world's economic crises, which have seriously affected us, we have brought our economic and social situation to levels that have drawn praise from the most diverse international circles.

It also proved necessary for us to undertake the political reconstruction of the country in order to recover and strengthen its freedom. Chile set for itself a programme and a schedule, on a broad juridical basis approved by the people, for overcoming the ills it had suffered and restoring full democracy. From that time on, through the sovereign will of the people, we have proceeded to take each of the steps set in advance for carrying out the fixed schedule.

Chile is making progress towards the establishment of a modern, solid, stable democracy. Because of its experiences up until 1973 and of the problems of the past, we have had to put forth every possible effort to achieve that objective. It is Chile's intention that its new democracy should be fully consistent with the complete freedom of the Chilean people and that their participation in the fate of their Republic should be expressed not only at the polls but in every aspect of daily life.

The socio-economic structure of the country is therefore based on a fundamental preference for private enterprise and respect for property rights. The role of the State has been reduced so that it has now been assigned a subsidiary function, with preferential attention of significant proportions being given to the eradication of extreme poverty.

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I have indicated that the responsibility of government implies the need to plan development in a competitive international context. Today, a whole set of interests are emerging that affect the international community. This is doing away with the traditional inertia and the tight compartments within which nations used to carry on their debates.

New concepts of co-operation are emerging, which are leading countries to an awareness of the need to pool their efforts to face these problems. Development and the use of our resources should not be indiscriminate. On the contrary, everything must be done in a responsible fashion for the benefit of the community.

In addition to the recent economic and financial problems that have demanded international attention, there are now others such as those resulting from man's own activities affecting his very future and environment. The deterioration of the ozone layer and pollution of the seas are some examples of the challenges man must face if he wishes future generations to continue living on this planet.

International co-operation, the conceptual development of which has been extraordinary in this century, will have to increase greatly if we are to meet the threats that man himself has created.

We are facing a new situation, and in that situation the United Nations will play a central role. Its Secretary-General is already warning us about the need to begin thinking of reformulating some instruments of co-operation for that purpose. Their efficiency will be strengthened if there is harmonious agreement to that end.

It will be our joint endeavour to embark upon that task for the benefit of all. Let us nurture this rebirth of international co-operation with optimism. We trust that the peace and harmony we shall gain from it will make the task of government an increasingly efficient one for the benefit of our peoples.

Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my pleasure to congratulate the President on his election at this forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. His election reflects the personal esteem he enjoys and reinforces the role of his country in supporting international efforts and strengthening the bonds of international co-operation. I am convinced that his competence will be an effective factor in enabling the General Assembly to conclude its work in the best possible manner. He has always been recognized in United Nations circles as one of its most prominent personalities.

I should like to take this opportunity also to express to Mr. Humayun Choudhury, the President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, our deep appreciation of his effective role in dealing with the various problems that occurred, including the administrative and financial crisis that faced the United Nations, as well as his role in helping the United Nations to emerge, at the end of that session, stronger in our conscience and in the conscience of the nations of the world.

In this respect, I should like to reiterate our appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who worked, and is still working, with sincerity and diligence, to solve the internal problems of the United Nations and guide its international efforts towards the achievement of its basic objectives. He does so with impartiality, objectivity, and a sense of the great responsibility he shoulders, and we support him in his efforts.

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The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a country that embraces the religion of Islam and applies the tolerant Islamic shariah, is implemented on the basis of the principles upon which the United Nations was founded and the noble objectives for which its Charter was promulgated, these being a reaffirmation of what Islamic law stipulates for the conduct of international relations. As the Custodian of the Two Holy Places, King Fahd bin Abdul-Aziz noted, in an address he delivered on the eve of Saudi Arabia's National Day last week, that Islamic belief is an integral doctrine which is based on mercy, compassion, solidarity, brotherhood and mutual respect and is devoid of oppression, deceit and treachery.

On this basis, we reaffirm our determination to work in support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as they are the proper framework for co-operation between nations and peoples and the effective means for settling conflicts between States.

The United Nations has established rules of conduct for relations between nations and States as laid down in the Charter, and its universality has given that framework the force of a legal commitment in all aspects of world concerns. There is no dimension of human endeavour in which the Organization does not forge a constructive role and strive to keep pace with the tremendous scientific, technological and economic strides that have been made in the twentieth century. This development has reduced differences between peoples and bridged the chasm between States. It has narrowed the gaps between communities and opened wide the door to international co-operation, so that the United Nations, through all its agencies, bodies and branches, has become a basic, indispensable element in

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international affairs, while its fundamental objectives challenge the ability of its Members to give effect to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The basic demand of the peoples of the world today is for peace and stability. The use of war as a means of resolving conflicts is totally rejected. There is no doubt, however, that continued success in this direction must be linked to a commitment by Member States to the letter and spirit of the Charter. Such commitment is the only guarantee of the realization of international peace and security, because it guarantees the establishment of normal, fair and balanced relations among all States, irrespective of their size, location, military strength or political, economic and social régime. Perhaps one of the most formidable challenges confronting the United Nations today concerns the wide gap between commitment to the principles of the Charter and the actual behaviour of States in their international relations, especially those States, such as Israel and South Africa, that persist in aggression, oppression, terrorism and discrimination. Should the Organization fail to take timely, definitive and responsible action, it will jeopardize its credibility and its effectiveness in ensuring the commitment of its Members to the Charter and the purposes and principles it set out therein.

In seeking improved co-operation, we should take account of recent experience and consider the obstacles that face the United Nations and hamper the prospects of greater co-operation, which is vital for peace, stability and growth. The countries whose practices violate the Charter must bear the full responsibility for creating those obstacles. Hence, we should consider the means set forth in the Charter for dealing with these violations.*

* The President took the Chair.

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The insistence upon aggression, violation of the principles of the Charter and rejection of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council pose a challenge to the Charter which should prompt us to act firmly to secure compliance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Reluctance to do so indicates an abdication of responsibility and abandonment of one of the most fundamental principles of the Charter.

In addition to a substantial series of international violations of and acts of aggression against the rights and freedoms of peoples, we also have before us a long list of economic and social problems that still await wise remedies based on a sense of communal responsibility and a balanced approach to co-operation, matched by a sense of commitment to the moral and legal responsibilities which all of us should respect and fulfil.

We face this year, as we have faced for the past 40 years, the question of Palestine and the Middle East and the core of that conflict, the question of Al Quds Al Sharif, which arise from Israeli aggression against Arab lands, the Arab inhabitants of Palestine and other peoples in the neighbouring Arab countries, as well as aggression against the Islamic nations and the Islamic Umma, especially in Al Quds Al Sharif, the first kibla and third Holiest Shrine. We do not believe that any problem or issue has become clearer and more evident in all its aspects to the whole world than has the problem of Palestine. There is no problem in which wrong challenges right every day more clearly than in the case of the problem of Palestine. The United Nations has never before faced such a challenge to its will and such an assault upon its Charter as it has faced, and continues to face, through the persistence of Zionist aggression against the Arab people within and outside Palestine. The tragic circumstances and sad situation from which Lebanon

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is suffering constitute one of the acute consequences of this problem.

