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President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):* May I first extend to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Federal Republic of Germany on your election to your high office. We consider your personality, your extraordinary talents and your long-standing deep commitment to the cause of the United Nations to be a guarantee of success in accomplishing your difficult tasks. We see in you the representative of a continent and a country with which we are linked by traditionally good and friendly relations.

2. I wish to express also the gratitude of my country to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the competent way in which he guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

3. At the same time, I wish to thank the Secretary-General and his collaborators for their untiring efforts and for the excellent work done in the past year in the interest of strengthening the United Nations and of peace in the world.

4. It gives me particular pleasure today to welcome Brunei Darussalam to this forum as a new Member State. We entertain good bilateral relations with Brunei Darussalam and feelings of friendship for it as a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].

5. In his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], the Secretary-General recalls the historical achievements of the United Nations. We support his appeal that the great potential of this international Organization for the prevention and settlement of conflicts be utilized and strengthened.

6. The essential characteristics of the world today are the relationship between the industrial countries of the North and the developing countries of the South and the relationship between the democratic industrial countries of the West and the communist industrial countries of the East. West and East account for the greater part of the North. The North is a house divided, but the South, too, is torn by tension and antagonism.

7. We need dialogue between North and South. Internal tensions within North and South obstruct

and slow down this dialogue. North and South must, therefore, reduce their internal tensions and dedicate their intellectual and material resources to a common effort aimed at the development of an international order based on equality, accommodation of interests and co-operation; an international order in which everyone has a fair chance, in which people can develop their strengths and abilities; an international order in which human rights are respected and social justice is applied to all.

8. This calls for what I would term an international domestic policy, a policy rooted in the conviction that the future of one's own country can only be assured if the future of all countries is assured.

9. The most pressing North-South problem is the debt crisis in many developing countries, particularly in Latin America. The Presidents of Argentina and Venezuela have made pointed reference to this situation in their statements to the Assembly [5th and 6th meetings]. The effects of the debt crisis are felt by South and North. Forceful measures of adjustment are required if the debtor countries are to recover economically. Such measures have political and social repercussions in those countries. Jacques de Larosière, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund [IMF], said recently:

"It must be realized that there are social and political limits to economic adjustment. The advantages gained by a country from servicing its debts and pursuing a policy of adjustment must be worth the cost in terms of the human misery caused by the adjustment."

Only in this spirit can the problem be solved.

10. The crisis is confronting the North, too, with difficulties. The necessary import restrictions by the debtor countries mean export reductions for industrial countries. The international banking system has been put under heavy pressure. This crisis can be solved only by the common effort of North and South. The debt-servicing commitments and the servicing ability of the developing countries must be brought back into harmony. We need longer-term rescheduling strategies to support successful adjustment efforts by debtors. Mexico has furnished proof that it is possible to adjust successfully. We have reason to hope that the other countries, too, after a painful initial adjustment phase, will manage to move on to the second phase, in which adjustment and growth again go hand in hand.

11. We shall overcome the debt crisis only through intensive dialogue and co-operative solidarity. We therefore welcome the comprehensive dialogue on this subject scheduled to take place early next year within the IMF and the World Bank.

*Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

12. If economic recovery and development are to take place in the third world, a package of co-ordinated measures is necessary.

13. First, the industrial countries must ensure their own stable growth.

14. Secondly, protectionism must be fought. Markets must remain open and become more open to exports from the third world. Deeds must be made to match the many words in favour of liberalized trade.

15. Thirdly, the over-high international interest level must fall. How can permanent growth be achieved in the developing countries in the face of today's level of real interest?

16. Fourthly, the developing countries need more direct investments from abroad. The industrial countries must therefore continue their investment promotion policy. The developing countries, for their part, must create a favourable investment climate. Direct investments not only transfer capital but also transfer technology and managerial experience and provide easier access to the world market. The transfer of technology to the third world must be promoted with the utmost energy. An agreement on balanced codes for transnational enterprises and technology transfers would encourage investment.

17. Our special attention and assistance must be devoted to the world's poorest countries. Since 1971, the number of least developed countries has risen from 25 to 36. Their economic growth, and especially their food production, are not keeping pace with population growth. Their debt burden is oppressive. They need increasing official development assistance. For this reason, the Federal Republic of Germany has always given particular consideration to those countries in its development co-operation. For years it has been providing them only with grants. It has remitted the public debt of most of those countries.

18. The situation is particularly dramatic in many African countries. Africa needs international solidarity and the co-ordinated efforts of the international community. Food security must be at the heart of these efforts; acute need must be combated; self-sufficiency must be strengthened. Africa is therefore a focus of our development co-operation. Substantially more than 40 per cent of our entire aid is channelled into that continent. In response to the appeal by the Secretary-General, we provided an additional 50 million deutsche mark for special food security action in 1984. The World Bank report on sub-Saharan Africa reinforces our intention to allocate additional funds to Africa in 1985.

19. At this point I should like to appeal to the industrial countries with State trading organizations to bring their development aid into an acceptable relationship with their economic power and their arms expenditure. They too should open their doors more widely to exports from developing countries. They absorb only 5 per cent of all exports from developing countries, whereas more than two thirds of such exports go to the Western industrial States.

20. According to estimates by the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, the population of the world will almost double in the next 40 years, despite all the efforts to decelerate population growth. That will multiply the number and the seriousness of the problems facing humanity. We who live today bear responsibility for ensuring that our children and

grandchildren inherit a world which permits them to live in human dignity. The danger is growing that "spaceship Earth" will no longer be able to carry mankind.

21. The universal nature of this danger to the future is forcing the community of nations to pool its resources. More people need more food, drinking water, clothing, accommodation, schools, employment, hospitals and recreation facilities. All these things are not even sufficiently available to the majority of those living now. And yet we must provide them for more than 8 billion people, and time is short.

22. An increase in population will also impose greater strains on the environment. Even now, we see the deserts spreading, valuable soil becoming salinated and eroded, vegetation in industrial countries being threatened by acid rain. Year by year, numerous types of animals and plants disappear irretrievably. Seas and inland waters are becoming polluted. Hydrocarbon combustion is jeopardizing the world climate. Industrial waste, refuse and sewage pose enormous technical and financial challenges to the world community. UNEP must become the driving force of a world-wide environmental policy. But all international co-operation is in vain if environmental protection is not practised at home, in our own countries. Polluted air and poisoned water do not stop at national boundaries. For this reason, we are talking and negotiating with all our neighbours in the West and the East on joint action to combat the dangers of pollution. The Conference on the Environment, held at Munich, provided an important stimulus for a joint approach on trans-boundary pollution. In the interest of combating environmental pollution at its source, more account must be taken than has been done hitherto, in public and private economic co-operation with the third world, of the need to protect the natural sources of life.

23. In the densely populated and highly industrialized Federal Republic of Germany, environmental problems surfaced earlier than elsewhere. We have therefore been able to gather extensive experience in recognizing, measuring and fighting pollution. We are prepared to share this experience with all interested parties.

24. The major tasks of economic growth and environmental protection, development and the provision of food cannot be solved without the potential offered by the new forms of high technology. New technological developments should serve all mankind; they must not be misused as instruments of power.

25. Gene technology, for instance, will provide the third world with new and great opportunities with regard to agriculture and the solution of the food problem. It appears possible that plants which can yield fruit even in difficult soil and climatic conditions will be developed using the methods of gene technology. It appears possible also that harvests can be considerably increased and the use of chemical fertilizers drastically reduced. The international research programmes to promote agriculture in developing countries must make full use of the opportunities offered by gene technology.

26. But this very form of technology makes us aware that new advanced technology not only presents us with opportunities but also confronts us with dangers which we must control from the outset.

Respect for creation must guide us in our use of gene technology and must make us vigilant about any misguided attempt to manipulate human heredity. Human dignity demands that such manipulation be banned and made impossible from the outset. That is a topic for the United Nations, too.

27. Co-operation between North and South must reduce the prosperity gap, overcome hunger and want, disease and ignorance, and ensure respect for fundamental human rights.

28. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights must occupy a central place in the work of the United Nations. Peace and human rights belong together. Anyone who violates human rights is thereby breaking commitments he has assumed on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights; he is infringing international law.

29. For the Federal Republic of Germany, an active policy of support for human rights is a pillar of its policy for peace. A draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment—a draft convention which we support and to which we attach great importance—has been submitted to the General Assembly. We appeal to all Member States to accept the draft convention and the control procedures for which it provides and to let it become effective. Torture, one of the most dreadful scourges of mankind, must be banished from the world. No one should be delivered into the hands of torturers, and no torturer should go unpunished.

30. We welcome the favourable reaction to our proposal for an optional protocol prohibiting capital punishment. I ask for further constructive co-operation. I address my appeal also to those States which do not yet want to give up the death penalty.

31. Racism, particularly *apartheid* in South Africa, constitutes a fundamental violation of human dignity. We appeal to the Republic of South Africa to clear the way for the realization by all its citizens of elementary human rights.

32. The United Nations needs institutions that permit better protection of human rights. The appeals for the appointment of a high commissioner for human rights and for the institution of a court of human rights point the way to this goal.

33. The Charter of the United Nations represents a magnificent effort to overcome the inherited structures, based on the possession and projection of power, and to create new structures for peace. But the United Nations has not yet united the nations of the world. The world is still marked by rivalry between nations and power blocs, rooted in distrust. That is the result of bitter historical experience. World history has taught nations to be prepared for the possibility of force from outside.

