



General Assembly

**EXEMPLAIRES D'ARCHIVES
FILE COPY**

A retourner / Return to Distribution C. 111

PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.14
30 September 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOURTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 30 September 1985, at 10 a.m.

- President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
- later: Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Vice-President) (Pakistan)
- later: Mr. DE PINIÉS (President) (Spain)
- later: Mr. KIILU (Vice-President) (Kenya)
- Address by Mr. Jaime Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela
 - General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Ayoub (Sudan)
Mr. Mladenov (Bulgaria)
Mr. Wu Xueqian (China)
Mr. Imayah (Democratic Yemen)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

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

ADDRESS BY MR. JAIME LUSINCHI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Venezuela.

Mr. Jaime Lusinchí, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Venezuela, His Excellency Mr. Jaime Lusinchí, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President LUSINCHI (interpretation from Spanish): I should like, first of all, to convey to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. Your broad and relevant experience in the United Nations, your outstanding capabilities and acknowledged spirit of conciliation do honour to your country and to this significant anniversary.

I should also like once again to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our sincere congratulations for his accomplishments as the head of our Organization.

Forty years ago, in response to the strife and tragedy of the Second World War, the United Nations was created for the purpose of securing peace, development and coexistence, with mutual respect, among States. Today, when the possibility of confrontation seems not only to be getting the better of world leadership but also to be guiding some of its steps, it has become necessary to reaffirm that commitment. Decisive action is therefore required to give new life to this irreplaceable forum where we meet to combine our efforts.

(President Lusinchi)

We are now celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations with mixed feelings that fluctuate between joy and uncertainty, deeply concerned because the principles and purposes that led to the establishment of the United Nations seem to fade before more immediate and subordinate interests, including a desire for domination which is as dangerous as it is outdated.

Venezuela comes to this session of the General Assembly with a strengthened determination to achieve peace, justice and understanding among the peoples of the world; with the same determination with which, together with 50 other countries, it signed the San Francisco Charter, in circumstances unprecedented in the history of the world. We wished to bear witness through our presence here to the unswerving faith of the Venezuelan people in the potential of the United Nations, established with the support of Latin America, 22 of whose countries are founding Members.

By drawing up a balance-sheet of what has occurred on the international scene since 1945, we are in large measure analysing the role fulfilled by the United Nations, the leading arena for far-reaching decisions and a reflection of international life itself, marked as it is by countless risks and conflicts. To examine the present situation of the international community and its future outlook inevitably involves judging the prospects, the relevance and the influence of the United Nations as a factor of rapprochement among States. Wars, confrontations and reckless actions during these times of upheaval paradoxically strengthen its relevance and the need to preserve it as a mechanism directed to the rule of reason in international relations.

As the United Nations evolved it became evident that its action should encompass diverse areas if real peace was to be ensured and the deep causes of violence and the degradation of man were to be eradicated. The Organization had to assume new tasks, becoming a system dedicated not only to preventing conflict but also to promoting economic and social development.

(President Lusinchi)

The very membership of the United Nations reflects one of the major changes of the present day: a significant number of countries is playing an ever greater role in the formulation of policies and initiatives.

In 1945 more than 750 million persons - almost a third of the world's population - lived under colonial rule. The historic process of decolonization that subsequently took place under the auspices of the United Nations made it possible for more than 70 countries in the three regions of the developing world to attain independence.

In mentioning the many effects of decolonization, we must stress the role played by the majority group in the United Nations that the countries of Latin America constituted, and their outstanding performance in the debates and decisions of the General Assembly during the years prior to the incorporation of the young States of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. We Latin Americans can feel proud to have been in the front line of the struggle against colonialism, a course of conduct that was no more than our duty in view of our historical roots and our commitment to freedom and solidarity. Simon Bolivar, the liberator, had shown us the way.

This Organization has been and is faced with problems of extraordinary magnitude - problems that it has been unable to solve or mitigate, because of lack of goodwill, considerations of expediency, complicity, or simply lack of understanding of the great historical changes. These are situations that have posed a dilemma, that have acquired ever more alarming proportions and that have today become established priorities.

(President Lusinchi)

In a great paradox of our times, the Powers that played a decisive role in establishing the United Nations soon undermined by their actions what they had so solemnly proclaimed at the end of the Second World War.

Despite all the efforts deployed by this Organization, the nuclear-arms race between the super-Powers continues relentlessly to the consternation of all, carrying all of us with it as hostages to an uncertain and endangered future. The arguments with which we have tried to persuade those Powers to sponsor convincing disarmament and nuclear-arms-control measures have virtually been exhausted in what amounts to a deaf-ear policy on the part of the great Powers. Since 1945 the General Assembly alone has adopted more than 600 resolutions on subjects linked to disarmament in a markedly progressive trend.

We cannot console ourselves with a deceptive nuclear peace advocated by both sides but bearing within it an incalculable destructive potential, nor can we accept, in line with this strategic sophism, pretexts to carry the confrontation to other theatres and to further nuclear intimidation in clear violation of international treaties on the use of outer space. We therefore support and shall continue to support resolutely all initiatives aimed at demilitarizing space. Here there can be no room for doubt or hesitation.

The struggle against underdevelopment is as important as the struggle for peace. In recent years there has been a process of erosion that has undermined the very basis of the political consensus on which international co-operation for development is based.

This situation of uncertainty regarding the present relevance of the commitment to the problem of development generates a lack of confidence and leads to a greater degree of insecurity regarding the future of all.