Peace is the demand of all humanity today, peace based on justice, and justice is the foundation of stability and the basis for its continuation. But the objective of peace has become the victim of those that reject it. Israel has spared no effort to thwart peace initiatives. It has persisted in aggression and its concerted effort to disrupt the possibility of peace. It has become evident that peace can be established in our region only through recognition of the inalienable, legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Israel's obstinacy and persistent attempts to disrupt peace initiatives in order to gain time to achieve its objectives and designs will lead only to more trouble and to consequences that will increase the difficulty of solving the problem, with all the consequent risks and dangers. There is no clearer proof of this than Israel's deliberate attempts to put obstacles and difficulties in the path of the efforts aimed at convening an international conference.

It is hardly necessary for me to reaffirm here that no attempt to find a solution can be successful unless it includes the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as a party and a factor in negotiations and dialogue. The Arab countries fulfilled their historical responsibility to ensure peace and made the best offer they could for the establishment of peace and stability in the region when they announced their framework for the peace process in the historic decision in Fez in 1982, which emphasized the Arab consensus on peace based upon justice, in accordance with international law and in compliance with the international will as represented by United Nations resolutions.

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The war between Iraq and Iran, which has entered its eighth year, has assumed new dimensions which threaten the security of the region and world peace. Developments of recent months carry ominous overtones as to what continued opposition to end the war might lead and in what continued disregard of conventions and international resolutions to put an end to it might result.

We call for the termination of this destructive war afflicting the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, not only for the sake and in the interests of all peoples, but also for the sake of the peace and stability of the region and the preservation of the vital interests of the countries of the region. Those who work for its continuation are sacrificing the basic interests of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and exposing the region and world peace to the gravest dangers.

Iran continues to extend its war with Iraq to non-participants by arrogating to itself the right to attack non-belligerent countries, assault the interests of other countries, and threaten international navigation in the Gulf. This perverted and dangerous logic is the main reason for the instability, extreme tension, and deplorable deterioration of the situation in the Gulf region. If Iran assumes the right to attack countries not parties to the conflict, then it is only natural that each country in the region has the full right to defend itself against aggression.

The continuation of the conflict and the threats by which Iran attempts to extend its scope in the Gulf region, going so far as to attack ships of other countries which are not parties to the conflict, and its continuous threats to the freedom of navigation in the Gulf are the cause of the presence of international fleets in the Gulf waters. At their meeting in Tunisia the Arab Foreign Ministers unanimously asked Iran not to make its actions the cause for drawing international conflict to the region but, rather, for establishing peace and security therein. It also called on all peace-loving nations of the world to urge Iran to accept the will of the international community to end its war with Iraq quickly.

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We take this opportunity to call upon Iran, again, from this international forum, to refrain from acts of aggression and threats against the Arab Gulf countries and to take part in the quest to establish peace and stability in the region - a responsibility of the countries of the region and the States Members of the United Nations.

While expressing our appreciation for Iraq's position and readiness to halt the war and terminate the conflict in accordance United Nations resolutions, I should also like to reiterate the support of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which provides for the peace and security of the parties to the conflict and regional and international stability. The Arab countries have unanimously supported that resolution and urged the United Nations and the Secretary-General to intensify their endeavours and assume their responsibilities to implement it.

It is regrettable that the Iranian response - in the statement delivered by the President of Iran a few days ago - to that resolution and United Nations efforts aimed at putting an end to the war and establishing peace completely closes the door on those attempts and destroys hopes for an end to the tragic and destructive war. This requires that the United Nations take a firm decisive stand by securing the necessary measures to implement the aforementioned resolution; also it requires that the Security Council, in particular, take a decision without delay to implement resolution 598 (1987) which includes the imposition of sanctions against the party that does not implement that resolution in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Iran was not content just with its war with Iraq - a war which went on to spread disruption and chaos in the region, exposing the area to the risks of foreign intervention and, ultimately, propelling it into an international

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conflict - but has also threatened the security and stability not only of its Arab neighbours but of those outside the Gulf as well. It has missed no opportunity during the past few years to demonstrate hostility towards those countries. It carried out destructive activities in the State of Kuwait and launched its rockets against fully populated civilian areas. It placed mines in the Gulf waters and helped push the region into a storm of hostility and turmoil. The Iranian régime has become a unique case in rejecting international conventions and violating laws, norms and traditions that guide the international community, as well as deviating from the proper course of diplomatic relations. There is no clearer evidence of that than the Iranian authorities' violation of the sanctity of the Saudi and Kuwaiti embassies in Tehran, their flagrant occupation, plunder and destruction of those premises, and the mistreatment of their staff resulting in the death of a Saudi diplomat.

Islam is completely alien to such an approach and all those practices. Never since the light of guidance accompanied the Message of the Prophet Mohammed - may peace and the blessing of God be upon him - has Islam been a source of extremism and terrorism. This just religion has never been one of intolerance, hate and fanaticism, but one of openness, tolerance and goodwill among all peoples.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has tried during the past eight years to maintain normal relations with Iran in the hope of preserving links and maintaining good-neighbourliness; it has tolerated many acts and provocations against itself and its people. But Iran has missed no opportunity during those years to demonstrate a hostile attitude towards the Kingdom and the Arab Gulf countries.

It is regrettable that the President of Iran, from this international rostrum, made allegations against the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that he knows, and we know, are untrue, and which evidence has proved false. It is also regrettable that the

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President of a country with a civilization steeped in the roots of history and whose Muslim population has always been a stronghold of Islam and a builder of civilization has come to list in this international forum, which represents the world's conscience, a series of falsifications and mischievous accusations in clear defiance of the tolerant principles of Islam and the noble and original ethics of the Iranian people, and in flagrant violation and disregard of the values and norms of Islam.

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The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was, and still is, careful to keep the differences between Islamic countries in their proper Islamic context. It has always dealt with these problems guided by the teachings of its just Islamic religion, avoiding demagoguery and vituperation. On that basis, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that the complete isolation and unanimous Arab and Islamic condemnation of Iran today is the proper response to such false allegations and practices, because allegation and falsification cannot remove the evidence of the horrendous crime that the Iranian authorities committed in Mecca, in the vicinity of the Holy Mosque of God, during the Holy Month. It is a sacred shrine that represents the Great Islamic Symbol which hearts yearn for. This atrocious crime took place not in the dark or in secret, but under the eyes and ears of millions of Muslims.