34. Force is still being used. The Afghan people long for the right to preserve in peace their independence, their self-determination and the faith of their fathers. Laos and Kampuchea are fighting for their independence. In the Gulf war, people are still dying a senseless death. Central America is riven by tension from without and within. The independence of Namibia is still being withheld. In South Africa, people are discriminated against because of their colour. There will be no rest for the Middle East as

long as violence and not negotiations are the order of the day. Without an undertaking to refrain from the use of force, without the realization by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination, without recognition of the right of all States, including Israel, of their right to exist, there will never be a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

35. We must strengthen the peace-making influence of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has rightly pointed out that there should be less talk about the inefficiency of the United Nations and more about a lack of willingness on the part of States to tap its potential. To this end, the principle of universality must remain inviolate. Despite all our differences, we must always so conduct the dialogue as to make its continuation seem desirable to all participants. We all know how difficult it is to settle or even to restrict conflicts once they have broken out. That is why conflicts must be nipped in the bud. For this purpose we need an effective early-warning system permitting the Security Council and the Secretary-General to act swiftly. We support the proposals made by the Secretary-General on this matter.

36. In the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, the Federal Republic of Germany, along with other delegations, has submitted proposals on the prevention of international conflicts.

37. Our refugee initiative, aimed at reducing the horrendous flow of refugees through political co-operation, also serves the purpose of stifling potential conflicts.

38. Observance of the prohibition of the use of force is the first step that must be taken. An undertaking not to use force does not mean renouncing convictions, values and interests. It focuses on the form and the means used by States to settle their differences. The undertaking to refrain from the use of force is one of the fundamental and indispensable principles for ordering the peaceful coexistence of States. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is a policy for peace, embedded in the commitment to refrain from using force. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which we belong, is built on this foundation. In their Bonn Declaration of 10 June 1982, the allies stated:

“Our purpose is to prevent war and, while safeguarding democracy, to build the foundations of lasting peace. None of our weapons will ever be used except in response to attack.”

39. We know that military strength alone cannot guarantee a peaceful future. Disarmament and arms control are therefore integral parts of our security policy. In Europe, East and West face each other with huge arsenals; throughout the world, enormous resources, which could otherwise help us and the developing countries shape our future, are spent on arms. The prevalent distrust can be measured by reference to world arms expenditure figures. Confidence-building and disarmament are demands addressed to the entire international community, to East and West, to North and South alike.

40. Today, no region of the world can find peace and security on its own. Arms control in Europe strengthens peace and stability in the world. The world-wide and regional dialogue on disarmament and arms control has not been interrupted. Pessi-

mism and resignation must not doom our efforts, which must be guided by the will to utilize the available instruments to pursue an active policy. That means, above all, that negotiations must take place. This principle must apply everywhere and in respect of all weapons. No weapons system must be excepted. No one may consider only his own security interests; the legitimate interests of others must also be acknowledged. No one may seek security at the expense of others.

41. We welcome the fact that President Reagan, speaking from this rostrum [4th meeting], proposed to the Soviet Union a comprehensive disarmament dialogue. That dialogue is in the interest of all peoples. The United States and the Soviet Union bear a particular responsibility on account of their nuclear potential and their obligations deriving from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex].

42. Like the President of the United States, we favour the resumption of nuclear-arms negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union without pre-conditions. We support the American desire for drastic reductions in the field of intercontinental strategic weapons. As hitherto, we want global renunciation of land-based intermediate-range missiles by the United States and the Soviet Union. We support every balanced agreement made to this end.

43. We call for arms control with regard to outer space while there is still time.

44. At the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, we want to achieve parity in conventional forces in Central Europe by means of mutual troop reductions.

45. We urge the participants in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, to agree to concrete, militarily significant and verifiable measures for security and confidence-building. Such measures must apply to the whole of Europe.

46. We advocate that the undertaking to refrain from the threat or use of force be made concrete and be reaffirmed within the mandate given to the Stockholm Conference. It must apply among all States within the alliance systems and to the actions of participating States throughout the world.

47. We call for a fresh initiative in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Finnish proposal that the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act² be marked by a conference at a political level merits support.

48. We appeal to all Members of the United Nations to enter into the process of confidence-building in all parts of the world in a practical and serious manner, thereby improving world-wide the conditions for disarmament and arms control.

49. It remains important, in view of the universal increase in military expenditure, to publish military budgets and make them comparable. We call for a United Nations register providing information on arms exports and imports throughout the world.

50. We want a world-wide, comprehensive and verifiable ban on chemical weapons. It is not sufficient to ban chemical weapons in Europe only, thereby preserving the option of using them in other parts of the world.

51. The commitments entered into as a result of disarmament negotiations must be verifiable. The Federal Republic of Germany will contribute its share to achieving success in disarmament negotiations.

52. Europe has experienced the horrors of two world wars. The European Community was born of these experiences. We seek European union. The peoples joined in that union will develop their strengths and capabilities in such a way that Europe can take its rightful place in the world.

53. Franco-German friendship is an example of how the lessons of history can be taken to heart. The joint commemoration by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and the President of the French Republic of the war dead at the Verdun military graves is a symbol of reconciliation and friendship.

54. The States of the European Community want to master the future together. But Europe is more than the 10 States—soon to be 12—of the European Community. We seek co-operation with all the States of Europe. We Germans are aware of the responsibility deriving from the history of our country and from our situation at the heart of Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany has linked its fate firmly to that of Europe. Our policy is a policy for peace in Europe. With the other States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, we want to create, on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, a peaceful order in Europe in which co-operation can develop freely between States, irrespective of the differences in their systems. We seek a peaceful order in which, as envisaged in the Helsinki Final Act, nations can determine their own fate and live free from the fear of violence, threats and restriction of their liberty and in which people can enjoy the exercise of their lawful rights and the fruits of peaceful international exchanges.

55. It is a policy for peace in Europe too when we declare, as stated in the letter on German unity, that our political aim is to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

56. The treaties concluded between my country and our Eastern neighbours in the 1970s cleared the way for the Helsinki Final Act. We stand by every word of those treaties. The Federal Republic of Germany respects the territorial integrity of all States within their present boundaries. It proceeds from the existing situation in Europe. It makes no territorial claims on anyone and will not do so in the future either. The Federal Republic of Germany considers the borders of all States to be inviolable and will continue to do so. We call upon all States to educate their young people in peace and in respect for other nations and other opinions. Education in hatred jeopardizes peace; polemics against the peaceful intentions of other nations poison the political atmosphere.

57. The Federal Republic of Germany wishes to breathe life into the treaties concluded with its Eastern neighbours. We want the Helsinki Final Act to be implemented in all its parts. We want to continue the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. That process has improved the situation in Europe; it has stood up under severe strains in the international climate. The contribution of all participants in the Conference, large States as well as small, will remain indispens-

able to security and co-operation in Europe. We want co-operation with all the States adherents to the Warsaw Pact. We want co-operation—political, economic, technological and environmental. We want close cultural exchanges.

58. We shall resolutely and patiently pursue our charted course towards compromise and understanding. We shall not let ourselves be disheartened or confounded. We shall consistently pursue with the Soviet Union the dialogue and co-operation based on the Treaty of Moscow—and continued even during difficult times. That Treaty, like the long-term economic agreement, opens up great vistas that must be exploited.

59. The desire for German-Polish understanding and reconciliation determines our thinking and action towards the Polish nation. The Treaty of Warsaw, concluded on 7 December 1970, breached once and for all the vicious circle of injustice and retaliation. It was one of the most important milestones in German and European post-war politics.

60. Our co-operation with the German Democratic Republic, even at times of East-West tension, is an expression of the historically rooted responsibility of both German States for peace in Europe. This responsibility must also prove its worth in the joint solution of human and technical problems. People must be able to experience personally the benefits of détente. In this respect we have made progress. It is our wish that both German States should continue along the route marked out by the Basic Treaty normalizing relations and the Helsinki Final Act. It is our wish that they should set an example by meeting their obligations under the Final Act. In this way we shall live up to the requirement inherent in the recognition of our joint responsibility.

61. An improved relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is vitally important to East-West relations and to world peace. Contemplation of the principles of equality and mutual consideration embodied in the United States-Soviet declaration of 1972 could smooth the way for such a development. President Reagan, in his statement to the Assembly [4th meeting], expressed the determination of his country to co-operate with the Soviet Union in securing world peace. That ought to meet with a favourable response from the Soviet Union. We can offer no substitute for dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, but we, like other medium and small-sized States, make our contribution to improving East-West relations, and it is no mean contribution.

62. Europe, so often afflicted by wars and the source of many wars in other parts of the world, must today serve as the starting-point for initiatives aimed at peace and co-operation in all parts of the world. For this reason, as a member of the European Community, the Federal Republic of Germany also relies in its relations with the third world countries on a policy that seeks, as stated in the second Lomé Convention,³ "to reinforce, on the basis of complete equality between partners and in their mutual interest, close and continuing co-operation in a spirit of international solidarity".

63. We seek friendship and partnership on an equal basis with the countries of the South. We support the principle of genuine non-alignment because it preserves independence and provides protection from foreign hegemonic aspirations. The Movement of

Non-Aligned Countries is increasingly becoming a stabilizing factor in international politics.

64. The most populous country in the world, the People's Republic of China, is of great importance to world stability. We are gratified to note that China is opening its doors to Asia and to the world at large and is exercising its co-responsibility for international peace and co-operation.

65. The regional groupings offer small and medium-sized States the opportunity to pool their resources and together to maintain their independence. The European Community co-operates closely with the States members of ASEAN and the Andean Pact within the framework of co-operation agreements. We advocate close co-operation between the members of the European Community and the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council. We are playing our part to ensure that the Euro-Arab dialogue will be further intensified.

66. In a few days the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the European Community, together with Spain and Portugal, will be meeting at San José with their counterparts from the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group to launch a political dialogue and to lay the foundations for economic co-operation between the European Community and Central America.

