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Forty-second session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 9 October 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

later: Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania)  
(Vice-President)

- Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus
- General debate [9] (continued)

Address by Mr. Va'ai Kolone, Prime Minister and Minister for  
Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa

Sir Satcam Bolell (Mauritius)

Address by Mr. Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of the  
Republic of Malta

Mr. Shongwe (Swaziland)

- Programme of work

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

ADDRESS BY MR. SPYROS KYPRIANOU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Cyprus, His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

President KYPRIANOU: It is with great pleasure, Sir, that I extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the high office of the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. The confidence shown in you by this body is a tribute by the international community to you personally, as well as to your country, with which Cyprus maintains close and friendly relations. I have no doubt that, with your experience and skill, you will guide the deliberations of this session to a successful conclusion.

I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Choudhury, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, on the impeccable manner in which he discharged his difficult task as President of the forty-first session, honouring both his country and the Asian region in general. We also express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts on behalf of the United Nations.

The opening of this year's session coincided with a historic development. The conclusion of the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles is of paramount importance not only as far as relations between the two super-Powers are concerned but also for humanity as a whole.

(President Kyprianou)

This development has naturally given rise to well-founded optimism regarding the future of mankind. One can of course validly argue that the danger of a nuclear catastrophe has not yet been completely and definitely eliminated. Yet, the recent agreement in Washington is a specific and substantive step in that direction. It also provides concrete evidence of the political will of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together, despite the great difficulties that still exist owing to the divergence of their views on many issues, for the purpose of gradually reducing and finally eliminating the very real danger that is facing humanity's very existence and survival, especially since the beginning of the nuclear arms race.

We hope and trust that the agreement concluded in principle in Washington will soon be finalized, signed and implemented and that it will be followed by other agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. We do not underestimate the difficulties with regard to some specific aspects of nuclear disarmament, but we strongly believe that certain additional steps could easily be taken that would on the one hand strengthen mutual confidence, which is still greatly needed, and on the other enhance the process towards the goal of complete nuclear disarmament. While efforts to tackle the more difficult aspects must continue in a sustained manner, steps such as the complete banning of nuclear tests and the effective tackling of the issue of chemical weapons should be taken without further delay.

Continued progress in the field of nuclear disarmament, extremely important in itself, will also enable the two super-Powers steadily to improve their relations and will facilitate the promotion of close co-operation between them in dealing with other problems, whether global or regional, the solution of which must be sought with urgency and determination. It is indeed hoped and expected that, parallel to the dialogue for nuclear disarmament and disarmament in general, concerted efforts will be made by the two super-Powers to address as a matter of

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urgency the other problems as well. We do not suggest that the two super-Powers have the right to apply to these problems solutions of their own choice, but we are realistic enough to acknowledge the fact that they are in a position to influence developments and contribute decisively to the solution of these problems. The common denominator cannot of course be other than the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

In other words, we believe that the United Nations can become effective only if the permanent members of the Security Council, and particularly the two super-Powers, decide to make it effective through joint action. The obvious answer to the question how this can be achieved is through agreement by the super-Powers and all the other members, particularly the other permanent members, of the Security Council to stand firmly by the Council's decisions and act together resolutely for their strict implementation in all cases, without distinction, irrespective of whom those decisions affect, thus abandoning the tendency to adopt double standards, as has so far been the case. This is the only possible way to make the Security Council effective, and it is the only possible way to solve most of the problems that still confront the world.

Year after year in this forum we all speak of the imperative necessity to turn the United Nations into an effective instrument for peace and security in the world, as envisaged by its founding Members and as provided for in its Charter. Most of us, year after year, speak in this Hall of the imperative necessity to establish a comprehensive system of international security through the existing mechanisms and procedures provided for by the Charter. It is now more pressing than ever before to begin meaningful and result-oriented deliberations to achieve this purpose, which is also closely related to ongoing efforts in the field of disarmament, as well as to the tackling and settlement of other global and regional problems.

(President Kyprianou)

When we speak of the necessity to continue a dialogue and the process towards disarmament, when we speak of the necessity to establish in practice a comprehensive system of international security, when we speak of the necessity to tackle effectively and solve all other global and regional problems, we strongly maintain that those efforts should be parallel, because, owing to their interrelationship, any progress in one field will automatically increase the prospects for further progress in the others.

It is indeed encouraging and heartening that today we look to the future with full optimism and confidence. We hope that as time goes by that optimism and confidence will increase and be consolidated. Mankind needs to see some more tangible achievements to make it feel secure about its future. It is in this spirit that we look forward to more positive results within the framework of the dialogue between the two super-Powers, and it is in the same spirit that we expect more such results from the forthcoming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, beyond the signing of the agreement already concluded in principle a few days ago in Washington. We sincerely wish both of them every success.

In underlining and stressing the paramount importance of the role of the super-Powers in relation to all international problems, it has not been my intention to minimize or underestimate the role and the significant contribution of all the other countries that comprise the membership of the United Nations. On the contrary, we must not stand aside or wash our hands of problems, leaving everything to the super-Powers. Nor can such an attitude facilitate the efforts of the super-Powers themselves.

(President Kyprianou)

The entire membership of the United Nations has important and heavy responsibilities to discharge. In fact, the improvement in the international climate as a result of the rapprochement between the super-Powers has increased the possibilities for all Members of the United Nations, whether big or small, individually and collectively, to contribute more substantively and meaningfully to the achievement of our common goals and objectives. This, I must stress once again, is not limited to any specific country or group of countries alone. It is not limited to the allies of the two super-Powers, as it is not limited to other groups of countries, such as the European Economic Community which, owing to its strength and influence, has no doubt a special role to play. It is not limited to the permanent members of the Security Council or to the members of the Security Council as a whole. Collective efforts on the part of all regional organizations are also important. Important initiatives, such as the initiative of the Six - Greece, Sweden, Argentina, Mexico, India and Tanzania - must continue with more determination in the light of recent developments. The contribution of all is needed much more than ever before.

In this connection, I would like to stress the importance I attach to the role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which most of us in this Assembly belong. The Movement has, since its establishment, played a positive and constructive role in world affairs, utilizing the great moral force it represents. The prospects have now increased for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to play an even greater and more effective role. I would like to reiterate today what I stressed at the last summit meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare, that we must now concentrate on how to increase the effectiveness of our Movement. I pledge that Cyprus, despite its small size and strength and in spite of the constraints imposed on it by its particular problem, will work hard for this objective. We will co-operate with all others in the Movement in order to arrive

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at concrete conclusions that can be taken up at the next full ministerial conference of the Movement, which will take place on 5 September next year, and which we will have the honour to host in Cyprus. I personally attach great importance to that meeting and we must all work together for its success.

I have already expressed my conviction that the new climate created as a result of the agreement reached recently in Washington, and which has improved the relations between the two super-Powers, will foster conditions conducive to the search for solutions to other major international problems and regional crises.

One of these problems, of world-wide interest and concern, is the prevailing economic situation. This manifests itself as a structural crisis and, in turn, urgently points to the need for increasing multilateral co-operation in seeking solutions to the various aspects of the problem. The gap between North and South is ever present. Furthermore, the external debt crisis continues to be one of the most serious obstacles to the progress and genuine sovereignty of many developing countries.

A new international economic order is of the utmost importance in itself and the efforts towards establishing it must continue in a sustained manner, the interrelationship between this target and the final overall objective of lasting peace and security in the world being borne always in mind. In this respect, the interrelationship between disarmament and development must also be stressed. This was reaffirmed and underlined by the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development and it is clear that further steps are needed to translate the unanimous conclusions of the Conference into concrete actions for the benefit of all countries and peoples.

The new climate should also be utilized for tackling, as a matter of urgency, the various regional problems that continue to pose a serious threat to peace and security. There can be no doubt that to achieve solutions to these problems there

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must, more than ever before, be common action and co-operation among nations. In this respect, the role of the permanent members of the Security Council and, in particular, that of the two super-Powers is of paramount importance. And there is no other way of successfully dealing with these problems except by abiding strictly by the principles and purposes of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations and by ensuring their respect and implementation.

The principles enshrined in the Charter and embodied in regional instruments, such as the Helsinki Final Act - the non-use of force or threat of the use of force, non-interference and non-intervention, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, as well as basic human rights and fundamental freedoms - are still being flagrantly violated in different parts of the world, thus protracting dangerous and explosive situations and contributing to the breakdown of legal order and security in the respective regions.

It should no longer be tolerated that millions of people in the world suffer daily from gross violations of their human rights, despite the existence of internationally accepted legal instruments. Such instruments, concluded during the United Nations era, embody the moral conscience of mankind and represent the humanitarian standards that should guide the behaviour of all members of the international community in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Yet, the abhorrent policy of apartheid is still a grim reality in South Africa. The international community has so far been unable to put an end to this crime, which is being perpetrated against the very conscience of mankind and which constitutes a challenge to the authority of the United Nations. Condemnations have been voiced from all parts of the world, but concrete actions, expressly provided for in the Charter, remain unadopted owing to the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council. It is to be hoped that as a result of the new spirit that has recently emerged regarding the need for the Security Council

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to play an effective and decisive role in solving problems, the Security Council and, in particular, its permanent members, will find a way to reach agreement on specific action in conformity with the Charter that will finally put an end to the intolerable situation in South Africa.