All the Islamic countries and institutions, organizations and centres - indeed, the whole world community - have condemned these criminal acts by Iran. We hope that the international reaction, and particularly the Islamic reaction, will make the Iranian leaders realize that they cannot convince people by force, terrorism and violence. They can get their message across only by becoming advocates of peace, brotherhood and kindness, the objectives whose core and foundation represent the real message of Islam, inspired by the divine revelation:

"Invite (all) to the Way

Of thy Lord with wisdom

And beautiful preaching;

And argue with them

In ways that are best

And most gracious:

For thy Lord knoweth best,

Who have strayed from His Path,

And who receive guidance." (The Holy Koran, XVI:125)

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We were optimistic after the last session that there would be a just solution to the problem of Afghanistan. However, it is regrettable that the situation still remains the same. The foreign occupation is still continuing, and the Muslim Afghan people are struggling with all the means at their disposal, sacrificing the blood of their sons in defence of their religion and homeland, and sustaining the most extreme difficulties in order to resist the occupation, demanding withdrawal from their land and the establishment of a governmental system which is acceptable to them.

While we reaffirm our fullest support for the just struggle of the Mujahidin, we still look forward to a positive response from the Soviet Union, a super-Power, to United Nations decisions, the decisions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the appeals of the world for a quick withdrawal from Afghanistan, a free and independent country throughout history.

While we support the efforts of the United Nations to arrive at an acceptable solution which can guarantee the return of all the refugees to their homes, non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the preservation of its Islamic identity, we still hope that should such a solution become possible, the relations between the two neighbouring countries - the Soviet Union and Afghanistan - will evolve into relations of good-neighbourliness and mutual respect.

We also take this opportunity to reiterate our appreciation of the important role played by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the sacrifices being borne by its people in hosting more than 3.5 million Afghan refugees on its soil, despite the economic and security burdens Pakistan is trying to shoulder. We call upon the nations of the world to co-operate with Pakistan in this great effort.

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The problem of Namibia and the racist policy adopted by South Africa are among the issues that we greatly care about, and they fall within the realm of the responsibilities we share with the African nations. On this basis, we call upon the international community of the United Nations to intensify its efforts to end the era of apartheid and colonialism in that part of the world.

The co-operation and alliance between the Zionist régime in Palestine and the Pretoria régime in South Africa, which are united by similar designs and common means and ideas, puts a double responsibility on the United Nations to implement the requirements of its Charter, as well as on Member States to be committed to their obligation to end the era of oppression, apartheid, violation of international conventions and the use of brute force against peaceful peoples.

South Africa's attacks on neighbouring African States will only increase the isolation of this racist régime, and will not save it from the final reckoning which is the ultimate fate of all oppressors.

We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stand by the African States, with which we are linked by the closest historic, religious and geographic ties, in their firm rejection of the policy of South Africa and in demanding full independence for Namibia. We call for firm implementation of the resolutions on an economic and political boycott of the Pretoria régime, until the Pretoria Government adheres to the decisions of the United Nations. We also deplore the close alliance between South Africa and Israel, whether overt or covert, in the economic, nuclear, strategic and political fields.

Economic problems are still among the most important obstacles to international understanding, at a time when they should be among the most important bridges for co-operation between nations. It is regrettable that last year was no better than the year before, because, despite the recent attempts in this respect,

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economic recovery is still facing concrete obstacles, and the international monetary system is still suffering from many problems. The instability of exchange rates is also causing a substantial disruption in the economies of the developing countries in particular. Moreover, the decline in the prices of raw materials in the developing countries, despite the rise in the prices of manufactured products imported by them from industrial countries, is a serious obstacle to their development and to the growth of international trade. The continuation of protectionist trends in some industrial countries is also increasing the difficulties confronting the expansion of international trade.

On the other hand, the attempts to activate the negotiations between North and South are also still stumbling. The developing countries are facing increased difficulties in meeting the responsibilities of development, because the fully developed countries have not adequately done their duty to co-operate with them in solving their problems. We all know that a large number of the developing countries inherited their economic burdens and the consequences of economic backwardness from foreign régimes which occupied their land and managed their affairs until their independence, achieved over the past 40 years.

In this regard we look forward to a strengthening of the role of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in addressing the problems I have referred to in a manner that enhances the solution of monetary problems and facilitates and frees international trade by removing the impediments and obstacles that have caused the developing countries to suffer, in order to arrive at a fair adjustment between developing nations and the fully developed ones.

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Saudi Arabia)

The collective responsibility for solving these problems should be reaffirmed, to avoid confrontations which we know would ultimately lead to further problems, whether in the economic or the political field.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been careful to fulfil its commitments and carry out its obligations within the collective responsibility for the economic stability and development of the world. We hope to continue this, with the co-operation of other countries. We have always called for a revival of North-South negotiations and the exertion of persistent efforts in dealing with the economic problems facing the developing countries.

The recent Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development provoked great interest, because the two subjects have a direct bearing upon international peace and security, while both are linked to the development and welfare of nations. We reaffirm that development, by the momentum it creates, and disarmament, with its wide-ranging consequences, are two important and effective factors in ensuring stability; removing the fears and doubts that separate nations and channelling the potential of nations towards ends more beneficial than the acquisition of weapons of slaughter and destruction. If this is to be possible there must be a sense of international responsibility in all countries working towards the elimination of the causes of oppression and tyranny to which we have referred and of the causes of injustice suffered by all peoples vulnerable to occupation and aggression. The diversion of the potential of nations, whether financially stable or not, from military to economic production will increase the possibilities for international co-operation in all its forms.

As we start a new year in the calendar of the United Nations, we look forward to a new era of international co-operation in solving the political and social

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problems that go beyond the narrow confines of each State. We look forward to overcoming the obstacles and difficulties facing international co-operation in the attempts to solve problems and guide the international community to advanced stages of co-operation that will lead to political and economic stability and enable all of us to face the challenges of the future with confidence and optimism.

Mr. DIZDAREVIC (Yugoslavia): I have pleasure, Sir, in congratulating you cordially, as the representative of the friendly German Democratic Republic, on your election as President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. I assure you of the readiness of my delegation to co-operate with you fully throughout this session.

I should also like to express our sincere appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Choudhury, for the able manner in which he presided over the previous General Assembly session.

We all owe special appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who continues to make his important contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to deal with the most acute world problems.

Year after year, in this same Hall, we have been making and hearing sombre assessments of the international situation, because it could only be described as it actually was. Until recently it seemed that the period of apprehension and uncertainty would never end and that the vicious circle of rivalry and confrontation would persist in spite of all our efforts.

It is encouraging that today we have reason to believe that changes are in the making, because the process of dialogue, negotiation and the search for ways out of the exacerbated international situation in the world has been initiated and is evolving. The positive consequences of this process, which is opening up genuine prospects for understanding in fields in which this was inconceivable only a

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short while ago, are already being felt in a certain easing of international tension and constitute a sound basis for hope of a more tranquil world and of new development prospects.