67. North and South must talk to one another, negotiate with one another and find joint solutions to the present and future problems of humanity. The North-South dialogue will be successful only if it is conducted in awareness of the equal dignity of all the world's cultures. The subject of cultural exchanges between North and South must not be banished to the fringe of talks; it must be at the very heart of such talks. Our world is full of cultural prejudices that are often rooted in ignorance. We all have more to learn from one another. The North may be richer than the South, but it is not thereby wiser, more human or more cultivated. The cultures of North and South must each recognize the equality of the other in its own cultural dignity. It is a matter of the mental attitude with which we encounter other peoples.

68. How often has arrogance towards other peoples arisen from contempt for their cultural identity and achievements. To understand a country, one must understand its culture. Experience of the equivalence of cultures is not inbred in peoples. It requires intensive cultural exchanges. We are prepared to give; we are prepared to take. Cultural exchanges contribute to the establishment of a peaceful international order.

69. During these days the nations of the world have turned to United Nations Headquarters in New York in hope and anxiety. They are uneasy. It is not merely the presence of tensions that worries them; it is the apparent increase in those tensions, and they wonder what will happen if the tensions continue to increase.

70. The problems confronting us are serious and difficult. No one expects us during these days to discover a magic formula that will solve them all at once. But the nations are right to expect one thing, namely, that we should give signs of hope, signs that the Governments of the world have recognized the danger, signs that they can halt the rising tensions. The nations do not want to hear us repeating long-familiar, irreconcilable positions or apportioning blame. They want to know what specifically we

intend to do in order to serve the common cause of peace. We must not disappoint them.

71. I have explained how my country fulfils its responsibility. The Federal Republic of Germany faces the challenge of peace with the confidence of a country whose citizens can freely develop and freely help to build a humanitarian and just world. This great aim of a just and humanitarian world should guide us as we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985 and as we observe in 1986 the International Year of Peace.

72. Mr. WU Xueqian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, please allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, warmly to congratulate you, the outstanding representative of Zambia, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I believe that the current session will fulfil its mission successfully under your presidency. I also wish to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his contribution to the thirty-eighth session. At the same time, I should like to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to China's close neighbour, Brunei Darussalam, on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

73. As representatives of the Governments of various countries of the world, we meet here every year to hold extensive exchanges of views on the international situation and to explore ways to maintain world peace, ensure international security and promote human welfare. This fact itself testifies to the importance of the United Nations and its historic mission.

74. Reviewing international developments over the past year, people cannot but feel worried. With the suspension of their disarmament negotiations, the two nuclear super-Powers have stepped up their deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and adopted confrontation measures, thus further escalating their nuclear-arms race. This poses a new threat to all European countries and deeply disturbs all countries in the world. Over the past year, while the two wars of aggression in Asia went on unchecked, a new armed invasion occurred in Central America. The Middle East is still fraught with crises, and the flames of war in the Gulf region are spreading, causing widespread concern. Basically, the tension and sharp contradiction in southern Africa are not yet relaxed.

75. Meanwhile, the serious economic difficulties of many developing countries show clearly that the global North-South contradiction is sharpening and the gap between the rich and the poor widening. Therefore, I think no one will deny that peace and development, generally speaking, remain the two fundamental questions bearing upon the interests of all the peoples in the world today. I should like to take this opportunity to offer some observations on the two questions on behalf of the Chinese Government.

76. At present, what concerns and disturbs people most is the threat of a nuclear war. Despite innumerable rounds of talks on nuclear disarmament and a variety of proposals to this end, nuclear weapons have continued to increase and nuclear stockpiles have reached extremely dangerous proportions. As is universally recognized, the two super-Powers ought to bear the main responsibility on this question. It is they that possess over 95 per cent of the world's total

nuclear weaponry, and it is they alone that are in a position to fight a nuclear war. Should they choose to use only a small portion of their nuclear arsenals, not only would the people of these two nuclear Powers suffer, but the people of the whole world would be plunged into an unprecedented holocaust. For this reason, the numerous small and medium-sized countries and people throughout the world are fully justified in demanding that they immediately halt their nuclear-arms race and take the lead in drastically cutting back their nuclear weaponry.

77. The arms race between the two nuclear Powers is extending to outer space. Both sides are stepping up the development of anti-ballistic missile weapon systems so as to reinforce their strategic offensive capabilities through improved strategic defensive means. Recently they have made some gestures on the question of outer space weapons, each mounting negotiation offensives against the other. However, as people can see, negotiations have not really started and yet each of the super-Powers is busy shifting the responsibility for obstructing and sabotaging the talks on to the other. This cannot but arouse suspicion. Do they really intend to hold talks or just to use them to cover up their arms race in outer space?

78. As the arms race between the two nuclear Powers escalates, the danger of a nuclear war will increase with each passing day. Though already possessing an over-saturation and overkill nuclear capacity, each of the super-Powers is doing its utmost to gain supremacy over the other on the pretext of maintaining parity and equal security, lest the other side should surpass it in terms of quantity and quality of nuclear weapons. This practice of progressive escalation of nuclear armaments cannot but arouse doubts as to whether or not they truly have a sincere desire for disarmament. What the people of the world want is genuine and effective disarmament to ensure that people can live in peace and security.

79. The Chinese Government and people always stand for nuclear disarmament. We hold that efforts should be made to promote progress in conventional as well as nuclear disarmament. The small quantity of nuclear weapons China possesses is solely for the purpose of self-defence. We have solemnly declared time and again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons and that it unconditionally undertakes not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States and regions. China has never participated in the nuclear-arms race, nor does it intend to participate in that race or to shirk its responsibility in regard to nuclear disarmament.

80. China's position on nuclear disarmament can be summed up in the following three basic points. First, our fundamental position is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons. Secondly, as a practical step towards nuclear disarmament, we propose that, after the Soviet Union and the United States have taken the lead in putting an end to testing, improving and manufacturing nuclear weapons and have agreed on substantially reducing their nuclear arsenals, a broadly representative international conference should be convened with the participation of all nuclear States to work out together concrete measures for further nuclear disarmament. Thirdly, before all this materializes, for the sake of reducing the threat of nuclear war and showing good faith in nuclear disarmament, all nuclear States should undertake not to be the first to

use nuclear weapons and unconditionally pledge not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States and nuclear-free zones and should reach agreement on mutual non-use of nuclear weapons.

81. We support the just demand of the people of the world for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war, and we appreciate all reasonable proposals conducive to nuclear disarmament and the maintenance of world peace. To promote progress in nuclear disarmament, we are ready to exchange views, within the United Nations or in other forums, on such issues as the prevention of nuclear war, the cessation of the nuclear-arms race, and nuclear disarmament, provided all the other nuclear States agree to do so.

82. As things now stand, we cannot but emphasize that it is of great urgency to demand that the two nuclear Powers stop their nuclear-arms race, halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, resume negotiations on nuclear disarmament and reduce and destroy those nuclear missiles already deployed in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, and immediately stop extending their arms race to outer space. We stand for the early conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the arms race in outer space and a ban on research, testing, development, manufacture, deployment and use of all weapons designed for outer space warfare, as well as destruction of all the existing outer space weapon systems. All this is highly necessary for demilitarizing outer space and ensuring the peaceful use of outer space by mankind.

83. China has always opposed the development, production and use of all biological weapons detrimental to mankind. The Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress has already adopted, on 20 September 1984, the decision on China's accession to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. From now on, China will join other countries to combat all acts that violate this Convention and to work hard for its further improvement so as to advance the whole process of disarmament.

84. A major cause of the turbulence and tension in the world today is the commission in international relations of such acts as infringement of the sovereignty of other countries, invasion and occupation of their territories, interference in their internal affairs and the use of force against them in violation of the basic principle of the sovereign equality of all States as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

85. We are of the view that all nations, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, should be treated as equals and that they should respect one another, live in harmony and engage in mutually beneficial co-operation. The affairs of a country should be determined by the people of that country themselves. External interference of all kinds is illegal and impermissible.

86. In pursuing their foreign policies, all countries should observe the norms guiding international relations and abide by the Charter. However, the super-Powers, on the strength of their size and power, often try to impose their own will on others, thinking they may do whatever they please. Instead of respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries, they have pursued hegemonism

and power politics and even carried out armed aggression against weak and small countries. With their support, certain regional hegemonists do not scruple to play the tyrant and have tried to annex territories of their neighbours by force. At this important rostrum of the General Assembly we have condemned more than once the big and small hegemonist Powers for their acts of aggression in violation of the Charter and in breach of international security. Today we once again strongly condemn these acts. People throughout the world will go on denouncing the hegemonists, with full justice, so long as they persist in such acts of aggression.

87. At present there exist many "hot spots" in the world. Some areas may become "hot spots" tomorrow. Kampuchea is still being trampled upon. The war of aggression against Afghanistan is being intensified and expanded. The situation in the Middle East and Central America remains complex, tense and volatile. In southern Africa, the racists and colonialists are obstructing national independence and threatening the security of neighbouring countries. Some of these "hot spots" have resulted from direct aggression by the super-Powers; others have turned into international crises because of their meddling, intervention or behind-the-scenes support and manipulation. To cool down the "hot spots", relax tensions and resolve contradictions, the prerequisite is to stop interference, control and infiltration by the super-Powers and their followers so that the parties concerned in each country or region may seek reasonable solutions to their respective internal problems through peaceful negotiations.

88. As an old Chinese saying goes, "Common fear leads to unity; common greed leads to rivalry." This is how the world situation stands today. On the one hand, the two super-Powers are in rivalry for world hegemony; and on the other, the large numbers of small and medium-sized countries are steadily strengthening their unity and supporting one another in the struggle against hegemonism. It is our belief that, in the face of unjust action where the strong bullies the weak and the big oppresses the small, the international community has the responsibility and obligation to speak out for justice and struggle against such acts in order to uphold the norms governing international relations and the principles of the Charter. Far from helping world peace and stability, tolerance towards aggressors will only inflate their arrogance.