The situation in South Africa is one of those cases which I had in mind when, earlier in my statement, I spoke of the need to do away with the ill concept of double standards. This clearly relates both to obstacles to the adoption of resolutions by the Security Council in certain cases, and in other cases to the non-implementation of resolutions adopted, sometimes unanimously. A glaring example of the latter is the situation in Namibia, a problem that could easily be solved if the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council were to be strictly implemented. And again, it is the primary responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to see to it that this is done.

In the Middle East, the Palestine people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, continues to struggle for its inalienable rights. Despite the adoption of so many resolutions by the United Nations, the Palestinian people are still being denied its inalienable rights, including the right to establish their own independent State.

(President Kyprianou)

It is again high time for the permanent members of the Security Council and, as in all other cases, the super-Powers in particular to take the political decision to work together for the resolution of this problem, which lies at the heart of the entire Middle East problem and which continues to present a real threat to international peace and security. Let those who have the power to resolve the problem reflect on the bloodshed and misery inflicted on the peoples of the countries involved, including Lebanon, where the situation has reached the dimensions of a real tragedy threatening the territorial integrity and unity of that friendly country. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, we fully support the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As for Central America, we welcome and support the agreement reached recently in Guatemala among the Presidents of the countries of the region. We also fully support the efforts of the Contadora and Support Groups in seeking permanent peace and stability in this troubled region. But again it must be stressed that if that is to be achieved, the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the area and of non-intervention and non-interference, provided for in the Charter, should be strictly observed.

Much has already been said in this Assembly regarding the war between Iran and Iraq and the explosive situation in the Gulf. We must all render our support to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his efforts in this respect and we hope and trust that the involvement of the Security Council will lead the way to the restoration of peace and security in the area.

In referring to pertinent resolutions of the Security Council regarding various issues some speakers from this rostrum stressed the mandatory nature of the

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resolutions of the Security Council. They went even further to remind representatives of the relevant provisions of the Charter providing for specific measures in case of anyone's failure to comply with those resolutions. I could not think of a more appropriate way to commence my remarks with regard to the Cyprus problem. It is exactly because the resolutions of the United Nations in general and of the Security Council in particular have been completely ignored by Turkey, that the Cyprus problem still remains unresolved. And it is because Turkey does not feel the need to respect these resolutions that it has yet to abandon its expansionist and partitionist designs against Cyprus. It is high time for Turkey to be reminded in a convincing manner of the mandatory nature of the Security Council resolutions and of the relevant provisions of the Charter in case of failure to conform with those resolutions.

Thirteen years have gone by since the invasion and occupation of 37 per cent of our territory by Turkey. A number of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations demanded the withdrawal of the occupation troops, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the return of the refugees to their homes under conditions of safety, the cessation of the destruction of the cultural heritage of Cyprus by Turkey, the restitution of human rights to all Cypriots, the speedy tracing of the missing persons, and the reversal of all actions aimed at the secession of the occupied part and consolidation of the division. Contrary to the demands of the international community, the Cyprus problem has not yet been solved and Turkey continues to pursue the same expansionist and partitionist policy, contemptuously ignoring the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

On our part, we did whatever we could to facilitate a solution by offering a series of very serious concessions - concessions that I do not believe any

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Government of any other country represented in this Assembly would have offered in similar circumstances. Yet the Cyprus problem has not been solved. We have known from the beginning, and we have been trying hard to point out everywhere, that the Cyprus problem is not primarily a constitutional one. It is basically a problem of invasion and occupation, of foreign intervention, of colonization of the occupied part by settlers from Turkey and of an attempt to destroy the culture and civilization of the country for the first time in its history of thousands of years. It is a problem of flagrant violation by Turkey of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cypriot people. It is a problem of expansionism on the part of a strong neighbour - perhaps, as might be proved, not only at the expense of Cyprus but also at the expense of Greece and possibly other countries in the area. It is a problem arising from the attempts to impose upon us a solution that would enhance those expansionist designs. It is high time for the Cyprus problem to be tackled at its root through the promotion and implementation of the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which contain all the necessary elements for solving the basic aspects of the Cyprus problem.

There has been a tendency, in the light of the difficulties created by the intransigence of Turkey, either to avoid or to postpone the tackling of the substance of the Cyprus problem. I believe all will agree with me that no problem can be solved by avoiding or postponing the tackling of its substance. The method of avoiding the real issue has not worked. It could not have worked in any case, nor is it fair and realistic to rely for a solution on the weakness of one side and consequently exert pressure on that side instead of pressuring the country that is acting contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter and to the resolutions of the United Nations.

(President Kyprianou)

Those who can help to find a solution to the Cyprus problem and are in a position to play a significant role in this respect must not limit their interest to determining when the Cyprus problem will be solved, but should concentrate rather on how the Cyprus problem should be solved. The time factor is of course important, but far more important is the substance of the solution. Not only must the solution be based on the principles and provisions of the Charter and on the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, but also it must not be the starting-point for a new Cyprus crisis in the future, worse perhaps than any previous one, with serious consequences beyond Cyprus that may threaten peace and security in the area. This is why the basic aspects of the Cyprus problem and prerequisites of its solution - namely the absolute necessity of the withdrawal of Turkish troops and colonist settlers from Cyprus, the safeguarding in practice of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the Cypriot people and the ensuring of effective international guarantees for the security and future of the country - must be tackled as a matter of priority, otherwise the present unjust and dangerous situation will continue, to the detriment of Cyprus and its people as a whole, irrespective of ethnic origin. In addition, no one should underestimate the potential danger involved in the perpetuation of the current situation nor should anyone be misled by the fact that there has been no bloodshed for some time.

We strongly and sincerely believe that if the basic aspects of the Cyprus problem are settled it will not be at all difficult to reach an overall solution, of the kind that will ensure lasting peace in Cyprus. It is in this spirit that we shall continue in good faith to co-operate with the Secretary-General. And it is in the same spirit that we have proposed the holding of an international conference to deal with the international aspects of the Cyprus problem.

(President Kyprianou)

When we speak of an international conference we mean in essence a conference of the members of the Security Council for the purpose of promoting the implementation of their own resolutions. The reason we are asking for the convening of an international conference - and I say this in reply to those who object to this proposal - is not to make it easier for any of the big Powers to gain points or advantages, but because we consider it a realistic approach that would strengthen the role and efforts of both the Security Council and the Secretary-General. I suppose it is for the same reason that there is now such wide agreement on the holding of an international conference on the Middle East situation.

I should like now to refer specifically to the presence in Cyprus of the Turkish occupation troops, whose number has risen to about 35,000, and to the colonist settlers from Turkey, whose number is now estimated at about 65,000. Incidentally, when I speak of the colonist settlers, I must say - and I know that representatives have heard of this - that the Turkish Government has often described them as seasonal workers: 65,000 "seasonal workers", who have formed their own political party on which the present illegal régime depends; "seasonal workers" to whom the land and property of those uprooted from their homes has been distributed; "seasonal workers" who have illegally been given citizenship by the illegal régime. But such lies are not unprecedented in the case of Turkey. I would remind representatives that Turkey described the invasion in 1974, 13 years ago, as "a limited police operation".

In addition to the increase in the number of the Turkish occupation troops, there has been a continuous and considerable strengthening of those troops in terms of military equipment, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and all this despite repeated United Nations resolutions.

(President Kyprianou)

Turkey is a strong Power and Cyprus is a very small, weak country. The geographic proximity is such that, realistically, it means that Cyprus will always live in dangerous conditions. Yet we have offered - and I renewed that offer yesterday during my meeting with the Secretary-General - to dismantle our own defences and dissolve our own National Guard, if all Turkish troops and other personnel, including the settlers from Turkey, are withdrawn from Cyprus, so that the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can settle their internal problems in conditions of peace, without foreign interference. Part of my proposal is also the establishment of an international peace force under United Nations auspices, whose composition and terms of reference would be agreed and endorsed by the Security Council, for the purpose of strengthening the sense of security internally. It goes without saying that, together with the withdrawal of the Turkish troops and settlers, the so-called Turkish Cypriot army must also be dismantled and dissolved. In fact, my proposal means the total demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, with the exception of the international peace force envisaged in my proposal and a reasonably small mixed local police force.

It is of course obvious that in such circumstances sufficient international guarantees must be ensured to protect Cyprus from any outside danger or threat. I urge not only the Secretary-General but all members of the Security Council and of the General Assembly to study this proposal carefully and contribute positively to its adoption and implementation. If Turkey decides to abandon its expansionist designs, no one can see any reason why this practical, pacific, realistic and far-reaching proposal cannot be accepted. This proposal will not only contribute decisively to an overall and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem but also remove a potential threat to peace and security in that dangerous and sensitive area of the world.