True, confrontation continues, but there is also ever wider dialogue on an increasing number of issues. There is a stronger orientation towards negotiation with a view to resolving the accumulated problems of the world. The conviction that mutual agreement and confidence-building provide the only course that can promise the world a future is gaining ground. Every step forward in any field of international relations provides an impetus to progress in others.

Initial results in the field of arms reduction are at hand. After more than four decades of nuclear build-up, the world is on the threshold of an agreement on specific measures for partial nuclear disarmament. This is a chance which must not be missed. History would never forgive anyone for preventing this great step towards a better future for all. The forthcoming agreement is, naturally, just the beginning of the long road to complete nuclear disarmament. Its historic importance, however, lies in the fact that it offers real chances of rechanneling international trends in a direction that is in the interest of all nations.

This is a moment which requires, maybe more than ever before, wisdom, foresight and courage on the part of us all. The elimination of all weapons capable of annihilating mankind and all the achievements of civilization must be our objective. That would mean victory for the realization that we can only live together and in co-operation and that aspirations to supremacy guarantee survival to no one.

On this occasion, my country would like to pay a tribute to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America for their constructive efforts, which will, we trust, shortly yield valuable results. Many years of aspirations, demands, appeals, efforts and contributions by countries, peoples,

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individuals and organizations have been directed towards this goal, which is within reach and which I believe, indeed, we have reached. It is with satisfaction that we note that such developments are an important step towards adopting the stances which the Non-aligned Movement has been advocating incessantly and perseveringly for over a quarter of a century and which were reiterated in the appeal addressed to the leaders of the United States and the USSR by the summit meeting in Harare.

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In this connection I should like to point out that, like many others, we are of the opinion that even stronger efforts are required on the part of all in order for the process of disarmament to embrace all types of weapons and all regions of the world. It is our judgement that in Geneva we have come closer to adopting a convention on the total ban of chemical weapons. All the conditions exist for taking that important step through the earliest possible adoption of the convention.

I have already said that an atmosphere of negotiation and agreement facilitates the initiation of a genuine process for the resolution of other crucial problems of international relations. It both sets the conditions and demands our greatest commitment.

There are some encouraging signs that some of the crises in various parts of the world which have become a part of our lives and the escalation of which we have feared for years and decades are entering a stage at which solutions are being sought in line with the interests of the countries and peoples directly involved, as with the interests well as of the international community at large.

It is with pleasure that I call attention to the wise and courageous act of five Central American countries which, in the spirit of the efforts of the Contadora Group and with the support of the whole of Latin America, have made a historic contribution to the peace process in their region. The adoption of the peace plan is the result of the constructive efforts of the countries of Latin America to find solutions to their own problems through their own means and actions. Such an approach has always enjoyed the support of the non-aligned countries.

We believe it is high time - and also that the situation is now more favourable - to begin solving the Middle East crisis. The proposal for an international conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations and

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with the participation of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and others who have a useful contribution to make, is a sound and realistic move on the road towards peace which is gaining growing recognition in the world. I believe that at this session we should take a resolute step towards the earliest possible convening of such a conference.

We are deeply convinced that the only just, permanent and comprehensive solution is one that would ensure the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, the exercise of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of their own, and recognition of the right of all the States of the region to security and autonomous social development. That would call for patient efforts on the part of all the countries and all the factors in the region. The non-aligned countries, through the activities of their Committee of Nine for the Middle East and Palestine, are striving to promote conditions for the holding of such a conference and to mobilize all the elements that are ready to contribute to that end.

Although the causes of the crises in south-east and south-west Asia have not yet been eliminated, there are certain developments which give rise to hopes and expectations. We attach importance to the dialogue on solutions that would ensure the rights of the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to independence and free development on the basis of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, without foreign presence, intervention and interference from any side whatsoever. World public opinion demands that there be no hesitation in this respect and that this process should not be impeded in any way.

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The resolution on ending the war between Iraq and Iran adopted unanimously by the Security Council is in our opinion a sound basis for a just and lasting solution. It also highlights the importance of the effectiveness of the United Nations. None the less, the war goes on. Its continuation and the entry of foreign Powers into the Gulf have created an explosive situation which could spark off broader conflagrations and even jeopardize peace in this region and in the whole world still further. We are witnessing dangerous incidents every day. We therefore sincerely hope that the sides in this conflict will, as soon as possible, seize the opportunity offered by the Security Council resolution for ending the war and creating conditions for the restoration and peaceful development of their countries. We give our full support to the exceptional efforts that the Secretary-General has been making to that end. We also appeal to all other factors to contribute thereto.

Some world crises have, however, further deteriorated. This applies primarily to southern Africa, where the apartheid régime continues its blood-bath against the majority population and jeopardizes the independence of neighbouring countries. Developments show once again that no changes can be expected without resolute action on the part of the entire international community. The only remaining peaceful means that remain for liquidating the shameful system of apartheid and for the immediate termination of the occupation of Namibia are comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria.

Similarly, we cannot but voice our concern over the lack of progress in resolving the problem of Cyprus. It should also be noted with regret that the situation on the Korean peninsula remains unchanged.

The non-aligned countries continue to urge a lasting and just settlement of all those crises, in line with the comprehensive programme of action in the

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struggle for peace and development adopted at their Summit Conference in Harere last year. The initiative of the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean - an area beset by crises but also an area with a great potential for the development of co-operation - should be viewed in that context.

At their Ministerial Meeting held at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in June this year, 11 Mediterranean members of the Non-aligned Movement unequivocally opted for the development of co-operation among the non-aligned and European Mediterranean and other countries, with a view to easing tensions and creating more favourable conditions for resolving crises in that sensitive geopolitical region. Agreements and concrete measures for confidence building and arms reduction in Europe should involve the Mediterranean as well, since peace and security in those two regions are inseparably linked. At Brioni the non-aligned countries launched an initiative for establishing an organized dialogue with the Mediterranean countries of Europe. The interest of those countries in dialogue, which opens up new prospects of co-operation among countries on all the Mediterranean shores, has been confirmed in the initial contacts and exchanges of opinion carried out with those countries by Yugoslavia under the mandate of the Brioni meeting.

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Yugoslavia attaches exceptional importance to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as a process based on democratic principles and the full equality of all participating countries. The Vienna meeting, which is now entering its decisive stage, stands a realistic chance of producing significant results provided that all participants demonstrate political responsibility and realism and take account of the interests of all European countries.

Proceeding from the importance of regional co-operation for a positive process on a broader international scale as well, Yugoslavia has taken the initiative in the convening of a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Balkan countries. It is our desire through constructive dialogue and concerted effort to encourage multilateral co-operation among the countries of this European and Mediterranean region in various fields of obvious common interests, and in that way to build an atmosphere of mutual understanding and contribute to overcoming the burdensome legacies of the past, and encourage bilateral and multilateral relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation, as this is of vital interest to all Balkan peoples and countries.