89. The struggles of the world's people against hegemonism, imperialism, colonialism and racism are all just struggles, to which the Chinese Government and people will, as always, give firm support.

90. We support the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in favour of the holding of tripartite talks, the easing of tension in the Korean Peninsula and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and calling for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea.

91. We support the people of Afghanistan in their heroic struggle to safeguard national independence and resist foreign aggression. We oppose the efforts of the Soviet Union to intensify its aggression against and devastation of Afghanistan, and we demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

92. We have always stood by the Arab people and supported their just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion and the just struggle of the Palestinian

people to regain their legitimate national rights; and we demand Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and from all the other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967.

93. We support the just struggle of the people of Namibia for national independence and that of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and we demand the withdrawal of the troops of South Africa from Namibia and the cessation of military threats to the neighbouring countries.

94. We support the Latin American people and the Contadora Group in their endeavour for peace and stability in Central America and demand that the outside forces stop their acts of military intervention and infiltration in this region.

95. Here I would like, in particular, to say a few words about the question of Kampuchea. Almost six years have passed since Viet Nam invaded and occupied the independent and sovereign State of Democratic Kampuchea by armed force. Viet Nam refuses to give up its wild ambition of annexing Kampuchea despite repeated set-backs on the battlefield in its successive "dry season offensives". It has time and again played the trick of the so-called partial withdrawal in an attempt to cover up its refusal to withdraw its troops. Its demand to make its troop withdrawal conditional upon the exclusion of one of the patriotic resistance forces of Kampuchea has revealed all the more clearly that to this day it lacks the sincere desire to solve the Kampuchean question.

96. We hope to see a fair and reasonable solution to the question of Kampuchea at an early date. But a political settlement of this question must be predicated on the withdrawal of all the Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea. In our view, whether one firmly opposes aggression by Viet Nam and demands the withdrawal of its troops is a fundamental test as to whether one gives resolute support to the just struggles of people subjected to aggression, safeguards the independence of sovereign States, works for the maintenance of world peace and security and upholds the basic norms of international relations. We support the legitimate status and authority of the tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We believe that, after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the various Kampuchean political forces will become united on a broad basis and that the Kampuchean people will be able to decide their own future through a United Nations-supervised general election, free from outside aggression and interference. We hope to see Kampuchea become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State.

97. The Chinese Government pursues an independent foreign policy, firmly opposes hegemonism and resolutely stands by all peoples who are subjected to oppression and aggression. China will never attach itself to any big Power or group of Powers, nor yield to any outside pressure. We support the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and will not enter into alliance with any big Power. We do not practise the so-called equidistant diplomacy, or play cards or ally ourselves with one big Power against the other. In our external relations we have always followed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated jointly by China, India and Burma 30 years ago. They are: "mutual respect for sovereignty and territo-

rial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence". In accordance with these principles, China has improved relations with neighbouring countries, concluded a number of boundary treaties and treaties of peace, friendship and co-operation, and developed friendly relations with many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, North America and Oceania. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have long been written into China's Constitution and are the basic norms China follows in handling its relations with all countries.

98. We want to live in peace and to develop normal relations with all countries. Even though some countries have differences of one kind or another with us for this or that reason, we are ready to seek a settlement of the differences in a spirit of mutual understanding and consultation so that our relations with them may gradually improve.

99. Over the past three decades, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have stood the test of international vicissitudes and have shown great vitality. Experience shows that they are the basic norms governing relations between States and that they constitute an important weapon against hegemonist interference and aggression. In line with the trend of history and in response to the call of our time, they reflect the aspirations and interests of the people of all countries and have thus won their appreciation and support. Whether relations between countries are good or bad depends on whether or not those countries adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. If those Principles are adhered to, countries with different social systems can live in amity and engage in friendly co-operation. But if they are not adhered to, even countries with similar social systems may fall out and enter into confrontation or even conflict. We stress the importance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence here because they are in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. So long as all countries strictly adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their mutual relations—whether between big Powers, or between big and small countries, or between small countries—it will not be difficult to have international tensions relaxed, and world peace will surely be preserved.

100. The peace and stability of the world depend on the sustained growth of national and international economies. The development of the third world has become one of the biggest challenges mankind faces today.

101. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which were adopted by the General Assembly on 1 May 1974, at its sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. At that session 10 years ago [*2209th meeting*], Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Chinese delegation, pledged China's support for the just position of the third world countries calling for the restructuring of the inequitable and irrational international economic order. Despite the persistent efforts made by the developing countries to remove external constraints imposed on their economic development and improve North-South relations, the actual results are far from satisfactory. Up to now, global negotiations have not been launched, and the immediate measures for

solving the current urgent problems affecting the developing countries have failed to materialize. That this is still a far cry from the objectives set forth in the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly is the result of international obstacles from certain quarters.

102. At present, economic recovery in the West is still very unsteady, and the economic prospects in developing countries remain grim. These countries are faced with such difficulties as economic stagnation, lack of funds, export restrictions and a heavy debt burden. Their development is being seriously hindered.

103. The grave difficulties of the least developed countries, particularly the desperate plight of many such countries in Africa, ought to receive close attention and deep sympathy from the whole world. In the areas south of the Sahara, more than 100 million people are plagued by famine, with vast numbers of women and children on the verge of death, as a result of long years of economic stagnation and a drop in per capita income for years running, coupled with the threat of continued drought and reduction of grain output. It is urgent that the international community take concerted action in response to their appeal for help in coping with the difficulties. All developed countries have the obligation to give them adequate aid of all kinds and to help them to overcome their economic difficulties and alleviate the people's sufferings.

104. The grave debt problem is an urgent issue facing developing countries, Latin American countries in particular. The total volume of external debt incurred by the third world as a whole has reached a staggering figure. Recently, the continued rise in the interest rates of United States banks has further increased the burden on debtor countries. In our view, settlement of the debt problem is a responsibility which the creditor countries, commercial banks and international financial agencies should shoulder together with the debtor countries. The principle for settling this problem should be the promotion of debt service through development. The debtor countries should be asked to adopt readjustment policies aimed at promoting their economic growth, and not to impose a recessionist policy. The creditor countries should take such measures as lowering high interest rates, improving terms of payment, reducing trade restrictions, increasing governmental development aid and providing adequate credits and loans so as to reduce the burden of the debtor countries. We appreciate and support the reasonable proposals put forward by debtor countries for settling the debt problem, and the responsible attitude they adopt. We hope that, through their own sustained efforts and with the attention and help of the international community, the debtor countries will be able gradually to extricate themselves from their difficult position so that the current debt crisis may be eased and overcome.

105. Protectionism is another urgent problem that affects the economic growth of the developing countries. We have noted with concern that, with the gradual recovery of the economies of developed countries, protectionism is on the rise rather than on the decline. This has become a major obstacle to the economic recovery and development of the developing countries. We call on the major developed countries immediately to adopt effective measures to

honour their promises made at various international forums and to halt and reverse the trend of increased protectionism against the developing countries so that the latter may increase their export earnings and create conditions for the expansion of their imports and the growth of their economies.

106. The world economy is an integral whole. Its stability and growth cannot be based on the affluence of the few and the impoverishment of the many. Without the economic growth of the developing countries, it will be difficult for the developed countries to achieve sustained economic recovery and expansion. The truth is quite obvious and has come to be appreciated and supported by more and more persons with breadth of vision in the West. It is regrettable that some major developed countries have thus far failed to consider in earnest the practical difficulties and urgent demands of the numerous developing countries. These developed countries have remained indifferent to the North-South dialogue and global negotiations and have opposed a restructuring of the old international economic order. Theirs is a short-sighted policy.

107. The Group of 77 has already put forward a series of practical proposals that have taken into consideration the interests of all countries concerned. In order to remove the obstacles in the way of launching global negotiations, they have time and again made major efforts and proposed that the global negotiations be carried out in two phases. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly in 1980 [*resolution 35/56, annex*], also gives expression to the common desire of the international community to establish the new international economic order and to revitalize the world economy.

108. The mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of the Strategy should mainly be aimed at ensuring the full implementation of the series of policy measures set forth in the Strategy. The developing countries have proposed the convening of another international conference on money and finance with the object of promoting development. We hope that all countries concerned will strive to create conditions for the early convocation of that conference. It has been our consistent view that the solution of the immediate problems facing the developing countries should be closely linked with the effort to achieve the long-term objective of establishing the new international economic order. We support all proposals that proceed from the overall interests of the world economy and that help to improve North-South relations and promote development in the third world. We are ready to join the other developing countries in making unremitting efforts to establish the new international economic order.

109. There is great potential for increased co-operation among third world countries with their vast territories and rich resources. While North-South negotiations are at a stalemate, South-South co-operation among developing countries is making further progress. South-South co-operation is not only an effective way for the developing countries to strengthen collective self-reliance in overcoming difficulties and developing their economies, but also an important impetus to the North-South dialogue and a booster to their negotiating positions. The Chinese Government is ready to play its part in promoting

South-South co-operation in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form and common progress.

110. Peace and development are two major issues in the world today. They also constitute the primary objectives of China's domestic and foreign policies. The Chinese people are now engaged in a large-scale socialist modernization drive. Their goal can be attained only through long years of efforts in a peaceful international environment.

111. This year marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We have scored great achievements in these 35 years, particularly in the years since 1979, which have witnessed the sustained growth and co-ordinated development of China's economy. True, we made detours and paid our price, but we gained experience as well. It is our basic experience that economic development must be based on the actual conditions of one's own country: there is no ready-made model to copy and one has to blaze one's own trail. A period of 35 years is far too short for us to turn China, with its large population and vast territory, into a modernized, prosperous and strong socialist country. Thirty-five years are not enough, not even another 35 years. China will continue unswervingly to pursue its foreign policy of peace and will make every possible endeavour for the maintenance of world peace.