(President Kyprianou)

A similar proposal has been put forward by the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Andreas Papandreou, in which, inter alia, he states Greece's readiness to bear a significant part of the financial cost of the international peace force envisaged in the proposal. Cyprus too, despite its limited possibilities, is ready to contribute substantially to meeting the cost.

Another request to the Secretary-General which I renewed in the course of our meeting yesterday relates to the specific issue of the city of Varosha. I asked the Secretary-General once again to demand that the occupying Power, Turkey, hand over the city of Varosha to the United Nations for resettlement by its rightful inhabitants, in compliance with the specific provision contained in the Security Council's mandatory resolution 550 (1984). Such a move would improve the climate and constitute a first step in the right direction.

During my meeting yesterday with the Secretary-General I also expressed to him my deep anxiety and concern at the fact that despite our efforts and goodwill no progress has yet been made to ascertain the fate of missing persons and urged him to take all the additional steps necessary to tackle without any further delay this purely humanitarian problem. It is inconceivable that Turkey should be permitted to continue to behave in such a negative manner on such an obviously humanitarian issue. Likewise, I stressed once again the need for the protection of those in the enclave of the occupied area of Cyprus and for renewed efforts to implement the relevant agreement reached in Vienna in 1975, which has been systematically violated - like all the other agreements - by the Turkish side.

The Cyprus problem is not a dispute between East and West. Yet, I strongly believe that co-operation between the super-Powers, as in the case of other regional problems, as long as that co-operation is based on the United Nations Charter and resolutions, will contribute decisively to a just, viable and workable solution to the Cyprus problem that will ensure lasting peace, freedom, justice and

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happiness for all the inhabitants of our small country, irrespective of ethnic origin, as well as to peace and security in the area.

We hope and trust that the General Assembly - which has been requested to consider the Cyprus problem once again after an interlude of four years marked not only by a lack of any substantive progress but also by a series of new provocative acts by Turkey - will help us in our endeavours, which, after all, are aimed at objectives that are in complete accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. But let me stress once again that we do not have the right, nor are we prepared, to abandon those objectives, on the attainment of which the very survival of our people and of Cyprus as an independent and free country entirely depends.

It is high time for the international community as a whole, and in particular those that are in the best position to help, to make Turkey feel the need to abandon its expansionist and partitionist designs against Cyprus. It is high time for Turkey to be made to feel that it cannot continue to ignore and disregard the provisions of the United Nations Charter and resolutions. It is high time for Turkey to be made to understand and realize the mandatory and binding nature of Security Council resolutions. It is high time for Turkey to be made to feel the need to abide by the rules of international law.

We are entering a new era in which it would be unthinkable to permit anyone, irrespective of who it might be, to upset, undermine and sabotage the efforts to achieve peace, security and justice in any part of the world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. VA'AI KOLONE, PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF WESTERN SAMOA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa.

Mr. Va'ai Kolone, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

Mr. KOLONE (Samoa) (spoke in Samoan; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will guide our deliberations with care and competence.

I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Joseph Reed on his assumption of the post of Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and to welcome him warmly.

Our grateful thanks go to Mr. Humayun Choudhury of Bangladesh for the wisdom and skill with which he conducted our proceedings at the last session of the General Assembly.

We are delighted that the Secretary-General remains in good health, and we express our gratitude and respect to him for his tireless and patient efforts to resolve difficult international problems.

(Mr. Kolone, Samoa)

This past year has been a year of rejoicing and celebration for our nation, which commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its independence. It was a year of pride and an occasion for reflection and reaffirmation; an opportunity for re-examination of our national values and ideals and reassessment of our aims and aspirations. It was, in fact, a chance to look forward to our future in the light of lessons learned over the past 25 years.

We see great merit in this process of slowing down and taking stock of our successes and failures at appropriate times, and that is, of course, what the United Nations did when it celebrated its fortieth anniversary two years ago, which provided an occasion for us all to reflect on its history and its future. Ringing reaffirmations of faith in its ideals were given that year, and a searching re-examination of how best to achieve those ideals was begun. It has resulted in a realistic assessment that has set in train a process of reform that we are certain will have far-reaching beneficial effects not only on the actual performance of the United Nations and its Members but also on how the United Nations is perceived by the world community.

(Mr. Kolone, Samoa)

The Secretary-General has noted in his annual report that the adoption last year of resolution 41/213 on the review of the efficiency of the administration and financial functioning of the United Nations was a step that could signify a major turning-point for the United Nations. We agree and, while acknowledging the problems and dangers that remain, we are much encouraged. This then we feel is a year for optimism not only as far as practical matters and reforms are concerned but as far as political will and co-operation within the United Nations process are concerned as well. It seems to us that a generally more co-operative and conciliatory mood is permeating the United Nations, and we hope that this is not only an acknowledgement of renewed faith in the United Nations and its goals but also a revival of the spirit of multilateralism and a recognition of our global mutual interdependence.

We see in various situations, which at times may have seemed hopeless, evidence that solutions are possible and in some cases may not be far off.

The Iran-Iraq war - that disastrous conflict between brothers - rages on, but we have seen determination and unanimity in the Security Council in its pursuit of a cease-fire and brave persistence on the part of the Secretary-General in trying to bring an end to this tragedy. These efforts must continue, and whatever measures are deemed necessary must be taken to achieve a cease-fire and to stop the fuelling of the fires of this war by the sale of arms to both sides.

In Afghanistan, while foreign troops still occupy the land, the negotiations to bring about their withdrawal are at an advanced stage, and we are encouraged to hope that a solution will soon emerge ensuring early withdrawal and enabling the refugees to return home and all Afghans to choose freely their government and to participate in the rehabilitation of their war-torn land.

In Kampuchea, while foreign forces also remain and the conflict persists, the Secretary-General states in his report that he has recently detected some signs of

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movement that he hopes will develop in the right direction, and we are encouraged by this. We note that the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in their meeting in Bangkok on 16 August 1987 have called for a "cocktail party" in which the Cambodian factions and Viet Nam can start a dialogue. We applaud ASEAN's efforts to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to promote peace in South-East Asia. We encourage acceptance of the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which calls for national reconciliation leading to a quadripartite government in which all parties would participate and which would be headed by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, who is widely respected.

In Central America, until recently a solution seemed far off, but we see now, with President Arias' ten-point peace plan, the prospect of peace and settlement of problems becoming a more possible reality and we are heartened by the conclusion of the Guatemala accord among the Central American States, an agreement to establish peace in accordance with the principles of sovereignty, common security, non-interference, democracy and development. We must now hope that all parties involved maintain the momentum of the peace process.

On the Korean peninsula, the reduction of tension between the two parts of Korea is the most essential step towards resolving the Korean question and ultimate peaceful unification through dialogue and negotiation. We hope that dialogue will soon be resumed in the interest of peace and security in the region. As a step towards reconciliation and reunification, we support the admission of both the North and South to the United Nations. The principle of universality leads us to support accession for all those countries that wish it and are prepared to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter. We consider that the Republic of Korea is already an active member of the international community and that it fulfils those requirements. The Republic of Korea's capital city, Seoul, is to host

(Mr. Kolone, Samoa)

the 1988 Olympic Games. We hope that the spirit of sportsmanship engendered by participation in next year's Olympics in Seoul will help not only to bring all countries of the world together in harmony but, in particular, to create an atmosphere which will be conducive to the improvement of relations between North and South Korea. We extend good wishes for the success of the Olympics.

Though the problems in Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli conflict may seem intractable, there are glimmers of hope. Faint hopes for a peaceful settlement in Lebanon flicker from time to time but, unfortunately, fade before they come to fruition. Outside interference in Lebanon must cease, foreign forces must withdraw and Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence must be respected. The United Nations Interim Force must also be respected to enable it to fulfil its mandate and carry out its important peace-keeping mission without harassment. We must give it our full support.\*

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\* Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kolone, Samoa)

In the Middle East there has been some progress with regard to the idea of convening an international conference under United Nations auspices, and we feel that with the participation and approval of all parties this would be a most positive development. Any solution to the problem must guarantee both the right of Israel to a secure existence within internationally recognized boundaries and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, indeed, to live in their own territory with the authorities and form of government they choose.

There is one area of the world where there seems little hope at the moment - South Africa. The South African Government's continuance of the abhorrent system of apartheid is completely unconscionable, as is the unjustified delay in the transition to independence of Namibia, which South Africa still illegally occupies and exploits. South Africa's extension of the state of emergency and continuous cruel repression and violations of human rights involving even very young children have made it a pariah among nations, as have its attacks on the front-line States. These States need and should be given international assistance and support. The pressure on South Africa must be sustained, and we support the efforts of the United Nations and the Commonwealth in this regard.

One of the most promising rays of hope on the international scene is the proposed summit meeting between the leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the agreement between them to work towards the dismantling of intermediate- and short-range missiles. This is the first time in history that there has been a proposal for an agreement that will actually eliminate nuclear weapons, and we see it as a most positive and significant initial step towards the preservation of our planet. We applaud it.