The encouraging signs seen in certain areas of international relations are regrettably not yet visible in the sphere of international economic relations, where all the contradictions of the modern world are manifesting themselves in an increasingly acute way. All economic and other divisions persist, while the gulf between the industrialized world and the world of the underdeveloped countries continues to widen dramatically. Unfortunately, in the case of this sphere of international relations we can only repeat the negative assessments and profound concerns that have been expressed time and again.

We are firmly convinced that the positive achievements in the field of disarmament and the relaxation of international tension could have a more lasting impact on international relations overall if they were accompanied by steps towards

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settling international economic problems, improving the position of developing countries and, above all, resolving the debt problem.

The most serious manifestation of the depth of the contradictions in current world economic relations is the phenomenon of the vast debts of the developing countries. Exceeding \$1 trillion, they account for over 40 per cent of the developing countries' gross product. Under the burden of debt servicing, the drop in commodity prices and deteriorating terms of trade, there has been a drastic drain of capital from the developing countries, resulting in their impoverishment.

An adjustment policy which does not ensure faster development and which cannot rely on radically more favourable debt-repayment terms cannot redress the situation, which is becoming more and more difficult. Debtor countries are unable in spite of their efforts to repay their debts under existing conditions. Their debt-servicing capacities are declining from year to year. The fulfilment of their obligations is less a question of their willingness than, increasingly, a question of their objective inability to do so. Therefore, a way out of the debt crisis cannot be found without concerted action on the part of both debtors and creditors, that is to say Governments, international financial institutions and commercial banks. A solution can be found only by creating conditions for the accelerated development of the developing countries and by radically improving debt-repayment terms.

A framework for further action in the United Nations along those lines is provided by the agenda item entitled "External debt crisis and development". Last year the Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution on strengthening international economic co-operation aimed at solving the external debt problems of developing countries. That act confirmed the global nature of the debt problem and emphasized the shared responsibility of both debtors and creditors for its settlement. We

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expect to be in a position this year to go a step beyond that resolution, as a reflection of the gravity of the problem itself.

I would recall that the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development established the manifold interdependence between those two key problems of today. It also recommended the further study of avenues for diverting part of the vast resources invested each year in the maintenance of existing weapons and research on and production of new ones to the creation of general developmental opportunities, particularly in developing countries.

We are convinced that, by its very nature, the revolutionary progress made by science and technology, with achievements undreamed-of only recently, recognizes no boundaries, no geographic, political or ideological barriers or divisions. The accomplishments of the human mind, regardless of where they were made, have to be made accessible to all countries and peoples under equal conditions. Technological achievements must be put in the service of the development of all, and must not be withheld from developing countries, which need them so badly.

The protection of the environment is becoming an ever more topical problem of the present-day world. The report of the commission chaired by the Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs. Brundtland, which particularly emphasizes the link between development and the environment, deserves our special recognition.

The crossroads the world has reached and the chances we are offered to enter a new era of international relations make the United Nations the place where all interests, all aspirations and all views are reflected, the only forum where equal and democratic decision-making on our common destiny is possible. Now is the time for us through our endeavours to enable the world Organization to discharge as efficiently as possible the tasks for which we founded it, rather than undermining

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its authority and role with objections because we have not been able to achieve through it each and every individual interest.

We must all, regardless of the groupings we belong to and the political convictions we profess, unequivocally, resolutely and consistently apply ourselves to the development of co-operation on the broadest possible basis and to the promotion of a spirit of solidarity and understanding, rather than vying with each other to prove our own excellence and insisting that our own road is the only possible one and that it should be followed by all. In this world of ours, and even in this Organization, there is no one who can claim that no improvements could be made in his country and its international activities or that matters could not be dealt with in a more democratic and progressive manner.

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We must not stop at the first positive results in the relaxation of international tensions. We paid a high price before it was realized that we cannot hope for, or move steadily towards, a better future if we are bound by ideas and concepts that pull us back. The beginning of the nuclear disarmament process will be fully validated if it is continued and followed by the resolution of the grave economic problems of the world, the overcoming of crises and the steady democratization of international relations. This can and should be contributed to by all countries - the big, the middle-sized, the small and the smallest, the most developed, the developed and the underdeveloped, the aligned and the non-aligned - by all countries, all peoples, all organizations of goodwill and noble intentions.

Peace, security and development are integrally linked. Only together can they provide the opportunity for us to build a world in which tranquillity will prevail over fear, prosperity over want, equality and tolerance over violence - a world in which the dignity of nations and peoples will be universally and fully respected.

I hope that during this session as well we will take decisions that will, at least in some respects, bring us closer to these lofty goals to fulfilment of which my country is wholeheartedly committed, inspired by the tenets and policy of non-alignment.

Mr. TRAORE (Guinea) (interpretation from French): It is a great honour and a source of legitimate pride to address the Assembly today on behalf of the Military Council of National Reconstruction and the Government of the Republic of Guinea, led by His Excellency General Lansana Conte, out of a political determination to provide it with my country's modest contribution to the finding of solutions to the many problems of concern to our peoples and States.

Before discussing the burning issues of the day, Sir, I should like, to discharge a pleasant duty, that of congratulating you very sincerely on behalf of my delegation on your outstanding election to the presidency of the forty-second

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session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that your skills as an experienced diplomat coupled with your authority and impartiality will guarantee the success we expect of this session of the General Assembly.

I should like also to thank your predecessor, the representative of Bangladesh, His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, for the outstanding way in which he conducted the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

How could I fail to convey to Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar the profound gratitude of my people for the tireless efforts he constantly exerts to bring about a climate of peace, security and prosperity among all nations in an international situation that is so confused and precarious.

The Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly rightly stresses that the interdependence of all States forces them to exercise greater co-operation within strengthened multilateralism; it is through this co-operation, for which each State is responsible, that the ideals of the Organization may be achieved.

I am convinced that the goals of this co-operation can be achieved only by strengthening the United Nations, the primary instrument for the establishment and maintenance of a climate of confidence and understanding among all States and a powerful tool at the service of peace and development.

As we meet once again in this Assembly to assess, as we traditionally do, the work of our Organization, we must say that since the last session the world has remained beset by many areas of tension. International relations, both political and economic, have continued to worsen, and the victims of this situation are, unfortunately, the third world countries - the weakest, most vulnerable entities.

The dramatic and sometimes tragic events of recent months, which we have witnessed powerless to do anything, must make us aware that ours is an interdependent world. We see the extent to which conflicts and tensions may impact

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on general security, and we increasingly appreciate the links between the economies of various regions. That is why my country is committed to the idea of establishing a more just, more equitable international order.

The many pockets of tension throughout our world continue to be of concern to my country.