112. Based on the idea of "one country, two systems", the Chinese Government has decided to resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 and establish a Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. That is to say, in view of the history of Hong Kong and its realities, a special administrative region where the capitalist system will remain unchanged for 50 years is to be established in a socialist country. This idea, based as it is on China's actual conditions, conforms to a common aspiration and the interests of the 1 billion Chinese people, including our compatriots in Hong Kong. Thanks to their joint efforts, the Chinese and British Governments have reached and initialled an agreement on the question of Hong Kong. The settlement of this question will contribute significantly to the lofty cause of the reunification of our great motherland and to stability and peace in Asia.

113. China's foreign policy remains firm and consistent, as it is based on the fundamental interests of the people of China and of the rest of the world. We support the people of all countries in their struggle to safeguard sovereignty and independence and develop their national economy and in their struggle against the arms race and the threat of war and hegemonism and in defence of world peace. China wishes to live in peace and develop normal relations with all other countries in the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union. China stands for the easing of world tensions and the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful consultations and earnest negotiations. China also hopes to see the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, end their nuclear arms race and global rivalry and improve their bilateral relations in the interest of world peace and international security.

114. Only with peace can there be development. Without development, there can be no stability; and without stability, peace is out of the question. Peace and development are inseparable. They are the two

major objectives which the world's people have most at heart and to which the United Nations is committed. We must march towards these two major objectives, however numerous the difficulties and obstacles may be. We are convinced that with the concerted efforts of the people all over the world these objectives can definitely be attained.

115. It is nearly 40 years since the founding of the United Nations, which, having traversed a path by no means smooth and uneventful, today shoulders an even heavier responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and international security. We appreciate and support the Secretary-General's statement in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I] expressing the desire and demand to make the United Nations work better. As one of the founders of the United Nations and one of the permanent members of the Security Council, China is determined to make the greatest endeavour possible, together with other countries, to uphold the Charter and strengthen the role of the United Nations.

116. Mr. CHEYSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to pay a tribute to you, Sir, as President of the General Assembly. Your far-sighted opening address [*1st meeting*] matches our own concerns and positions on many points. Through you I should also like to salute the country you represent here, Zambia, and its President, Kenneth Kaunda, a tireless advocate of peaceful evolution in southern Africa.

117. It is an honour for me to lead, for the fifth time, the French delegation to a session of the General Assembly. This session, which welcomes the admission of the 159th Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, is a noteworthy opportunity also for me to affirm from this rostrum, as did the President of the French Republic at the thirty-eighth session [*9th meeting*] and the Prime Minister at the thirty-seventh session [*12th meeting*], the importance France attaches to the building of an international order defined in terms of law and watched over and nurtured by the organs of the United Nations family: the Security Council, which enjoys permanent decision-making power, as defined in the Charter of the United Nations; the General Assembly, which gives each State the right of political expression; and the specialized agencies, including those of Bretton Woods, whose spheres of jurisdiction have been and will continue to be specified and enlarged as necessity dictates.

118. The duty of the international community, of the United Nations, is to provide a framework, a means of expressing the aspirations of our peoples to justice, security and independence and to try to find answers to the problems that arise among our nations. If the United Nations fails in this task, current conflicts will worsen and others will be added to them; whole regions of the world will become arenas of confrontation. This we know. We also know—and I will return to this point later—that the whole of economic life is threatened by potentially explosive situations that might be catastrophic for some and would spare none.

119. This is another way of saying that my Government once again this year endorses the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I] and wishes to be associated with that veritable manifesto for the multilateralism and universality of the United Nations. We also note the

frankness and clear-sightedness of the criticisms that he has deemed it necessary to express of the work of the United Nations itself: his condemnation, for example, of the proliferation of resolutions that go unapplied, or his concern at the ever-growing politicization of a great many technical and economic problems.

120. These preliminary remarks are especially important in view of the fact, which we should have the honesty to recognize, that these past 12 months have not brought much satisfaction to most of the world's peoples. The train of poverty has lengthened as a result of economic deterioration and the contraction of world trade. Natural disasters have at times assumed catastrophic proportions. In another forum—the Development Committee of the World Bank—my colleague, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, has described the tragedies of Africa. Think of the legions of refugees driven from their villages, and sometimes their countries, by hunger, fear and the threat of annihilation. Think of the famine and the encroaching desert. It is essential to recognize forthwith that the problems of that continent are priority problems and to underscore the importance of meetings on this subject, from the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, to the debate on the World Bank's interesting special report on Africa.

121. Poverty and decline, which seem to many irremediable, are affecting other parts of the third world also. All too often, and almost everywhere, hope of improvement is fading, expectation of a new development is waning, resignation is setting in, despair is becoming more widespread.

122. In short, I repeat, negative trends seem to me to have cast dark shadows the last few months. At best, there has been stagnation; in general, ground has been lost and the overriding feeling is not optimistic among the weak and the poor, which is to say the vast majority of the world.

123. Things are scarcely better on the political level. There is the impression that nothing is being resolved between East and West. For months the super-Powers have refused to talk with each other. One of them sought to make the resumption of the negotiations which were broken off for more than a year subject to pre-conditions that prejudged the outcome. Advice was given to the closest allies to put their contacts on hold as well. Admittedly, a ray of hope has filtered through at this session—the encouraging news that meetings have finally been scheduled.

124. Elsewhere, wars and the threats of war persist. The bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq continues; the Israeli-Arab confrontation shows no sign of abating; the integrity of Lebanon has not been restored; the independence of Namibia is being continually postponed; Cyprus is torn apart; foreign forces in Afghanistan and Cambodia have not been withdrawn; insecurity and the fear of outside intervention still dominate the scene in Central America. The single bright spot is the decision on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad, a move that should enable the people of that country to shoulder their responsibility fully and to regain their unity, on the initiative of their Head of State.

125. How can we fail to remember, above and beyond the violations of the rights of peoples and States that I have just cited, the increasing attacks on

human rights? And we hear growing and swelling the demand of ever-larger numbers of people for justice, freedom and equality. Yes, these past 12 months have been sad and discouraging.

126. In the face of such a situation, which has deteriorated over the years—and I am referring particularly to the world economic disorder, which I shall refer to again—the international community has no right to remain silent. Still less has it the right to remain inactive if it does not wish to dash the hopes of the peoples of the industrialized world, born in the aftermath of the massacres of the Second World War, and the hopes of the developing countries, born in the wake of the great wave of independence.

127. I should now like to review the various items.

128. In the East-West confrontation, no one will deny that primary responsibility in the normal course of events belongs to the two super-Powers. Therefore, we expect those Powers to re-establish contacts and dialogue.

129. The first objective has to be, as the President of the United States said the day before yesterday [*4th meeting*], to reverse the arms build-up, particularly the build-up of nuclear weapons, to avoid unleashing a new arms race triggered by the portentous announcement of imminent progress in new technologies—I am thinking in particular of space technology—and to revitalize and actively pursue the process of bringing about balanced and controlled arms limitation.

130. Concerned members of the international community can and must contribute actively to such progress. France, for its part, attaches great importance to the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, which should make it possible to restore a certain level of confidence among the countries of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, in the field of conventional forces. In any case, my country will be active in the quest for a balance of forces, which is a prerequisite for peace. Its own military nuclear effort will remain exclusively on the level of defensive deterrents. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session, speaking from this rostrum [*9th meeting*], President Mitterrand outlined our position on the various discussions on this subject, namely, the strategic arms reduction talks and the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces, which we hope will be resumed at an early date, and our participation in possible nuclear disarmament negotiations, once existing arsenals have been reduced to quite different and less unreasonable proportions and once other conditions have been met. Our position has not changed since then.

131. France also intends to participate actively in international efforts to prevent, under effective monitoring, particularly serious developments—I would remind members of our active participation in the discussions on chemical weapons—and in the efforts to control the new alarming and destabilizing progress in the most disturbing areas of future technology. That is the reason for the initiative taken by France at the recent meetings of the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, regarding the use of space for anti-missile and anti-satellite activities. It is also the reason for our considerable interest in any initiative on this matter.

132. France, a loyal partner in the Atlantic Alliance—need I reaffirm this?—nevertheless retains its freedom of judgement and action. Together with its close partners, it will encourage closer relations among the peoples of Europe, whom history united for centuries and then divided over the course of the last 40 years.

133. The peoples of Europe themselves have indeed the desire, the right and the possibility of contributing decisively to the easing of tensions. Let the right of each to express his own identity and freely to choose his future be recognized and we shall see new ties developing among European countries of different and even opposing ideologies and alliances, because our peoples want to know one another better, to rediscover together the old elements of their common past, to expand economic and cultural ties and to seek occasions for meetings and direct contact among individuals.

134. It is important, moreover, that the differences between the super-Powers, the rivalry between East and West, do not prevent the rest of the world from living its life. We are convinced of the importance of non-alignment when it is in keeping with the national will. True non-alignment can and should strengthen international stability. We are determined to help this. My President underscored this point a year ago when he actively took part in the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New York from 4 to 7 October 1983 and organized by the President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. Members will have noted that relations between my country and the non-aligned countries have increased and gained in trust and depth over the past few years.

135. The desire to affirm the identity of each quite naturally includes systematically encouraging the expansion of relations among neighbours, thus furthering regional co-operation. France, which has known so many wars with its neighbours over the centuries, has rediscovered the close friendship that is only fitting with its great German neighbour. It has embarked irreversibly on the construction of the European Community in all areas—commercial, economic and political. It has found in that entity a greater strength and a better potential for hearing what is happening in the world and for being heard in it. In this way, France confirms and strengthens its capacity for independence.