Another important step in this direction has been the report of the Brundtland Commission, entitled "Our Common Future", which in its strong and very forthright

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exposition stresses the urgency of protecting our resources and our environment. Our survival, and that of the Earth's environment, depend on our paying heed to the urgent ecological concerns that scientists throughout the world are bringing to our attention. The Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme has acted most appropriately in submitting to the General Assembly this report and another major report of great significance, "The environmental perspective to the year 2000 and beyond". Countries of the world can no longer ignore the proliferating and worsening threats to our environment, such as the thinning of the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, desertification, deforestation and the ever increasing pollution and poisoning of the earth, sea and sky by waste and chemicals. Acting under the provisions of the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer of 1985, Member States have taken a small step by agreeing gradually to phase out chlorofluorocarbons but there is much more to do and it must be done urgently. Our very real concern about the environment is reflected in the recently concluded Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region.

In addition to the work on the environmental front, essential work is going on under United Nations auspices in several other fields that urgently affect our chances of survival, and bring us some hope that we might eventually overcome the crisis the world now faces.

The International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, which was held in Vienna in June, under the most able presidency of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mr. Mahathir Mohamed, was an important step forward in attempts to curb this scourge and also a significant example of successful international co-operation. The 35-point programme drawn up by the Conference is a comprehensive battle plan in the war against drugs.

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The World Health Organization (WHO) is continuing its efforts to combat disease and poor health conditions throughout the world. The global tragedy of AIDS (acquired immune-deficiency syndrome) and the commendable response to it made by WHO through its special programme on AIDS has highlighted the importance of international health co-operation under United Nations auspices. WHO will take an essential leadership and co-ordinating role in AIDS prevention, control, research, education and public awareness, and in an information campaign.

Although predictions had been gloomy, the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) proved to be a most significant and important meeting. There was a revival of international economic dialogue and a realistic reappraisal of world economic problems. The Final Act, adopted by consensus, demonstrated that the developed and developing countries can listen to one another and work towards constructive multilateral interaction. We are encouraged by the resolve of the stronger economies to take concrete steps to revitalize development, growth and international trade. In this connection, Japan's decision to channel some of its external surplus to developing countries is most welcome. The serious plight of the least developed countries and the breakdown of the development process in them was acknowledged. The Final Act stated:

"There was a consensus on the need for full and expeditious implementation of the SNPA and of the recommendations of the Mid-Term Review as adopted." (Final Act of UNCTAD VII, para. 110)

Samoa gives its full support to this thrust and trusts that the positive mood engendered by the Conference will continue.

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The important work being carried out by the United Nations Development Programme in promoting development deserves increasing support. The Programme's input into the development activities of underdeveloped countries is a valuable component of the overall assistance they are given.

The United Nations Development Programme must be encouraged to play to the fullest extent the role that it is uniquely placed to play most effectively and efficiently in the delivery of overall development assistance.

Also of importance during the UNCTAD VII Conference was the signature or ratification of the common fund for commodities Agreement by many more countries. These were significant steps towards bringing the fund into operation, and the decision by the Soviet Union to sign it was of particular significance.

South-South co-operation is also most important to the world's future, and the convening of the South Commission, which has begun its work, is a promising sign in this area. It is encouraging that many developing countries support the establishment of this Independent Commission of the South on Development Issues, as it is officially titled, and we feel it could not be under more able chairmanship than that of Mr. Julius Nyerere. We hope all countries of the South will support its work.

The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held recently at United Nations Headquarters, focused attention on the priorities of today that have allowed expenditures on armaments to get completely out of proportion to expenditures on development. Given economic and social underdevelopment, and the misery and poverty afflicting more than two thirds of mankind - to say nothing of the homeless, who are the focus of special United Nations attention this year - the extent of spending on military budgets throughout the world is almost beyond belief. However, some promising developments, such as

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China's programme to reduce its army by a million soldiers, give us reason to hope that change may come and that it may eventually be possible for the world to focus its attention where it should: on the health and welfare of the peoples of the world.

Several other areas of disarmament show promise. The success of the Conference on Confidence Building Measures in Stockholm in 1986 was gratifying, as is the progress towards a chemical weapons convention. While we are encouraged by these developments we are alarmed by the continuation of nuclear testing and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We view the completion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty as of the utmost urgency, and we place great importance on universal acceptance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

I shall conclude by turning to our own region of the world, and speak in my capacity as current Chairman of the South Pacific Forum.

I wish to raise a matter which the United Nations members of the Forum have brought before this Assembly and which is of deep concern to us all in the region. It is the situation in New Caledonia.

The South Pacific Forum is, as the General Assembly may know, the regional organization of the independent and self-governing peoples of the South Pacific. The Heads of Government of the South Pacific Forum countries meet annually to deal with matters of concern to the region. It was at those meetings that careful consideration of the increasing severity of the problems in New Caledonia led the Heads of Government to their conclusion that United Nations involvement was essential. We therefore sought the reinscription of New Caledonia on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. It was also the wish of the Forum to pursue dialogue with France in an attempt to have it resume dialogue with all parties in New Caledonia.

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Thus the Forum countries requested the reinscription of New Caledonia in the firm belief that it would assist the progress of New Caledonia towards the exercise of a legitimate act of self-determination in co-operation with the United Nations. We recognized that the principles of decolonization, including the inalienable right to self-determination established in the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization, applied to New Caledonia. We recognized also that New Caledonia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory in the terms of the Charter and the Declaration on decolonization. Gratefully aware of the constructive role the United Nations had played in the decolonization of the Pacific, the members of the Forum felt that the United Nations should be involved in the continuation of that process, as was right and proper.

Those were our reasons for seeking reinscription, and we were gratified to know that the world community, with valuable support from the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had taken the same view when resolution 41/41 A received such strong support at the last session of the General Assembly. We are most grateful for that support, which paved the way for the United Nations to play a constructive and proper role in bringing New Caledonia to a genuine act of self-determination in accordance with United Nations practices and principles. We are also pleased at the heightened international interest that this has brought about, which focuses special attention on the plight of New Caledonia's indigenous people.

Since reinscription, the Special Committee on Decolonization has twice considered New Caledonia. In March, the Committee adopted a decision calling on France to co-operate with the Committee and to transmit information under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. It urged France to prepare the Territory for a free and genuine act of self-determination. Regrettably, French co-operation has not been forthcoming.

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In August, the Committee adopted a resolution on New Caledonia after a substantive debate. The resolution, inter alia, regretted that France had not responded to the call to submit information.

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It declares that progress towards a long-term political solution in New Caledonia requires a free and genuine act of self-determination consistent with United Nations principles and practices. The resolution emphasizes that such an act of self-determination, in which all options should be made available, should be preceded by a comprehensive programme of prior political education in which all options are impartially presented and the consequences fully explained. Thus the Committee made clear to France what was required of it by the international community.

The Committee also provided a valuable forum for petitioners to be heard on the subject, especially the representatives of the indigenous people of New Caledonia. Their representatives will be here again when the question is further considered by the General Assembly.

It is clear from what I have said that the French attitude to the United Nations on New Caledonia has been one of consistent non-co-operation. There has been no response to communications from the United Nations on New Caledonia and no information has been transmitted as required under Article 73 e of the Charter.

France has, in fact, not deviated from its unilateral path. It went ahead with its planned exercise - a so-called referendum on the future of New Caledonia - on 13 September.

The General Assembly heard the French interpretation of the referendum as provided by the Foreign Minister of France in his statement on 23 September. We in the Forum cannot accept that interpretation. As I have indicated elsewhere, to pretend that the so-called referendum has legitimately determined the political future of New Caledonia is untenable. Given the circumstances, what other result could there have been? Indeed, it was the culmination of sustained efforts by the Government of France over the last several months to produce an outcome favouring

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continued French rule. In conducting the poll, France paid little or no regard to the established practices and principles of decolonization enshrined in the Charter. The referendum was a unilateral act devoid of any significance in this body.

Why do we consider it unacceptable? The basic fact is that it did not conform to the principles of decolonization. It was not conducted in co-operation with the United Nations; the options offered to the electorate were restricted; there was no political education regarding the options; punitive consequences were implicitly and, on occasion, explicitly, attached to the independence option; the administering Power campaigned hard for its preferred option; the opponents of the referendum were severely restricted in presenting their case; the presence of 8,000 French forces, together with police violence against peaceful demonstrations, were inhibiting factors. It was a hollow and sterile exercise.

It was no wonder that the great majority of the indigenous people did not take part in such a flawed process. In fact, over 80 per cent of Kanaks stayed away from the polls.

The only lesson to be drawn from this poll - and it is one which we must all deeply regret - is that the basic differences in New Caledonian society remain and have only widened. In our view the referendum resolved nothing, merely aggravating the situation. It is clear that the future of New Caledonia can be assured only by the involvement of those who have long-term residence in and commitment to the Territory. We look to the administering Power to bring about a process of dialogue leading to a free and genuine act of self-determination, consistent with the universally accepted principles and practices of the United Nations.

Member countries of this Organization, so many of whom have achieved their own independence with the support of this body, should not need to be reminded that all

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peoples have the right to expect the General Assembly to stand by them in their quest for self-determination. New Caledonia must be seen in this wide historical perspective. The principles that must guide the Assembly in this instance are the very ones it has followed in other colonial situations. They are contained in the draft resolution from the Special Committee of 24 the Assembly will consider later this session. The principles are clear and unambiguous. Attempts to side-step them do a disservice to us all. The Forum members will approach discussion of the New Caledonia item later in this session, guided by these principles.