Among the major problems of our Organization there is the heart-rending situation prevailing in South Africa, where each day the anachronistic racist régime of Pretoria steps up its obstinate determination to perpetuate injustice, misery and suffering of the black majority, which it has deprived of its basic rights. Is there any greater challenge to the international community than the pseudo-elections in which only whites may participate, the total gagging of the South African media and the absurd maintenance of a state of emergency? Truly, the supporters of apartheid continue to flout the universal conscience through the inhumanity of their domestic policies and the incessant acts of aggression they perpetuate against the front-line countries and neighbouring States.

Given the resurgence of acts of State terrorism, a new attitude is necessary, one requiring our unswerving commitment. That is why the Republic of Guinea adds its voice to those of all justice- and freedom-loving States calling for increased assistance in various forms for the victims of apartheid to enable them to deal with the crimes, the destabilizing actions, of the racist Pretoria régime.

We welcome here the bold decisions taken on behalf of Africa at the recent summit of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa on the situation in that region. Strict implementation of those measures will certainly help to eliminate apartheid and to bring about the triumph of right and justice, resolutely defended by the African National Congress of South

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Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the national liberation movements, which my country firmly supports.

With regard to illegally-occupied Namibia, there still continue dilatory manoeuvres to sabotage implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

With regard to its neighbours, South Africa continues its policy of aggression, destabilization and intimidation. Given the horrendous cycle of violence that has for some time marked the situation in that part of Africa, it is time to go beyond mere condemnation. The minority Pretoria régime has proved to all peoples and Governments of goodwill how bigoted and intransigent it is, and how it totally disregards international law and universal ethics. More effective means of exerting pressure must be adopted to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as the front-line States.

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The immediate effective implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter will certainly make it possible to force the South African régime to abide by the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, grant independence to Namibia and promote the advent in South Africa of a democratic multiracial society in which freedom, equality and the dignity of all are guaranteed.

Western Sahara is also a source of concern and we are optimistic that the parties to the conflict will proceed to a cease-fire, in keeping with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, a prerequisite for the free self-determination of the Sahraoui people.

In this respect, a well-deserved tribute should be paid to the Secretary-General for his discreet but effective efforts to find ways and means to prevail upon the protagonists to show the flexibility necessary to lead to an appropriate and lasting solution to the crisis.

With regard to Chad, my delegation takes this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the sons of that country, which has been drenched in blood by many years of fratricidal war, to complete the work of reconciliation. We call upon Libya and Chad to create the conditions for the speedy establishment of a climate of peace and brotherly co-operation in the region.

There have not yet been any positive developments regarding the conflict in the Horn of Africa despite many attempts at mediation. Dialogue should be continued to dispel the dangers that still threaten relations between the countries of the subregion.

The alarming situation in the Middle East, which gets worse every day, and the potential danger of a flare-up of the conflicts underscore the urgent need for the international community to proceed to a comprehensive, effective settlement of this question. In this connection, the proposal to convene an international conference

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on peace in the Middle East, under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should be encouraged.

Moreover, it is clear that it is more necessary than ever to find a negotiated solution to the distressing conflict between Iran and Iraq, which is becoming more alarming every day with the escalation of violence, death and desolation. Unless there is the common and persistent will to end this devastating war, the security of the entire Gulf will be dangerously compromised, and with it an entire system of values to which we remain deeply committed. That is why the efforts of the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, should be pursued and supported with a view to ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) as a first step in the search for a just solution to this problem.

The initiatives taken by the Secretary-General in the efforts to find a solution to the conflict in Afghanistan must be encouraged and continued with a view to promoting a political solution to the conflict, while respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Afghan people and its right to determine its own future without foreign interference.

Regarding the Korean question, only the peaceful reunification of the country, without foreign interference, and the denuclearization of the peninsula can remove the threat of war and overcome the obstacles blocking the way to the unity of the Korean nation.

The complete withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in Kampuchea is also necessary. The return to a free, democratic, non-aligned Kampuchea is a sure guarantee of the defusing of the situation in South-East Asia and the advent of an era of peace and security.

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The development of the crisis throughout Central America also gives rise to great apprehension. We welcome the commitments made at the recent meeting in Guatemala of the principal leaders of the region and have great hopes that they will be respected by all the parties and will contribute to a relaxation of the tension in the region and to the establishment of a climate of confidence and good-neighbourliness, which would be an expression of the determination to safeguard the democratic principles and sovereignty of all the States of the region.

We take this opportunity to express from this rostrum our deep appreciation of the remarkable efforts made by the Contadora Group to transform this part of the American continent into a zone of peace and co-operation.

To these conflict situations we must add other challenges which, unfortunately, do not contribute to the establishment of a climate favourable to international peace and security. Among these challenges is the serious, profound and prolonged crisis affecting the world economy in general and the economies of the third-world countries in particular.

Never has the economic situation of the developing countries been more unfavourable. Furthermore, the situation of the African countries is steadily worsening under the combined impact of internal and external factors. Indeed, their economies are being hard hit by the consequences of the worsening of terms of trade, the enormous fluctuations in exchange rates, the increase in interest rates and the flight of capital. Protectionist barriers are blocking their exports, thus causing a fall in the cash flow and reducing their ability to honour their commitments to creditors.

With regard to the African continent, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade caused a fall of almost \$19 billion in their 1986 export receipts, whereas

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cost of the debt servicing approached \$200 billion for the same year. To this must be added persistent drought and other natural disasters.

It is quite clear that the effort necessary to restore the economy must be made above all by the third-world countries. They are fully aware of this and have, for the most part, undertaken courageous reforms to revitalize their economies. But if these efforts are not followed by a substantial financial input, coupled with a rational understanding of the debt problem, it goes without saying that the sacrifices made will be without effect in the long term and will result only in unfulfilled hopes. Indeed, without this complementary outside support, it would be pointless to undertake the various projects and programmes of development conceived within the framework of the structural adjustments for the purpose of banishing the spectre of hunger and poverty.

Therefore the problem is both political and financial, because the present state of international economic relations, which affect the lives of millions of human beings hardly gives cause for optimism.

It is hardly necessary to recall that the negative trends in the world economy will be eliminated only on the basis of a co-ordinated, realistic approach, without selfishness and or narrowness. The North-South dialogue and South-South co-operation provide the appropriate framework for the establishment of greater international economic justice.

Peace, security and development, which are indissolubly linked, occupy a central place among the concerns of our time, because they are indispensable factors in the general progress of mankind. In assessing the work done by our Organization in this vital sector we note with regret the absence of significant results in the implementation of many agreements and resolutions.

The escalation of the arms race and the exacerbation of hotbeds of tension, abetted by the will to dominate shown by certain major Powers, are creating a true

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war psychosis among the peoples and imperilling their sovereignty and survival. That is why we welcome and encourage the disarmament negotiations undertaken by the two super-Powers, in the firm hope that they will gradually achieve the complete and absolute denuclearization of our planet.