136. What France wishes and accomplishes for itself and its neighbours it also wishes for all others in the world. Every time a possibility of regional organization appears, my country will support it, regardless of the location. Members should not be surprised, therefore, at our commitment to the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the League of Arab States and also, farther from Europe, ASEAN, the Andean Pact countries, and others.

137. Quite naturally also, co-operation among regions should be encouraged. This is one way to advance relations between neighbouring countries while still preserving the real independence of all, even the weakest among them and those experiencing a period of difficulty or needing external aid at this time. Members must not think that the second Lomé Convention³ linking the 10 member States of the European Community to 65 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is the result of mere chance, any

more than is the meeting to be held at San José the day after tomorrow which is to bring together the 10 member States of the European Community, the two candidates for admission—Spain and Portugal—and the five countries of Central America in the presence of the four countries that are members of the Contadora Group—and I could give many other examples. This is a well-thought-out policy.

138. In the global context, it is possible to trace the main lines of the action that my Government finds desirable in the face of today's major issues.

139. First of all, I should like to refer to the subject of warfare, and above all where there has been the greatest bloodshed in the past two years—I mean, between Iran and Iraq. The repeated appeals of the United Nations, and particularly the resolutions of the Security Council, must be heeded by the two belligerents and not just by one of them.

140. The use of inhumane weapons should be renounced so as to spare the civilian populations. A tribute should be paid to the Secretary-General for his efforts and the initial results he has obtained. Everything possible must be done to bring about a return to the customary freedoms in that region, particularly freedom of navigation. In this way, progress will be made towards ending this terrible conflict, which will cease to have a *raison d'être* once the parties return to the borders recognized by the international community and once the issues in dispute can, for the most part, be dealt with at the negotiating table.

141. Elsewhere, there are grave tensions that could lead to war: I am referring to Cyprus, for example, whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity cannot be called into question. We are encouraging the Secretary-General in his noteworthy efforts.

142. I am also thinking of Central America. The Central American countries should be encouraged to settle their mutual disagreements through a series of discussions and arrangements among themselves, in accordance with the principles set forth in the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], with all interference in internal affairs and all outside intervention rejected. The political forces should thus be able to voice their own opinions and the republics of Central America should be helped finally to overcome economic and social situations that are a legacy of the past. Threats and aggression are no longer acceptable.

143. I am also referring to peoples that have been divided, the heroic people of Korea, for example. Over the centuries they have asserted their identity and unity only to find themselves subsequently drawn by war into an intolerable division, while in fact they have a right to unity. We hope the Koreans will soon sit among us as other peoples do.

144. Then, there are places where human rights are violated by outside intervention or constraints, by the unwanted occupation of foreign troops: in Afghanistan, where armed intervention by foreign forces increases as resistance by the people increases; in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people are suffering and despair of seeing their rights recognized, of knowing at long last the homeland which will be theirs; where the State of Israel, for lack of guaranteed security—which is its inalienable right—within the borders that have been recognized by the international community, pursues a policy incompatible with the indispensable recognition of the rights

of the other peoples of the region; where Lebanon, which has already suffered so much, is unable to secure respect for the Security Council resolutions concerning the southern part of its territory and to obtain an end to all foreign presence; in southern Africa, where Council resolution 435 (1978), on Namibian independence, continues to be disregarded, even defied, while the war continues in Angola, with the presence and participation on that territory of South Africa's army; in Western Sahara, whose people have a right to self-determination; in Cambodia, that country of a great and ancient civilization, bled white by appalling genocide and now occupied by its neighbours to the east.

145. What horrors these clear violations of the rights of peoples and States have entailed! And all too often these violations go hand in hand with scorn for human rights, with the negation of fundamental values that should be the basis of any society, as the Charter of the United Nations has recognized and affirmed.

146. France will speak out, will voice its condemnation, will take action wherever the lives and dignity of individuals are threatened, wherever people are held in constraint and deprived of their basic freedoms. It will continue to express its reprobation everywhere, with the same words and the same conviction. This pledge holds true for Governments and countries that are very different from one another—from the countries that signed the Helsinki Finn Act² to the countries east and south of Africa and on the South American shores of the Pacific. Everywhere we shall strive to alleviate suffering and obtain the freedom of those who are unjustly imprisoned, those whose names are known and stand as symbols, from Shcharansky to Mandela and the countless others who are anonymous expiatory victims.

147. The United Nations deserves support and a tribute on this level: the Commission on Human Rights; conventions that are constantly being refined and improved on; resolutions condemning racism and discrimination. It is also beginning—and I welcome this—to stress the global nature of the problem, by opening debate on economic and social rights and thereby moving, in conditions that France finds right and opportune, towards an enlargement of the definition of fundamental human rights. Such progress of law at the world level deserves constant encouragement.

148. But there are other serious threats to fundamental human rights that have to be considered. We must ask ourselves why the current world economic crisis is so serious and our market economy system powerless to contend with that crisis and resolve the economic disorder that has prevailed in the world for a number of years now.

149. After 1945, a certain economic order governed the industrialized world. There was monetary order, agreed upon at Bretton Woods; although it was, of course, threatened when the dollar left the gold standard, order nevertheless persisted and exchange parities were relatively stable. There was budgetary order; the industrialized countries made every effort to balance their budgets. There was a degree of predictability in the prices of raw materials. There was order in trade—admittedly, largely fueled by the needs of reconstruction after the massive destruction of the war and the population growth that immedi-

ately followed it. All these elements of order opened the door to a category of society that in the nineteenth century was called the proletariat—in other words, the most underprivileged in the industrialized countries—and, since then, the developing countries.

150. It seemed that growth was assured and would go on forever. Countries that had untapped or inadequately developed resources in the world decided—quite rightly—to equip themselves to exploit their wealth. They invested in people. Hundreds of thousands of young persons were sent off to receive higher education; infrastructures were developed; business capital was increased.

151. In all our countries, in Europe and in the third world, a larger production apparatus emerged, accompanied by more onerous administrative, economic and social structures. This was achieved at the price of a high level of indebtedness—a level justified, however, in a period of seemingly assured growth and when borrowing was carried out in predictable and reasonable conditions. At the same time, especially in countries that were still largely rural, a trend towards urbanization led to the migration of hundreds of thousands of peasants, who settled in urban communities where the future seemed to lie in industrial production and the service sector. All this seemed rational and reasonable.

152. Then, suddenly, the game changed: the markets of the industrialized countries, having reached the saturation point, closed up. There was no longer any expansion. Countries, including France and others in the industrialized world, which had had a labour shortage for a number of years suddenly had an excess labour force and unemployment.

153. At the same time, disorder had set in: monetary disorder, with its corollary of sizeable fluctuations in exchange rates; budgetary disorder, with huge deficits forcing States to turn to the financial markets; and the dizzying climb of interest rates. The Bretton Woods system had disappeared, and quite naturally the most economically powerful country irresistibly attracted the world's liquidities; its currency, the dollar, soared while its interest rates increased under the effect of the budget deficit.

154. The market economy world became chaotic and unpredictable. At the same time, growth ceased everywhere. The effects of the current remarkable recovery in the United States have still not changed the direction of this development. Markets saturated elsewhere are no longer able to absorb additional purchases; indeed, many markets are actually deteriorating from year to year.

155. For the third world, this development has been—and I shall not mince words—catastrophic: the more a country's economy advanced, the more serious the phenomenon. Such countries had counted on economic growth; they were thus deprived of the whole apparatus needed for amortization, at a time when nothing was generating the necessary resources for this. The surpluses of the oil-producing countries have disappeared. In other developing countries, debt has climbed to its current levels: \$700 billion for the third world as a whole, \$350 billion for Latin America.

156. Debt-servicing had become an intolerable burden, since there was no longer any growth in revenue. Higher interest rates only exacerbated the situation. Since 1982 in every country in Latin America, debt-servicing, had it been undertaken without any adjust-

ment, would have far exceeded the total liquidity accumulated in the reserves. At that point, a reversal set in. The gross domestic product fell. Imports declined drastically, by 60 per cent in some countries in the space of three years. Consequently, the industrial countries were themselves affected, especially those that depend very much on their relations with the third world, as is the case of France. The negative growth in the third world has thus been an important factor in the increase of unemployment in the industrialized countries. The purchasing power of our countries declined abruptly as a result. The vicious circle of depression and deflation was complete.

157. What, then, have been the responses?

158. International organizations have found palliatives—that is, means of responding immediately to immediate problems, and they deserve great praise for this. They have found answers even as the major international banks have been endangered, with the total of precarious debt far exceeding their capital.

159. *Ad hoc* answers have been found for the short term, and, more rarely, for the medium term. The Paris Club has examined the cases of 25 countries in 18 months. The quid pro quo of this rescheduling had to be the adoption of strict and rigorous policies, which the IMF has defined with the remarkable professionalism that is characteristic of it. It has dealt with 45 countries.

160. The third world countries concerned accepted the measures imposed with great courage. For the most part, they indicated their determination to go ahead with monetary adjustments, to accept realistic pricing for services and foodstuffs, to freeze wages, to increase taxes, to fight capital outflows. In short, they accepted tremendous suffering for their peoples in acknowledgement of pledges that had been made and were to be respected. Shall we recognize sufficiently the courage it took in each country and in meetings such as those at Cartagena in June and at Mar del Plata this month?

161. What has been the price of this? First of all, the creation of a disinflationary phenomenon which reduces singularly an essential element of world growth; secondly, the imposition of the sacrifice of ambitions and the abandonment of policies that leaders considered and presented as the way to ensure greater justice; and, lastly, an increase in the number of the jobless.

162. But the hundreds of thousands of men and women who migrated to towns lost the protection of the rural world without finding a new system of security in exchange. Without jobs, what will become of these uprooted people? Does this not spell hopelessness for generations of young people? It was reasonable to bank on growth and development; yet now this wager has generated trouble, doubt and danger.