May God guide you in your deliberations.

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

Mr. Va'ai Kolone, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Western Samoa, was escorted from the rostrum.

Sir Satcam BOOLELL (Mauritius): It is a privilege and a great honour for me to address such a distinguished gathering. May I take this opportunity to congratulate most warmly Mr. Peter Florin on his unanimous election to the presidency, a fitting tribute to his personal qualities and to his country. My delegation has no doubt that with the benefit of his extensive diplomatic skills and vast political experience our deliberations will take place in a spirit of understanding and friendship.

I wish also to extend my congratulations to his predecessor, Mr. Choudhury, for the skills and finesse with which he conducted the last session. We are grateful to him for his valuable contribution to the resolution of critical issues, so vital to the survival of the United Nations, which is the repository of the hopes and aspirations of mankind.

I wish also to place on record our deep appreciation of the dedicated work of Mr. Perez de Cuellar in pursuance of the goals set by the Charter of the Organization. Thanks to his vision and statesmanship, the United Nations has played a key role in the maintenance of stability and world peace.

The tasks ahead of the Organization remain as complex as ever. Although it has been said time and again that the United Nations has no teeth, yet the decisions taken by the Assembly have without doubt influenced the march of events. That goes to show that United Nations resolutions still matter, although more often than not only as a moral coercive force.

Disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, is one of the major problems of our time. Should this vital problem not be resolved in the minimum lapse of time we face the prospect of mass destruction and annihilation. It is to this task, in my opinion, that we should address ourselves with all our energy and courage. It must be obvious that massive and sophisticated weaponry can be no

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guarantee of world peace. The alternative is too horrible to contemplate. I am confident that we are level-headed enough to promote collective security arrangements in the name of future, unborn generations. The positive contribution of the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations cannot be denied and it is my view that every effort should be made to strengthen those forces for the sake of stability in world affairs. Sanity dictates that course of action.

We have on many previous occasions spoken on the tremendous amount of resources and human ingenuity devoted to devising more and more elaborate and efficient instruments of death. Global arms expenditure is now close to \$US 1 trillion annually - that is nearly \$US 200 a year for every individual on earth today. The per capita gross national product figures of several of the least developed countries do not even match that figure, while other developing countries are hardly better off. This stark contrast must surely constitute one of the most profound paradoxes of our time. The adoption of the Final Document by the recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development is an important step by the international community towards rectifying this anomaly. While we regret the lack of concrete financial commitments, we fully endorse all the measures contained in the action programme of the draft final document of the Conference and appeal to all Member States, particularly the major producers of arms, to implement them fully. Only a temporary and uneasy peace can be achieved through armaments; lasting peace is more likely to be established through economic development and the sharing of wealth and resources on an equitable basis.

I feel it is my duty to refer again to the abhorrent system of apartheid in South Africa. The consensus is now universal that the system of apartheid as it stands today cannot be reformed; indeed, there is a growing awareness that the system should be dismantled. Mere moral exhortations or attempts at coaxing Pretoria into a genuine change of heart have failed so far to bring about any

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significant change. All the half-hearted pressures that have been applied by those who possess the economic leverage to have an effective influence on the South African régime have not had the desired effects. We therefore wish to reiterate the numerous declarations adopted at several international meetings and conferences to the effect that the Security Council should impose measures for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

Pretoria still continues to stall and manoeuvre against the process of the emancipation of Namibia. Practically all the conditions required for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have now been fulfilled, yet Pretoria, in its obstinacy in perpetuating its illegal occupation, continues to hold the freedom of the Namibian people hostage to the resolution of completely extraneous issues.

Once again we are concerned that preparatory work for the conference on the Indian Ocean is still far from being completed. In fact the report of the Ad hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean seems to suggest that the holding of the conference could be postponed indefinitely. In the meantime the militarization of the region continues to be built up, thus increasing the peril to world security.

It is deplorable that there appears to be a definite lack of collective will and effort to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, yet the necessity for such a move is more than obvious. It is our view that only the full and active participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council and the users of the sea lanes for either trade or communications will ensure the convening of the conference, which is long overdue.

I should like to remind this Assembly in this connection that the Chagos archipelago, which belonged to Mauritius, was excised from our territory before we obtained independence, in clear violation of the principles of the United Nations. Its inhabitants were coerced into permanent exile to clear the way for a military

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base in Diego Garcia. The key strategic role now assumed by Diego Garcia has brought the nuclear peril right into the heart of the Indian Ocean region. The loss of Chagos has also meant the denial to the Mauritian people of access to the significant ocean resources around the archipelago. We renew our demand for the rightful restitution of the Chagos archipelago to the national heritage of Mauritius. We are grateful to the States members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as to other friendly countries, for their strong and consistent support of our just claim.

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The Iran-Iraq war now poses a new level of threat to peace in that region owing to the recent entry into the Persian Gulf of military units belonging to several major Powers. This endless war has already had appalling consequences in terms of material and human losses, and the tally continues to rise on both sides. In a very rare and welcome show of unanimity, Security Council members recently adopted a resolution demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities. We appeal to both belligerents, with whom we are on friendly terms, to abide by the resolution's provisions as a first step towards a just solution of the conflict. The consequences of an escalation of the war and possible chain reactions at the regional and international levels have become so unpredictable in the face of the awesome display of foreign military forces in the Gulf that it would be horrifying were either side to raise the stakes.

As we near the end of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, we wish to highlight the special plight of those who are not only homeless but have also been driven from their own lands by foreign military occupation - the Palestinians, Kampucheans and Afghans, among others, who must wait for peace before their double objective can be attained.

All foreign intervention and military occupation must be brought to an end in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and their non-aligned status restored without further delay. For too many years, the incessant flow of refugees from those two countries has created tension and security problems in neighbouring States. Far too often in modern times, liberation has been used as an excuse to deny some people their inherent right to self-determination.

As has been stated here and in numerous other forums, by nearly the whole international community, the Palestinian problem is the central issue in the Middle East situation. There appears to be some indication that the idea of an international conference on the Middle East has recently gained ground. Such a

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conference, as we have often repeated in the past, must include the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. To be lasting, any settlement must include the full restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

For the first time in more than 150 years, the peoples of Central America were recently able to meet and discuss their common problems and succeed in achieving an agreement that has been welcomed overwhelmingly by the international community. That success of regional concertation must be given every chance to be implemented, and we sincerely hope that no extraneous constraints or pressures will be brought to bear on that indigenous Central American peace process.

It is heartening to note that a peace settlement has recently been achieved in Sri Lanka, a country that has known war and strife for many months. In this connection, I must particularly praise the role played by both the Indian and the Sri Lankan leaders and the display of statesmanlike qualities and spirit of compromise and conciliation so readily shown by the two sides.

We in Mauritius have always been proud of our record of living peacefully among groups of people of various ethnic origins, and we welcome the peace settlement in Sri Lanka as it reinforces our own conviction that people of diverse origin can successfully build up a peaceful and harmonious nation.

In regard to Korea, the Korean people have now waited almost 40 years for the peaceful reunification of their country. Hostile diatribes must give way to confidence-building measures. We have no doubt that all the people of Korea, both of the North and of the South, will eventually join the rest of the international community in the United Nations.

The world economy appears to be continuing its sluggish course, as some of the major industrialized countries still seem reluctant to stimulate their economies and generate demand and production. World trade has followed the same trend. It

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increased in volume by only 5 per cent last year, and by only 3.2 percent in 1985. Primary commodity prices have fallen to their lowest levels in nearly 50 years, and the majority of developing countries, which depend on trade of primary products for most of their export earnings, have seen a 30-per-cent decline in their terms of trade with developed countries. Protectionist measures by large developed countries have further compromised the creation of a more favourable environment for accelerated growth in international trade.

The recent adoption by consensus of the Final Act of the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) represents a timely and essential contribution to the prospects of multilateral co-operation for resolving some of the aforementioned problems. It is noteworthy that this document spelled out the respective responsibilities of both the developing and the developed countries in this tremendous task, particularly with respect to the debt crisis.

The results of that conference, which followed closely the overall positive outcome of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to the African economic crisis, thus reaffirm the spirit of equal partnership which should prevail between developed and developing countries in multilateral co-operation activities. Together, those two meetings represent a welcome and significant boost to the revival of the North-South dialogue.

Although it may be premature at the present time to offer a meaningful assessment of the progress made in implementing the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery, it nevertheless appears that the pace and magnitude of the flow of resources required have fallen short of expectations thus far. Measures for clearing the books on official debts, for example, especially in the case of the poorest sub-Saharan countries, should be more comprehensive than is at present the case.

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Such measures, and other debt-relief plans, including more lending from banks, are among the key components of the international support action required to establish sufficient financial flows to reverse the negative trend in development of several African countries. And as UNCTAD VII has emphasized, action by developed countries on commodities and international trade is urgently required. Such action will assist African countries that are highly dependent on earnings from the export of primary products in restructuring their economies and honouring their debt obligations.