As was so rightly emphasized by the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, the implementation of these two processes, which are distinct, yet at the same time linked, will create favourable conditions for the progress and prosperity of peoples. Meanwhile, thanks to scientific and technological achievements, immense resources are wasted in the arms race, while, paradoxically, millions of people are languishing in poverty and suffering from illiteracy, hunger and disease. However, with general and complete disarmament, part of the resources freed could be designated for the purpose of the economic and social development of third-world countries.

That is why my delegation is convinced that lasting peace can be achieved only when there is a reduction in the gap between rich nations and poor nations. Thus, all of us, without exception, faced with the threat of a nuclear apocalypse and with urgent economic needs, must work together to lay the foundations for a total peace and security, which are pre-conditions of progress and understanding among peoples.

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Finally, I express the hope that our work will be crowned with success; I am convinced that all nations will ensure scrupulous respect for the principles of the Charter and work untiringly towards the realization of its noble goals of peace, justice and progress.

Such an undertaking will demonstrate that we are substituting love for hate and that we are abandoning the perilous path of unreasonableness for clear thinking, and the adolescent anger of the past for a frank and fruitful dialogue.

Moreover, we shall thereby have shown our sincere will to look resolutely, all of us together, to a future built on hope and serenity.

Mr. UPADHYAYA (Nepal): Mr. President, I have the honour to convey to you and this Assembly greetings from my august sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its forty-second session. This is as much a tribute to the German Democratic Republic's commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations as it is to Your Excellency's well-known personal attributes and diplomatic skill. My delegation is convinced that under your able stewardship the Assembly will achieve the desired results. I wish also to extend congratulations to Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed on his appointment as Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs.

I should like to express my delegation's deep appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, who guided the General Assembly at its forty-first session with such distinction and wisdom. May I also take this opportunity to pay

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tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his ceaseless endeavours for the cause of international peace and co-operation as for his laudable efforts to make the United Nations system more efficient and effective.

The United Nations has for some time been a helpless witness to the growing dangers and deterioration in the international situation. The spiralling arms race, in both the nuclear and the conventional fields, the ever-widening socio-economic disparities between nations and peoples, and the increasing areas or incidents of tension, intervention and conflicts present a disturbing scenario for the world as it staggers towards the twenty-first century. Clearly, this state of affairs cannot for long continue unchecked or unchallenged without inviting the most devastating consequences.

It is against such a backdrop that we welcome the recent turn of events in the relations between the super-Powers. We are particularly encouraged by the agreement in principle to eliminate intermediate and short-range missiles worldwide. While such an accord in itself represents a significant achievement in the process of disarmament, we believe it could help in building mutual confidence between the super-Powers and pave the way for other, even more significant, initiatives and accords. Committed as Nepal has always been to the goal of general and complete disarmament, it is only natural for us to hope that the present momentum will be maintained and that no opportunity to halt, or reverse, the arms race in other areas will be allowed to pass.

While we attach the utmost urgency to nuclear disarmament because of the unlimited capacity of nuclear weapons to inflict destruction, we feel that we cannot, like Nelson, turn a blind eye and ignore the galloping conventional arms

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race. Such weapons consume 80 per cent of global military expenditure and have been used in over 150 conflicts in more than 70 countries since the end of the Second World War.

Only a fortnight ago, the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development was convened here at the United Nations. Apart from examining the close relationship between these two urgent challenges of our times, the Conference was useful in highlighting the grave dangers posed by the unprecedented arms race not only on international security but also on the stability and welfare of peoples and nations.

Nepal looks forward with much anticipation to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, slated for next year. We hope that the special session will also consider new initiatives and concepts that serve to advance the cause of disarmament, including the creation of zones of peace and other confidence-building and conflict-limiting measures.

In this context I wish to recall that, as early as 1975, His Majesty King Birendra proposed that Nepal be declared a zone of peace - a proposal which, I am pleased to state, has secured the valuable support of 85 States Members of the United Nations, for which I express our profound gratitude. We believe its realization would not only fully vindicate the rationale of the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development but, no less important, make a tangible contribution to consolidating peace in what is a strategic part of the world. Conceivably, it could even act as a model for stabilizing peace in other geopolitically sensitive areas of the globe.

An overview of the world political situation provides scant room for comfort. Thus, while the age-old predilection of the strong to impose their will on the weak continues unabated, the spectre of foreign intervention seems to have acquired

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subtler, and more dangerous, dimensions. If a sense of déjà vu is manifest in surveying the West Asian politico-military landscape, it is difficult to view with calm and serenity the escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf region. As we continue to remain concerned at the ongoing conflict between two of our non-aligned friends, Iran and Iraq, we have reasons to hope that the recent decision of the Security Council and the efforts of the Secretary-General will help eventually to restore peace to a region torn apart by seven long years of fratricidal conflict.

Concerned at developments in Central America over the past several years, Nepal has supported the efforts of the Contadora Group for the restoration of peace.

Nepal warmly welcomed the recent peace agreement signed by five Central American Presidents in Guatemala City, and we reaffirm our belief that durable peace in Central America can be established only when all States with links to or interests in the area scrupulously honour and uphold the principle of non-interference.

Closer home, Nepal also welcomed the agreement between our two South Asian neighbours and friends, India and Sri Lanka, and we hope that this will not only end ethnic violence but also help in strengthening the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

Meanwhile, the depressingly familiar problems of West Asia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea are sombre reminders of how very little the world has changed in the more than four decades since the establishment of this world body, which was created, among other things, to protect the weak and uplift the poor among nations. In West Asia, prospects for a lasting peace are as bleak as ever, notwithstanding flickering hopes that a number of unyielding attitudes of the past that inhibited a comprehensive peace settlement might be shed.

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Peace, in our view, will continue to elude West Asia as long as the Palestinians are denied a homeland of their own in the region. There cannot be a stable peace if Israel does not withdraw from territories occupied since the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967. Neither will peace be restored to that region as long as the right of Israel to exist within secure and well-defined boundaries is denied.

The plight of Lebanon continues to be a matter of deep concern, especially that part of a sovereign State should be treated as falling within the defence perimeter of a stronger neighbour. Nepal totally rejects any doctrine or code of international ethics that is based on the absurd premise that the security of some States is more precious than that of others. Nepal is proud to participate in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon peace-keeping operations and stands ready to back any move that restores to Lebanon full sovereignty over its entire territory. We are concerned about the unsatisfactory financial situation of UNIFIL and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and emphasize the responsibility of all Member States in that respect. Nepal repeats its appeal for a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus and renews its firm support for the island's territorial sovereignty, integrity, independence and non-aligned character.

The situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are viewed with deep anxiety by Nepal. Though the past year has witnessed some new developments in the domestic situation in both of these beleaguered countries, there has been no basic shift in the prolonged presence of foreign troops. Nepal appreciates the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representative in securing a negotiated settlement - particularly in Afghanistan - where differences over the time-frame for such withdrawal have been narrowed, but not yet bridged. Nepal reiterates its resolute support for relevant General Assembly resolutions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, including such essentials as, inter alia, withdrawal of all foreign

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forces and the right of the respective peoples to determine their political future without any outside interference.

Nepal believes that the potentially explosive situation in Korea needs to be defused without delay. To achieve that, it welcomes any moves for greater contact and co-operation between the two Koreas. It also believes that the peaceful reunification of Korea can best be achieved by the Korean people themselves, free from any foreign interference.

No review of the international situation can be objective or complete if it does not note the shameful state of affairs that exists in South Africa, where a régime of racist bigots has refined a system of ruthless exploitation against its own majority. Backed by military might, and with support from some quarters, Pretoria hurtles recklessly down the apartheid path, although there are now clear indications of doubts emerging within white South Africa itself regarding the usefulness of blindly adhering to that evil system.

Nepal is honoured to serve on the Special Committee against Apartheid and reiterates its deep conviction that the application of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions remains the best - and perhaps the last - means of bringing about a peaceful transition to a multiracial representative society in South Africa.

Nepal was pleased to make a modest contribution to the Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa set up by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the Harare Summit to provide emergency assistance to front-line and other African States to enable them to withstand the effects of retaliatory sanctions by racist Pretoria.

Nepal is steadfast in its belief that any further delay in the granting of immediate and full independence to Namibia by South Africa is fraught with very grave danger to international peace and security. We applaud the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization and reiterate our appeal to the international

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community to accelerate all efforts for the early implementation of the relevant Security Council and other United Nations resolutions on the granting of independence to Namibia.

Nepal was pleased to participate in the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking held in Vienna last June and stands fully committed to making its modest contribution to the eradication of that social scourge. I wish to state that Nepal acceded to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961, as amended by the 1972 Protocol, at the Vienna Conference. Nepal has also been actively involved in tackling this social problem at the regional level by co-operating with its South Asian neighbours.

Another scourge of relatively recent origin is terrorism, to the elimination of which Nepal is equally committed along with its six other partners in the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). I am pleased to inform you that SAARC experts have prepared a draft convention, which is to be considered by its standing committee in Kathmandu next month.

I am also greatly pleased that SAARC has made further progress since I spoke here last year. At present it not only has a full-fledged secretariat, based in Kathmandu, but considerable headway has been made in developing it into an effective instrument for promoting regional co-operation for a full one-fifth of the world's population. Apart from that, it is Nepal's belief that the success of SAARC can further galvanize the concept of South-South co-operation which is being promoted by, among others, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Nepal is a founding member. For these reasons we in Nepal are making the necessary preparations to ensure that the next SAARC summit, to be held in Kathmandu in a few weeks, will, like the two preceding summits, achieve substantial results.

The international economic situation is a depressing one, with the developing world facing a crisis of unprecedented dimensions. This has been characterized,

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inter alia, by falling commodity prices, high interest rates, protectionism and a downswing of the world economy. Owing to a combination of low global growth and the increasing complexities and uncertainties of the world economy, the urgently-needed support for the development of the developing countries has failed to materialize. What has materialized instead is the grim picture of declining commodity prices, stagnating official development assistance, and the crushing burden of the external debt of developing countries. This has exacerbated political tensions. It threatens to rip open the very fabric of society of many developing countries and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Long-term development of developing countries thus continues to be at the mercy of the inequities of a world economic system that has clearly ceased adequately to serve the objectives of global economic and social progress.

While the economic situation of the developing countries as a whole is sombre enough, that in the least developed countries merits the special concern of the international community. It is with this reality in view that my delegation attaches great importance to the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) which concluded its session in Geneva last month. Early this year, in Kathmandu, Nepal co-hosted, along with UNCTAD, a high-level meeting of governmental experts from 28 countries and representatives of four international organizations to discuss the problems of the least-developed countries in preparation for UNCTAD VII.

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My delegation shares the view of the United Nations Secretary-General that UNCTAD-VII represented an advance in the revitalization of development, growth and international trade. We believe that the political will demonstrated by all groups in reaching consensus on the final act augurs well both for the outlook for multilateral co-operation as well as for a continuing dialogue on development. In particular, my delegation is pleased that due emphasis was given to such elements as the need for sustainable non-inflationary growth in developing countries, the responsibilities of the developed countries, a new thrust to the evolution of a growth-oriented debt strategy, the potential for renewed inter-governmental co-operation in commodities and, most of all, in the reaffirmation of the urgency of more strenuous endeavours to support the development of the least developed countries. While my delegation also welcomes the acknowledgement of the complementarity between UNCTAD and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in their efforts to promote global trade, combat protectionism and reinforce the world trading system, we sincerely hope that the expectations of the least developed countries raised by UNCTAD-VII will not meet the same fate as the unfulfilled commitments made to them under the New Substantial Programme of Action for the 1980s chalked out at the Paris Conference in 1981. Nepal also believes that due priority must be given to effective implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, adopted unanimously at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly, in 1986.

The speedy implementation of the New Substantial Programme of Action has special significance for Nepal which, under the wise leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, is today making all-out efforts to meet the basic needs of the people for food, shelter, clothing, primary health care, and education and security, by the end of this century. Such international assistance would be especially welcome to augment Nepal's water-resources development and afforestation

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efforts. Besides helping Nepal to alleviate the problem of chronic shortage of fuel, the prevention of environmental degradation of the Himalayan foothills would have a most positive impact on millions of people whose lives are greatly shaped by the rivers flowing from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal.

Recognizing, as Nepal does, the close interdependence of the environment and economic and social development, it most warmly welcomes the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development.

A significant outcome of the forty-first session of the General Assembly was the adoption of many important administrative and financial reforms designed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations. We have been greatly encouraged by the achievements thus far and believe that the process of reforms and renewal must be carried further. However, Nepal continues to believe that unilateral withholding of dues will have grave implications not only for that process but also for the future of the United Nations and multilateralism.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm Nepal's unwavering commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. I take this opportunity to underline Nepal's continuing support of the Non-Aligned Movement, which we maintain is as meaningful today as it was when it was founded more than a quarter century ago.

I wish also to thank members of the Asian Group of the United Nations for their valuable and unanimous endorsement of Nepal's candidature for non-permanent membership in the Security Council for 1988-1989. Nepal gives its assurance that, if indeed so elected by this Assembly, it will discharge the weighty responsibilities incumbent upon such membership in a manner commensurate with the trust reposed in it. In any case, Nepal, as always, stands ready to co-operate in any endeavour that will further the lofty aims and objectives of the United

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Nations, convinced that it truly represents, and remains, mankind's best hope for a peaceful, prosperous and humane world.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.