163. This approach has settled nothing, for without development why should the future be any improvement on the present? Postponing the due date of a debt in the hope that tomorrow the debtor country will be in a better position to service it is meaningless unless between today and tomorrow there is growth, development, increased income and an improved repayment capacity.

164. But the evolution over the past two years has tended to discourage investment: interest rates are high, exchange rates are unstable, the banks that

provided most of the financing have lost confidence. In 1983, for the first time, the net flow of capital towards the South was negative. No further comment is necessary.

165. Meanwhile, the international meetings that have followed one on the heels of another have at best succeeded in providing a timid analysis of the phenomenon—the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983; the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna last August. International assistance funds are declining in real value: the replenishment of aid is inadequate; UNDP has had to cut back on its commitments. France stands out as an exception because we have increased official development assistance over the past three years; we are alone or almost alone in this.

166. I know that the description is a bleak one and perhaps it will be considered exaggerated. However, we must look to the future. For the past two years, a favourable line of thought has been emerging; in all the industrialized countries and in all the countries of the third world, the same analysis has appeared.

167. Whatever sets off the concern or the criticism—interest rates, indebtedness, budget deficit, monetary instability, lack of liquidity, difficulties for the banks—the reasoning is global. We know it must encompass all subjects, for they are linked, and it concerns all countries—interdependence is complete. We also know, however—and this was underscored at the London Economic Summit of the seven industrialized countries, held in London last June—that each country, each case, has its own specific characteristics. Thus, a global analysis is coupled with specific ways of utilizing the means. There is now a remarkable community of views as far as the analyses and reasoning are concerned. This should give us a chance to activate and mobilize powerful economic forces.

168. What should be done? Obviously, I shall not give a simple answer. The problem is too serious and too complex for a single answer. Action is called for in several areas.

169. We must first try to replace the current disorder by a more stable and predictable situation, particularly in the areas of currency and raw materials. We must rebuild an international economic order.

170. In the monetary field, as my colleague, the Minister of the Economy and Finance, pointed out once again in Washington a few days ago, we must be able to act on interest rates. This is asserted by everyone in every part of the world. Their level is a major obstacle to recovery. Real interest rates have never been so high; they must return to reasonable levels. Therefore, we must attack the root cause, namely, the excessive deficit in Government spending, which leads to a destabilizing public drain on the financial markets.

171. Actions over a longer term are also called for in order to lay the foundations of genuine international monetary reform, as the President of my country emphasized at length at the 1983 meeting of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris. This does not mean going back to the Bretton Woods agreements, which reflected another period, but greater stability and reasonable predictability of exchange rates must be ensured.

The European Community has largely succeeded in achieving this with the European Monetary System, and we believe that it is also possible within a triad of the dollar, the yen and the European currency unit [ECU].

172. I shall not dwell on the subject of raw materials, although it is an essential one. It is true that prices have experienced a certain upward movement but they remain erratic, and the lack of predictability has awesome consequences for the rationalizing of the supply-demand relationship and for the ability of the producer country to forecast the pace of its development through self-financing. So we must continue to organize these markets by drawing up new agreements in instances where these are economically feasible; by renewing existing agreements and making them more effective; and, lastly, by establishing the Common Fund for Commodities already agreed to by more than 75 countries.

173. Once some order has been re-established, efforts will have to be made to consolidate the financial recovery of the most heavily indebted developing countries, which are also often those with the most promising future, otherwise they would not have found a lender.

174. The emergency solutions so effectively implemented by the IMF must be complemented by and co-ordinated with more far-reaching action. The London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, like the meeting of Cartagena of Latin American countries, emphasized—correctly, in our view—the need for better integration of debt-rescheduling plans in the medium term. This means defining plans for adjustment over a reasonably long period and co-ordinating them with rescheduling operations over a period of several years. It also means strengthening joint action by the IMF and the World Bank in order to ensure a better relationship between adjustment and development. In this way, austerity and growth will be linked. The economic effects of action of this kind will be coupled with the psychological effects of renewed hope among those bearing the unavoidable burden of the disciplines adjustment imposes.

175. Of course, these organizational efforts will be really valuable only if sufficient resources are channelled to the developing countries to finance economically sound projects and developments, thus giving a new stimulus to growth. This means making use of all sources of financing.

176. Concerning official development assistance, bilateral and multilateral assistance must at last reach the level the United Nations has called for, of which I have already spoken. The funds provided by the international community should approach the volume recommended by those responsible in this area. It is heart-breaking that the seventh replenishment of the IDA is limited to \$9 billion, while the big contributors were almost unanimous in accepting \$12 billion. The IFAD and the other programmes of the United Nations and its family must be funded, as must the regional development banks, whose activities are worthy of attention. The special fund for Africa, already mentioned, should have priority in this respect. France pledges a special contribution once this fund has been set up.

177. The adoption of such policies by Governments and by the international community should help restore confidence and revive the potential for action

by the banking sector. In fact, anything that can encourage public and private investment in the third world is a step in the right direction, it being understood that the recipient countries are entitled to set the main guidelines for such investment.

178. Concerning shorter-term flows, in particular capital from commercial banks, the private sector must be encouraged to maintain and consolidate these flows. This is in their own interest and they must be convinced of this. No pressure, no outside incentive can replace confidence. Private flows will be permanently ensured and consolidated only if confidence is re-established in the determination to build sound bases and in the prospects for debtor-country stability and development. The agreements recently signed with some countries testify to this.

179. Such confidence should also be easier to rebuild if international and governmental public financing institutions, in particular the IMF and the World Bank, are able to assist. In this respect, we must extend and develop co-financing that associates private funds and funds from international organizations. In this way, the international structure can act as a catalyst to mobilize capital brought together by the banking circuit. Private and public funds are closely associated.

180. Let it be quite clear that these arguments are presented—and I say this unashamedly—in the interest of all. Some time ago I spoke of a planetary “New Deal.” What was President Roosevelt’s gamble when he came to power? He put his money on a recovery stimulated by the weakest elements of society, through the resulting expansion of the market. Time proved him right. Of course, it is always hard, not to say deceptive, to make a transposition when two situations are so different. However, the problem facing us today is similar to the one that faced him. We must inject new hope, or discipline will be painful; we must find means of stimulating recovery that will not condemn the weakest but that will, rather, make use of their capacities for progress. Is a world-wide “New Deal” possible? I want to believe it is.

181. I owed it to representatives here present to provide this very broad overview, for I am standing at the rostrum of an assembly whose responsibility is global, covering the whole world, from north to south and from east to west, dealing with all aspects of human activity—political, economic and social. I have thus outlined some of the principles that guide my country’s policy. We have reaffirmed them on many occasions; we will continue to do so with the calm and the confidence that arise from our convictions.

182. France’s foreign policy is guided by a few simple underlying principles. It serves essential values, values that since the appearance of the first individual have put mankind at the centre of the efforts of every civilized society and every society aspiring to be civilized, values that consequently acknowledge the rights of peoples and thus the rights of nations, values, lastly, that cry out that peace is possible through the balance of forces in a climate of free expression and through a search for progress for all.

183. France intends to uphold these principles in close co-operation—indeed, in conjunction—with its partners in the European Community, for we believe that the consolidation of that Community is an

important element for our part of the world, a factor in the prosperity and peace of the world as a whole.

184. This hope will have a genuine chance only if, all over the earth, individuals respect each other's diversity, if they examine their difficulties together, if they try to build international order together and, to that end, together adopt appropriate rules of law. Thus, I close as I began, by reaffirming our commitment to the United Nations, our Organization, and by thanking you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the orientations you have given us from the very beginning.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

185. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): It is with great pleasure that I congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is attributable to the great esteem rightfully enjoyed by his country as well as to his reputation as an experienced and accomplished diplomat proven by years of untiring service to his country, to Africa and to the United Nations. I would be remiss if I were not to stress how much we value the bonds of long friendship that exist between our two countries, Zambia and Cyprus, both of which share the same principles as States Members of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth.

186. I also wish to express high praise and esteem for the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great wisdom and unparalleled diplomatic skills, honouring his own country and Latin America. On this occasion, I wish to state again the importance that we attach to our strong bonds of friendship with Panama, a country that has always championed the rights of small nations.

187. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to the newest Member State, Brunei Darussalam, and to wish its Government and people happiness, peace and prosperity. We are looking forward to close co-operation with Brunei Darussalam in both the bilateral and multilateral fields.

188. As the United Nations approaches its fortieth anniversary we cannot but think of the high principles and purposes which inspired its founding. We are also conscious of the acceptance of such principles and the responsibilities undertaken by every Member State on its accession to membership of the Organization. We trust that Member States, collectively and individually, will implement the noble aims of the United Nations. As we prepare and plan for this anniversary it is of paramount importance for States Members, jointly and severally, to take a searching look at both the achievements and the shortcomings of the United Nations in the four decades since it was founded.

189. The current range of activities of the United Nations goes far beyond that envisaged nearly 40 years ago in San Francisco by the representatives of the nations that signed the Charter of the United Nations. Today, the United Nations encompasses a system of specialized agencies elaborating and carrying out economic and social programmes and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and humanitarian policies and programmes. All these activities and concerns have been of great help, particularly to the developing world.

190. Again we can take pride in the fact that because of the struggles of our peoples and our concrete actions in the United Nations we have been able, by and large, to eliminate colonialism. Our solidarity here at the United Nations guarantees the successful defeat of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

191. It is of course true that over this period we have escaped the scourge of another global war. The cataclysmic effects of such a war leave us in no doubt that this is no mean achievement.

192. It is to be regretted, however, that regional conflicts have not been eliminated. A gloomy picture is created by situations and factors such as the all too prevalent resort to the threat or use of force, armed intervention and occupation, and human suffering due to denial of basic rights and freedoms, economic inequities, malnutrition and starvation.