We in the developing world very much hope that a more favourable climate will be created to help alleviate the untold difficulties besetting us. In this connection, we appeal for improved trading opportunities with the industrialized countries for primary commodities and textile and other manufactured goods. Such action would help us to sustain the export diversification policies we are pursuing.\*

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\* The President returned to the Chair.

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While many developing countries are under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to liberalize their exchange and trade systems at high political and social costs, industrialized countries are resorting to trade restrictions and subsidies in various guises. But we are encouraged by the glimmer of hope provided recently as the IMF and World Bank annual meetings ended with promises by some industrialized countries to take a more active role in reshaping the world economy.

Every year as we gather here and debate repeatedly the numerous protracted issues that still elude solution within the framework of the United Nations, we should also remind ourselves of the equally numerous problems, especially in the economic and social fields, that the Organization is continuously dealing with much more successfully.

The International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, held in Vienna earlier this year, constitutes perhaps the most important milestone yet in the concerted action by all Governments against this scourge. Until then, international co-operation in the war on drugs had been less effective as consumer and supplier countries shifted the main responsibilities for drug abuse control on one another. We are therefore grateful to the Secretary-General for his timely initiative to put an end to this sterile debate.

Among the measures for fighting against drug abuse and illicit trafficking, we wish to emphasize those which would improve exchange of information on narcotic trafficking, improve and harmonize extradition treaties and facilitate the disclosure, forfeiture and seizure of assets obtained from trafficking.

As we have often affirmed in the past, the smaller and weaker members of the international community have no other alternative than to turn to the United Nations in times of crisis. We are therefore very much concerned every time the principle of multilateralism becomes the object of assault by those who perhaps harbour nostalgia for earlier times when only a handful of nations controlled the

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fate of the world. The present financial straits of the Organization are the result of such attacks. But in the end, even those who are among the fiercest critics of the United Nations have occasionally to resort to this forum to draw international support for their own policies. We must therefore never fail to reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Charter and continue to strengthen its provisions on international peace and security.

May I conclude by reasserting that the United Nations is a vital forum for airing differences among nations of the world. It is a means of dialogue and communication and the surest safety-valve in a turbulent world.

ADDRESS BY MR. EDWARD FENECH-ADAMI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALTA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta.

Mr. Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta, Mr. Edward Fenech-Adami, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. FENECH-ADAMI (Malta): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We look on your election, as well as on other elections to office, not as a matter of routine but as an expression of our conviction that each and every Member State has a constructive role to play in the deliberations of this world Assembly, and we are convinced that you will fulfil your role with distinction. Our congratulations go also to the other officers who have been elected, as well as to the outgoing President for his positive contribution in leading the work of the forty-first session.

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I also wish to pay tribute to the untiring efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for the persistent active role he is playing in the service of the Organization in trying to bring together parties to a number of conflicts to reach negotiated solutions of their problems. Such efforts deserve our full support.

It has been 20 years since the Head of Government of Malta last addressed the Assembly. The newly elected Government of my country naturally faces hard and urgent tasks at home. But fully conscious that domestic issues should not be allowed to overshadow our equally important role as a member of the international community of nations, I have taken this opportunity to confirm our confidence in the role the United Nations has to play in the maintenance of peace in the world, the enhancement of security for each and every Member State, the substitution of dialogue and negotiations for armed conflict, and the encouragement of co-operation at all levels and across the barriers of race, ideology, size, power and wealth for the welfare of mankind. At the same time, we are fully aware that this potential for positive action has not yet been fully exploited and, indeed, at times it may appear that it has been abused, misused or ignored in the pursuit of perceived national interests.

National interests cannot be ignored. We are here as individual nations, some of us grouped in formal or informal joint defence, economic or regional interests. Yet our presence here should be a declaration of faith in the common interest of humanity beyond the limitations of frontiers, and our main objective should be to harmonize national interests for our mutual benefit.

Malta has always believed in these ideals, and our initiative 20 years ago in this Hall, when we launched the idea of the sea and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction as being the common heritage of mankind, is evidence of this. The progress of this initiative over the years, under different administrations and in

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the context of ever-evolving political and economic realities, should encourage us to be both bold in our ideas and more active in pursuing them.

My party is now in Government in Malta, and my presence here is a confirmation that the same ideals which inspired my predecessor, Mr. George Borg Olivier, guide us today.

In this connection I should like to submit two considerations which seem to me to be of real importance in this period between the signing of the Convention on the Law of the Sea and its fully coming into force.

The first is that there is a great need for some kind of forum where the representatives of States can meet with those of the United Nations specialized agencies and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, in order to discuss ocean affairs in an integrated manner. No such forum exists today. Several different proposals worthy of consideration have been advanced to fill this gap. The most important thing is that, in view of the interrelatedness of the multiple uses of ocean space on which the Convention is so insistent, the gap be filled.

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The second point is that a major result of the Convention, especially with the establishment of the exclusive economic zones, has been the vast extension of national jurisdiction over large areas of ocean space. It is also clear that many nations will however be unable to benefit from the new resources at their disposal, either directly or in co-operation with other nations, unless they are able to establish effective management systems. It is not difficult to realize, however, that many nations will not be able to set up the appropriate national institutions without at least the scientific and technical help of the international community.

Let me take this opportunity to expound to this Assembly the policy of my Government and the way it will be manifested in our attitude during this session of the General Assembly and at other international gatherings. The Maltese people believe in democracy, where the rule of law is supreme; where governments change as a result of the freely expressed will of the people at regular elections. We do not take things for granted, and we do not wish to convey any chauvinistic impression. Our belief in a pluralistic democracy has passed through a period of trial, but it has passed the test and it is the stronger because of it.

As a result, I speak as the Head of Government of a nation that has recently introduced an important amendment to its Constitution reflecting a consensus in Parliament. Malta is declared today a neutral State actively pursuing peace, security and social progress among all nations by adhering to a policy of non-alignment. We intend to adhere to this constitutional provision and to interpret it with the responsibility and seriousness that it deserves. We want to engender confidence. We mean what we say and we say what we mean.

Neutrality does not imply for us a passive disinterested role in all that goes on around us. To start with, we are not colourless in our ideological beliefs and

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without condemning the beliefs of others we intend to defend and stand up for the democratic, social and cultural values in which we believe. We attach great importance to human rights and to the freedom to exercise such rights without undue restriction for the benefit of the individual and of the society in which he lives. Such freedom should not be restricted by race, creed or sex and therefore we cannot support the apartheid policy in South Africa, and in so far as it is in our power to do so we shall seek not so much to condemn such a policy verbally as to make a positive contribution towards its elimination. We do not believe that armed conflict is the best way to bring about such changes; simmering confrontation, which inevitably bursts out in armed conflict from time to time, is not to be supported; honest negotiations and constructive dialogue - and the United Nations should be the ideal place for these - should be encouraged. Guided by these ideals, we do not want to be associated with sterile statements of condemnation, especially since routine condemnations tend to become stereotyped and discriminatory in nature. Worse still, they are not likely to make any positive contribution to the initiation of dialogue and resolution of problems.

On our agenda we are faced with many situations of conflict, some of which have defied solution for more than a generation. We should not let ourselves fall into the position of accepting such issues as a permanent feature of the international scene. Boldness of vision and a break with routine sterile attitudes is required if solutions are to be found. The change that is required is not so much one of military might or geographical distribution, as one in the minds of men, a change that can best come about by enhancing confidence in one another. We look on the recent agreement in principle between the United States of America and the Soviet Union on the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles as a positive step along the lines we have just stated. As the representatives of

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other States have already remarked, we should all be careful to see that the easing of tension at the focal points of confrontation does not lead to an increase in tension on the flanks.

The Mediterranean, right in the centre of which Malta sits, is both a focal point of confrontation and the flank of other points of conflict. We do not pretend to have any magic formula for resolving the several, interrelated conflicts and strands of tension that criss-cross that historic sea. What we strongly believe is that allocating blame and mutual accusations are negative in character. All Mediterranean countries, big or small, African, Asian or European, as well as their allies and friends, including those non-regional States with a military presence there, have a role to play. No one can be ignored; no one can impose on others; no imposed solutions, including military ones, will be lasting; and we cannot rely on the passage of time to produce a solution. A solution has to be the product of positive action, through dialogue and negotiations, if need be in an ad hoc international conference in which all interested parties will participate on an equal footing.

Mentioning first the Mediterranean in general as an area of conflict that needs urgent consideration does not imply that we are not conscious of other areas that demand our attention. We note with interest and appreciation the efforts put forth by the Secretary-General, the Security Council, the General Assembly itself, regional groupings and individual countries to bring about peaceful solutions to long-festering wounds.

Such are the relations between Israel and the Arab States; the sorry state of the Palestinians, who are still denied a State of their own; the plight of war-torn Lebanon, vividly depicted by President Amin Gemayel in this Assembly a little while ago; the escalating and dangerous tension in the Gulf resulting from the

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long-drawn-out conflict between Iran and Iraq; Afghanistan, which is still occupied by foreign forces; the explosive situation in Central America, not yet pacified by the recent agreement reached by the States of the region; Namibia where the people are still denied self-determination in an era when colonialism is an anachronism; the sorry situation in Kampuchea where foreign troops are still present; Fiji, which recently added another element of uncertainty in that area; and, nearer home, Cyprus, still a divided island.

All efforts to defuse tension and bring peace deserve not only our praise, but, more important still, the genuine support of the world community. Each of us in his own way has a role to play; the most powerful States, as well as the other permanent members of the Security Council, have a very special responsibility. As long as they go on enjoying a privileged position in the United Nations, they must also assume special responsibilities. But we would stress that we do not share the simplistic approach of those who view the unfolding world developments in terms of super-Power rivalry only.

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World expenditure on armaments, usually at the expense of social and economic development, particularly in developing countries, is not attributable solely to super-Power activity. There cannot be flourishing arms producers unless there are also willing arms purchasers; and a surfeit of armaments, be they nuclear or conventional, can only encourage conflict and lead to the temptation of pressing claims and solving issues by the use of those armaments. As a small island with negligible armed forces, we look on this situation with stark realism, fully conscious of its implications for our security, independence and territorial integrity.

A common strand in what I have been saying is that while we all face global responsibility - and indeed the United Nations came into being as a direct result of global conflict - many of today's problems are regional in character. The importance of geographic regions was not lost on the founders of the United Nations, and we have the regional economic and social Commissions. Other regional developments have taken place since then, both within and outside the United Nations system. Perhaps the time has come for a serious study of the role of regional institutions within the United Nations system as a positive and practical contribution to more effective co-operation in the various fields of security and economic and social development. We may have to supplement the present continental regional concept with overlapping but equally valid regional approaches. The Mediterranean is one area which springs to mind automatically, and indeed in the field of environment, progress has already been made. We are happy to host in Malta a United Nations regional oil pollution combating centre.

Regional centres for the advancement of marine science and technology are foreseen in articles 276 and 277 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, but none has so far been established. My Government proposed the setting up

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of such a centre for the Mediterranean region at the fifth ordinary meeting of the contracting parties to the Barcelona Convention, in Athens last September. We proposed that the centre's structure should be based on the models of the EUREKA and EUROMAR projects. This means, among other things, that both private and public enterprises, as well as national and international organizations, should be involved in the financing of projects judged to be of general benefit. We believe that the Mediterranean region is an ideal context for pilot undertakings of this kind, in which the co-operation of both developing and developed countries is desirable and reciprocally beneficial.

I should like to stress the view that funding agencies in the fields of development and co-operation, both national and international, should orient their support much more than hitherto in the direction of scientific research and technological development projects. So far these have tended to be neglected; yet it is in these areas that over time investment is most likely to make the most enduring contribution to bettering the relationship between North and South in a constructive way.

Security, independence and territorial integrity are basic to law, order and progress, but unless they lead to improvement in the quality of life and the dignity of the individual they remain hollow words. Indeed, we are all aware of instances of the domination of a people being perpetuated, only the dominators having changed. The world community cannot ignore or condone such developments.

However, there are more genuine instances in which, in spite of serious efforts by Governments of independent States, the goal of viable economic and social development has been found to be rather elusive - quite often owing to circumstances over which one has little or no control. When these external causes are dramatic, such as natural disasters, world co-operation tends to be more easily forthcoming than when the causes are chronic and less dramatic.

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As a European country, Malta looks forward to the time when all Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, is united. However, that ideal can be reached only step by step. As a nation with a Western European character, history, culture and way of life, not to mention our overwhelming economic and commercial ties, Malta has had long-established co-operation with the European Economic Community (EEC) through an Agreement of Association. My Government feels that the time has now arrived to seek the right conditions to enable us further to enhance this association by becoming a full member of the Economic Community.

It is a well-known fact that political issues cannot be separated from social and economic issues. The development of our economies and our social structure is a corollary of wider political issues. It is a recognized fact that security and development are necessarily interrelated. Malta, as a small developing country, is aware of the unsatisfactory state of the world economy. It is for us a matter of deep concern that the international community has still not resolved such problems as large external and internal imbalances, instability in exchange rates, reduced flows of resources to developing countries, limited access to markets, particularly for the exports of developing countries, and the low prices of primary commodities.

In pursuing adjustment programmes and instituting a number of wide-ranging policy measures and reforms, some developing countries have had to undergo tremendous economic and social upheavals. Malta is no exception. As a small developing country with a net import economy and foreign earnings mainly from the export of manufactured goods and tourism, the international economic environment conditions our economy.

My country's struggle for economic viability has to be conducted within the constraints of a developing island economy limited by its small size and its lack

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of resources. It is imperative that friendly countries which are bigger and stronger assist us in overcoming such difficulties.

The world economy is passing through a difficult stage, but this should be an added reason for closer co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, the importers and the exporters, the free-market and the centrally planned economies, the commodity producers and consumers. The tendency to protectionism is understood, but world progress cannot be achieved unless there is a balance of benefits spread as evenly as possible among the various parties.

May I also call upon the organizations and specialized agencies of the United Nations system to increase their financial and technical assistance to Malta. At this point I wish to reiterate my country's disagreement with the criterion which has been adopted by the United Nations system and continues to be the yardstick for assisting small developing countries such as my own, namely, that based on the per capita national income.

(Mr. Fenech-Adami, Malta)

This has effectively cut off the much-needed resources for the development of my country. While some headway has been made in reversing such a misguided approach, much more is needed in order to bring to fruition the efforts of countries which are dependent on outside assistance in their development process.

From time immemorial Malta has been a meeting-place of different cultures. Peoples of different nationalities have transformed our island into a microcosm of world history. The many tourists and personalities who visit our country, with its rich cultural heritage, stable and friendly environment, are agreed that this small island in the Mediterranean could serve as a place where human-resources development could flourish and its national experiences in the educational and technical fields could be fruitfully put at the disposal of other countries. Today I would like to reiterate my Government's willingness to offer Malta as an international centre for academic studies where facilities exist for training programmes, meetings and seminars; where the attempts to achieve understanding through dialogue and negotiations could evolve in a quiet ambiance; where the warm traditional hospitality of the Maltese people could be utilized for the benefit of nationals of other countries. The International Ocean Institute, the Mediterranean Institute and the International Environment Institute are already in place at the service of the international community. The setting up in Malta in the very near future of an institute on aging, within the framework of the United Nations, will enhance further activities in training at all levels in skills relevant to the implementation of the International Plan of Action on Aging.

During the last few days the Assembly has been witness to many expressions of support for peace and co-operation among all States; for a halt to armed conflicts; for radical reductions in, and in some cases the abolition of, entire categories of nuclear weapons; for the cessation of nuclear tests; for a reduction in military

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expenditure; for agreements on multilateral arms control; for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of all peoples of the world, in particular those of the developing countries; for the promotion of and respect for human rights; and for other noble causes.

Agreement on these complex issues must be pursued vigorously and with a sense of urgency. For 42 years this Organization, with its specialized agencies, has been contributing towards this end. One thing is certain: many problems still exist. While these goals have inspired us all along, we are still far away from an ideal world.

Far from being discouraged, we in Malta are determined to carry out an independent foreign policy for the benefit of our people and as a contribution to the peace and stability of our region and the rest of the world. We are friends to all and foes to none, and our aim is to contribute to a peaceful solution of international disputes, renouncing violence and war as an instrument of policy.

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

Mr. Edward Fenech-Adami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. SHONGWE (Swaziland): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to convey to you, on behalf of my Head of State His Majesty King Mswati III, the Government and the people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, our warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to guide the deliberations of this session is indeed a clear indication of the confidence the Assembly has in you as a diplomat of outstanding ability and profound experience in world issues. I have no doubt

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that under your eminent guidance and with your skilful advice the Assembly will be able to tackle effectively at this session the many pressing and difficult global problems facing mankind today.

I should like also to express my delegation's sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Rasheed Choudhury of the Republic of Bangladesh, for having steered most capably our discussions in this Hall during the last session. We were deeply impressed by his inspiring leadership and discerning insight into the various matters of growing concern to humanity. His ingenuity in fostering the difficult but essential spirit of compromise and accommodation in the quest for solutions to international problems made an enormous contribution to the success of the last session.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland would also like to convey its hearty appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his entire staff for the invaluable service they have continued to render loyally to the international community by ensuring that this world body effectively fulfils its mandate to preserve international peace and security.

Forty-two long and eventful years have now come and gone since the United Nations was founded in 1945. Since that date the Organization has played a role of paramount importance as an instrument for fostering international peace and security and as an indispensable forum for international co-operation in an increasingly complex and interdependent world. A great deal has been accomplished in the past 42 years. We have witnessed great changes in the world's political map. We have seen the dismantling of colonial empires and the emergence of many young nations from a position of total obscurity and foreign domination to their present status of full national sovereignty, in which today they play an increasing role in shaping the destiny of this planet.