193. Numerous United Nations resolutions have repeatedly dealt with such situations, but those resolutions remain unimplemented. Even those adopted unanimously by the Security Council, the principal organ entrusted with the task of maintaining international peace and security, have had the same fate. Indeed, they were often contemptuously ignored or brushed aside by some Governments. The recent Security Council resolutions on Cyprus are such examples.

194. Could it, then, be that the United Nations is going through one of the most difficult periods in its history? Does this arise from its failure to take enforcement action in crisis situations, as envisaged by the Charter? Can we small countries hope that the Security Council will in the future do so?

195. If this situation persists, if it is not ameliorated soon, the very credibility of the United Nations will be questioned. But we must not be cynical or despair. We must persist in seeking peaceful solutions, solutions based on principles, in the hope that justice will prevail and illegality will be defeated. It is high time for all nations to express, not merely with words and ceremonies, but also with policies and actions, their recommitment to the obligations they undertook by signing the Charter.

196. We should aspire to "an extended and tolerable future for all humanity", which, as the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], "ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples".

197. One of our principal concerns is the lack of progress in disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, because failure to achieve progress on this major issue may lead to confrontation and war, the results of which would affect the very survival of the human race on this planet.

198. As regards the world economic situation today, we are faced with a debilitating and deepening crisis that is most adversely affecting the developing countries. The results are well known and need no elaboration. It is sufficient to mention low growth rates, high unemployment, inflation and ever-mounting external debts.

199. The problems of the world economic system are mainly structural, and the present economic order, based on the striking imbalance between North and South, is characterized by inequality, domination and dependence.

200. The international community has a duty to act urgently and decisively to stimulate the process of global economic negotiations leading to the establishment of a new international economic order. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly to adopt a wise and constructive stand at the current session in order to launch global negotiations as soon as possible.

201. Let me turn to another matter—that of human rights and fundamental freedoms. There has undoubtedly been significant progress during recent years, especially in the elaboration of international instruments and standards aimed at promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the establishment of international mechanisms for supervising the implementation of the provisions of such instruments. It is disheartening, however, that, despite this progress, there still remains a wide gap between objectives and realities. Mass, flagrant and persistent violations of human rights are to be found in various parts of the world.

202. Another major issue confronting the world today is the population problem. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City last August, has identified the need for Governments, various organizations and the United Nations system to implement a new population strategy, as embodied in the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development.⁴ The recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action⁵ now provide a framework and guidelines for a well co-ordinated, multidisciplinary plan of action at national and international levels to meet global concerns about population problems and development.

203. As soon as Cyprus broke its colonial bonds and emerged, in 1960, as an independent State, we joined the ever growing Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We endorsed the principles of non-alignment because we believed, as we do today, that they provide the framework for the fulfilment of the aspirations for peace, prosperity and development of its members and because we believe that the Movement possesses the moral power and political will to work towards the elimination of alien domination, exploitation and inequality and for the establishment of a new system of international relations.

204. Today, in an international context of increasing tensions and bloc confrontation, non-alignment is a positive stabilizing factor in the struggle for international peace and security. In this context, the role of non-aligned countries is particularly important and their responsibility great.

205. I should be remiss if I did not express our gratitude for the warm support and principled position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the Cyprus problem. Particular appreciation is rightly due to the Movement's Contact Group on Cyprus.

206. We are gravely concerned about the critical situation prevailing in the Middle East. The Middle East problem, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, has persisted for decades. Yet we are today as far from a solution to this problem as we were in the more distant past. The human rights of the Palestinian and Arab population in the occupied lands continue to be violated. The Palestinian people are still being denied their legitimate and inalienable rights, including their right to establish an indepen-

dent State on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

207. We stand by the view that a just and comprehensive peace in the region must be sought urgently. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the total and unconditional withdrawal of occupation troops from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 must be strictly adhered to.

208. The grave situation in Lebanon, our neighbour, has persisted. We wish to reiterate our full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of that country. We call for the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from its territory. We express the hope that the people of Lebanon will achieve national reconciliation, peace and prosperity and that all human suffering will soon end.

209. Another hotbed of tension in our area is the unfortunate confrontation between the two non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq. It is with deep concern that we follow the developments in the ongoing war between them, which has resulted in a grave loss of life, human suffering, physical damage and destruction. We express the hope and desire that an end will soon be put to this most unfortunate conflict, and we appeal to both sides to seek a peaceful, just and honourable solution.

210. The situation in southern Africa continues to be dominated by the policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonial oppression followed by the South African régime and by military aggression, acts of destabilization and sabotage practised by South Africa against neighbouring independent African States.

211. The international community has unanimously and repeatedly denounced the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* as an affront to our civilization and to the human race. Despite this, the South African régime has adopted constitutional ploys, accompanied by a massive propaganda campaign, to deceive the international community. The so-called constitutional reforms have been implemented against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population and exclude the 24 million South African blacks from any form of political process.

212. We fully subscribe to General Assembly resolution 38/11, and fully endorse Security Council resolution 554 (1984), which rejects the new Constitution of the Pretoria régime, declaring it null and void.

213. At the same time, we express our solidarity with and support for the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa. We are deeply concerned at the persistence of South Africa in pursuing its illegal colonial occupation and exploitation of Namibia and at its refusal to implement the United Nations plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We firmly reject the attempts to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous and irrelevant issues.

214. We fully support the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia. Within the United Nations, in the United Nations Council for Namibia, and in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cyprus will offer all possible support to the people of Namibia in their heroic struggle waged under the leadership of the South West Africa

People's Organization, their authentic and legitimate representative, for the liberation of their country.

215. Another unresolved problem in the African continent is that of Western Sahara, which has been of serious concern to the international community since 1975. We fervently hope that the Saharan people will be left free to exercise their right to self-determination. The relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the OAU should be accepted by all parties concerned so that they may be implemented immediately for the benefit of all.

216. The deteriorating situation in Central America presents a serious threat to peace not only in the region but also internationally. Now, more than ever, there is a pressing need for dialogue and for intensification of efforts for the achievement of political and negotiated solutions to the problems of the region.

217. We wish to express anxiety over the situation concerning Nicaragua, an active member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We sincerely hope that the efforts of the Contadora Group will contribute positively to a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in Central America. We hope that these efforts, coupled with a positive political will on the part of all interested parties, will lead to the establishment of peace, so that the States in the region may focus on the urgent task of development.

218. At this point, we wish to reiterate once again our firm stand that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States must be fully respected and that foreign interference, intervention and covert and overt attempts at destabilization must be abandoned. It is of paramount importance that the sovereign rights of the peoples of the countries of the region to choose freely the political, economic and social systems of their preference be fully respected.

219. The Cyprus problem, a major international problem, is not only well known to this international Organization but is also a question upon which the General Assembly has repeatedly pronounced itself by way of resolutions, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the Member States, including Turkey, ending with resolution 37/253. Those resolutions, as well as the resolutions of the Security Council, remain unimplemented; thus, the occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus continues, and that is the cause of all illegalities.

220. The question of Cyprus was last debated in the General Assembly in May 1983 and in the Security Council in November 1983 and May 1984. As is well known, the reason for recourse to the Council in November 1983 was the illegal attempt by the Turkish Cypriot leadership unilaterally to declare independent the occupied part of Cyprus. The Council, by its resolution 541 (1983), declared this purported declaration of independence null and void and called for its withdrawal.

221. Between January and March 1984, the Secretary-General launched another initiative to break out of the impasse. This initiative had the same fate as previous ones, and for the same reasons. The Cyprus Government accepted this initiative from the beginning and encouraged the Secretary-General to proceed. Why the initiative failed and who was responsible for this failure were clearly revealed by the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council of 1 May 1984.⁶ While the Secretary-General was

proceeding with his initiative, the illegalities were continued and intensified. As a result, the Council was convened, and by resolution 550 (1984) it called for the reversal of all the secessionist acts and for the peaceful settlement of the problem in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

222. Last August, the Secretary-General, in a renewed effort to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, began a new initiative in Vienna. The next phase of this initiative was the proximity talks at high level in New York, the first round of which ended last week. The stumbling-blocks and difficulties of the past, well known to all representatives here, continued to persist. It was agreed that a second round of proximity talks would begin on 15 October. In view of the fact that this second round is to take place, little more should be said. We reserve the right, and indeed we have an obligation, to inform the Assembly fully of developments at the appropriate time. It should suffice at this stage to stress that a solution can be found if partitionist concepts are abandoned by the Turkish side and a willingness to conform with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions is exhibited.

223. The Cyprus Government, as always, fully supported and supports this most recent initiative of the Secretary-General and wishes to express to him its gratitude for it.

224. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is fully committed to a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions on Cyprus, as well as the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979.⁷ It will also not relent in its efforts to preserve and safeguard the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic and to put an end to the occupation of part of its territory.

225. In asking the General Assembly to put its considerable weight behind the new effort for a just solution of the Cyprus problem, we are convinced that this would not only have a beneficial effect for the preservation of the territorial integrity of other small States but would also enhance the credibility and effectiveness of this world Organization.

226. If the partitionist designs against Cyprus were allowed to succeed or even tolerated longer, then the future of all multicommunal, multiracial and multi-confessional States would be in permanent jeopardy. That is why we feel certain that the members of the Assembly will continue and intensify their efforts for Cyprus until it is vindicated. For this we are grateful to all members.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹E/CN.4/1984/72.

²Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

³Second Africa-Caribbean-Pacific—European Economic Community (ACP-EEC) Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

⁴See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. A.

⁵*Ibid.*, sect. B.

⁶*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16519.

⁷*Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5, and *ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369 and Add. 1, para. 51.