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Although we rejoice at the achievements of the past 42 years, we are nevertheless painfully aware of the persistent presence on our planet of several obstinate pockets of resistance to the process of decolonization.

There are also still areas where the noble principles of human equality and dignity are being consistently flouted and where a considerable amount of time and energy are still being devoted to devising an array of flimsily disguised political schemes to give a cloak of respectability to the inhuman practice of political domination and the exploitation of man by man.

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We are, however, convinced that no amount of glossy political schemes intent on side-stepping the central issues can replace the basic need for addressing the people's genuine aspirations for economic, social and political justice. We are equally convinced that no amount of internal repression or military forays into neighbouring countries can succeed in bringing lasting peace to a country that denies the majority of its population their basic right to freedom, economic justice and equal political participation in the country of their birth.

As a peace-loving nation that strongly believes in resolving political differences by peaceful negotiations, Swaziland is deeply concerned about the growing crescendo of violence and political assassinations now spilling over into our own territory with increasing frequency. We are deeply concerned about this flagrant violation of our territorial integrity and we are convinced that the myopic policy of trying to silence one's political opponents by murdering them will not stem the tide of the people's demand for freedom and justice, but will only increase the amount of bloodshed and bitterness and thereby make it even more difficult for any subsequent reconciliation and peaceful co-existence to succeed.

My delegation regards it as both unfair and unjust that the people of Namibia continue to be denied their birthright to self-determination and full national sovereignty by linking their independence to extraneous and totally unrelated considerations of mere ideological expediency. We, therefore, wish to appeal most earnestly, in the name of fairness and natural justice, for the people of Namibia no longer to be denied their right to freedom because of reasons of political ideology and international rivalry over which they have no control. We feel that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should be implemented without any further delay.

(Mr. Shongwe, Swaziland)

The prevailing political situation in southern Africa is not only breeding violence and considerable human suffering but also causes large numbers of refugees to flee into Swaziland from the neighbouring countries. In fulfilment of its obligations under the relevant international conventions, Swaziland makes every possible effort to give shelter and other humanitarian assistance to all such refugees.

However, the refugee population in my country has become so large that the Swaziland authorities are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with this task. Consequently, we are appealing to the international community for increased assistance to enable us to meet the ever-increasing demand for basic facilities for these unfortunate human beings.

There are a number of other conflict areas in the world today that continue to need the close attention of the United Nations. These include the seven-year old war between Iran and Iraq, the Palestinian question, Lebanon, Afghanistan, the Korean question, Kampuchea, Chad, Western Sahara and Central America, just to mention a few. Although some critics would point to those areas as evidence of the failure of the United Nations to solve international disputes, my delegation still believes that, given the necessary political will on the part of the international community, all these difficult problems can be resolved and peace restored to those trouble-torn areas.

The war between Iran and Iraq is developing daily into a world conflict. The Security Council's unanimous resolution of July 1987 demanding a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, with the threat of sanctions to enforce this demand, needs the whole-hearted support of all Member States. This unfortunate war is costing both countries enormously in both human and material resources. Hence, the Gulf war cease-fire resolution, considered one of the few mandatory directives the Security Council has unanimously approved in its 42-year history, is a timely and

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welcome step by the world Organization. We hope the Security Council will continue to demonstrate unanimity concerning other conflict areas in the world so as to bring peace and justice to all.

In keeping with its strong belief in the principle of self-determination, Swaziland supports the inalienable right of the people of Afghanistan to determine the form and ideological complexion of their own government and the socio-economic structure of their own country without outside interference. It is in this context that my delegation commends the untiring efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to find a negotiated formula for achieving an early withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country. We therefore hope that an agreement on the question of a mutually acceptable time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops will soon be reached by the parties closely involved in this conflict, so that the Afghan people may be allowed once again to share their own destiny in peace.

Equally, my delegation supports the United Nations resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and for the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and territorial integrity. We believe that an early end to outside intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea will make a positive contribution to the noble efforts of the countries of South-East Asia to establish a zone of peace in that part of the world.

The tense political situation that continues to divide North and South Korea should not be allowed to escape the attention of this world Organization. We therefore wish to urge the international community to continue to encourage the process of achieving the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula through dialogue and negotiation.

Most developing countries, like mine, are heavily dependent upon a very limited range of primary commodities for their export earnings, with the result that wide price fluctuations in world commodity markets cause severe disruptions

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of our young, fledgling economies. The unemployment problem in the developing countries is fast approaching crisis proportions and is threatening serious consequences for the socio-political stability of those young countries. Unemployment is rising not only as a result of stunted economic growth in most developing countries, but also because the numbers for whom jobs must be found are multiplying at rates that far outstrip the sluggish pace of economic growth in those countries.

The economic problems of the developing countries are further compounded by generally low commodity prices and unfavourable exchange rates which cause severe balance-of-payments difficulties and the chronic shortage in those countries of foreign exchange to pay for essential imports and spare parts needed for production activities.

The low prices of major export commodities and the unfavourable exchange rates give rise to another complicating dimension, namely, the increasing inability of many developing nations to cope with the mounting burden of foreign debts.

My delegation is therefore convinced of the need for urgent and appropriate measures to be taken, on a global scale, to stabilize international exchange rates if the economies of the developing countries, which are heavily dependent upon foreign exchange earnings from primary commodity exports, are to be protected from the debilitating effects of wild exchange-rate fluctuations.

My delegation believes that it is essential for the economic survival of developing nations that they be given all possible assistance to help them acquire the necessary capacity to process more and more of their own raw materials so as to generate much needed employment opportunities in those countries and to enhance the value of their exports and thus help to broaden the base of their economies and thereby reduce their presently high vulnerability to the vagaries of the international commodity markets.

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We are convinced that a strategy of locating the relevant processing industries nearer to the source of raw materials in the developing countries would be of immense economic advantage to both the exporting and the importing countries, in that it would bring about a substantial reduction in the high freight costs currently incurred in exporting bulky raw materials with a relatively low unit value.

An industrial development strategy of this nature can be successful only if it is accompanied by willingness on the part of the developed nations to dismantle the existing plethora of tariffs and other protectionist measures that currently restrict access to the markets of the industrialized countries by processed or semi-processed goods from the developing nations.

It goes without saying that any meaningful development programme in the developing countries can be successfully undertaken only if these countries have access to international loan capital with soft interest rates and reasonably long repayment periods. This would largely obviate the current problem of the heavy debt burden, which is proving too onerous for many developing nations.

I conclude by expressing the hope that the General Assembly will find it possible at this session to address itself positively and constructively to the many pressing problems facing mankind in this decade. My delegation wishes to urge the Assembly to build bridges of peace to span the many yawning gulfs created by diverse and largely conflicting interests, so that freedom, human equality and justice may one day truly prevail throughout the world.

#### PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Before adjourning the meeting I should like to give Members an outline of the tentative programme of plenary meetings for the remainder of the session, as well as to make an

(The President)

announcement regarding some changes in the tentative programme which I announced on Friday, 2 October.

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

On Tuesday, 20 October, in the afternoon, the General Assembly will begin its consideration, under item 12, of Chapter VI, section C, of the report of the Economic and Social Council, which deals with the prevention and control of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), following which there will be a briefing on AIDS by the World Health Organization.

On Wednesday, 21 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up item 15 (b), "Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council".

On Thursday, 22 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will consider item 20, "Return or restitution of cultural property to the countries of origin".

With regard to the tentative programme of plenary meetings for November, delegations may wish to note that on Wednesday, 4 November, the Assembly will begin its consideration of item 36, "Question of Namibia".

The Assembly will begin its deliberations under item 31, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", on Monday, 9 November.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, 10 November, the Assembly will take up item 27, "Zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic".

On the morning of Wednesday, 11 November, the Assembly will consider item 29, "Question of the Comorian island of Mayotte", and will also take up item 15 (c), "Election of five members of the International Court of Justice".

(The President)

On Thursday, 12 November, the Assembly will consider item 30, "Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 concerning military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua: need for immediate compliance".

On the morning of Monday, 16 November, the Assembly will consider item 32, "Law of the sea", and in the afternoon will begin its consideration of item 37, "Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

The Assembly will begin its consideration of item 33, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" on the morning of Tuesday, 17 November, but on the afternoon of that day will resume consideration of item 37, "Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)".

On Monday, 23 November, the Assembly will begin its deliberations under item 38, "Question of Palestine".

On the morning of Friday, 27 November, the Assembly will take up item 7, "Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations", item 11, "Report of the Security Council", and item 40, "United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy".

Beginning on Friday, 27 November, in the afternoon, the Assembly will consider item 35, "Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the aerial and naval military attack against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by the present United States Administration in April 1986".

On Tuesday, 1 December, the Assembly will begin consideration of item 39, "The situation in the Middle East".

On Thursday, 3 December, the Assembly will consider item 18, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

(The President)

Further, the Pledging Conference for Development Activities will be held on Tuesday, 3 November, and Wednesday, 4 November; the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1987 programmes of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will take place on the morning of Thursday, 19 November; and the announcement of voluntary contributions to the 1988 programmes of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East will take place on the afternoon of Monday, 23 November.

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

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.