We cannot claim that we lack the necessary resources. The intellectual and material heritage of humanity if used rationally would be sufficient to overcome

(President Lusinchi)

poverty and stagnation. It is time therefore to invest it in the priorities demanded by that objective. We must reflect on whether we can continue to consent to a world characterized by intolerable domination, factions in conflict and repressed tension.

These scenarios, which are no less real because they are sombre, strengthen our conviction that, as was originally established by the Charter, it is the duty of this Organization to be a centre for harmonizing efforts and wills in order to rescue economic and social development as one of the collective priorities of our time and to allow us in practice to overcome technical difficulties, reconcile our interests and go forward together.

We must renew our commitment to development, without excuses or ambiguity, without paternalism or ulterior motives, reflecting our resolve for decisive action.

One of the most urgent problems of this decade stems from the lack of a system for financing development and the weakening of the institutions that were created for that purpose. I refer to the foreign debt of developing countries which threatens to paralyse economic growth, erode the process of democratization, upset social peace and destabilize the international financial system. It is a problem that involves the entire international community. The responsibility lies equally with the debtor countries, the creditor countries, private banking and international financial institutions. All of them therefore must be responsible for its solution; and to try to evade this responsibility may, in our opinion, be a mistake of unforeseeable dimensions.

To prevent the debt problem from ending in a crisis the debtor countries are making significant efforts requiring sacrifices on the part of their populations and advancing adjustment programmes that have helped to improve their balance of payments. But such efforts cannot be sustained in the medium term. It is obvious

(President Lusinchi)

that the debt problem cannot be solved at the expense of the well-being of the people and that a responsible Head of State can hardly endanger the future of his nation by carrying sacrifices to an extreme in order to settle its commitments. It is evident that each country's conduct is coloured by different realities, but the debt problem in its dimensions and basic characteristics is of an inescapable collective nature.

Thus it is obvious that only the sustained economic growth of the debtor countries will enable them to comply with their foreign obligations.

Unfortunately, the serious, calm behaviour of the debtor countries has not obtained a satisfactory response from the other countries and institutions involved. We have reached the point where the only method proposed for resolving this problem has been the absurdity of turning the developing countries into net capital exporters and the only method of action recommended at the international level has been the imposition of policies that stimulate recession and unemployment.

The industrialized countries must participate actively with the debtor countries in seeking more conclusive solutions to the debt problem and, in particular, in establishing protective mechanisms to cope with the high interest rates that are kept high so as to attract the capital necessary to finance deficits and high standards of living, while our countries, on the contrary, are being obliged to adopt severe adjustment measures at the cost of great sacrifice in order to eliminate existing deficits and honour our commitments.

From the standpoint of international solidarity there is no justification whatsoever for keeping real interest rates several points above the rate of inflation, as has been the practice in international financial markets. It is indispensable and urgent that we seek a solution of this problem in order to relieve the burden implied by debt servicing and to avoid worsening the economic situation of the developing countries.

(President Lusinchi)

The lack of will to find shared solutions increases the possibility that we shall in the end face a crisis. Those who feel that the danger has been averted by the fact that the most difficult consequences of the problem have been postponed and have not yet affected international financial centres are mistaken. The danger remains. The advances made to date have only contributed to preventing a confrontation and to keeping open the possibility of dialogue. If, however, this dialogue does not take place, if it does not find substantive solutions, if it does not cover all the countries involved, these advances will have been illusory.

The Latin American countries, through the Cartagena Consensus, have proposed a dialogue at the governmental level aimed at finding real and lasting solutions to the debt problem. Unfortunately, we met with no response. This leads us to the paradoxical situation in which the more the stability of the international financial system depends on us the more difficult it is made for us to find counterparts with whom to seek formulas that will enable us to maintain that stability.

(President Lusinchi)

We are determined that these formulas shall be of a multilateral nature, but we cannot remain passive if they are not achieved, because we cannot allow the fate of our peoples to remain at the mercy of an uncertain international economy; nor can we compromise the development of our nations beyond reasonable limits.

Venezuela, like other debtor countries, has stated and given proof of its firm desire to fulfil its foreign commitments. In our case we have established restructuring agreements with our creditors that lessen the impact of debt on our efforts to ensure our national development. We believe, on the basis of current estimates, that our commitments are viable. A contingency clause has been included in these agreements that allows for changes to be made in the event of special situations caused by fortuitous circumstances or force majeure, or in the case of substantial economic changes that modify the basis of the agreement. We believe that this should be a universal standard for refinancing agreements.

Moreover, experience of negotiations has taught us that an effort is necessary to create international economic conditions that will not endanger agreements already reached, that countries cannot be required to assume obligations that they are unable to fulfil, and that it is damaging to try to take advantage of or disregard the situation of countries experiencing very difficult circumstances. In this respect, we consider it necessary to establish, through dialogue, a mutually acceptable general frame of reference that takes into account the development needs and need for well-being of peoples and the need to establish a stable development-financing system and the will to regularize international financial commitments.

However great Latin America's efforts, its problems cannot be overcome without a revitalization of its economies, and this requires the orderly and sustained growth of the world economy. But this essential balance cannot be achieved while

(President Lusinchi)

the big industrialized countries maintain unnecessary protectionist barriers which with absurd, excessive selfishness they even seek to strengthen.

There is a close link between the fulfilment of their financial obligations by our countries and their prospects of economic and trade expansion. Our exports must grow so that we can pay our foreign debt, but first and foremost to generate the resources necessary to finance our development. We cannot devote the fruits of our adjustment efforts exclusively to debt-servicing, as we have been doing over the past four years. In 1984, for example, Latin America had a trade surplus of \$37 billion, the largest in its history, but we had to transfer it to our creditors in interest payments. In fact, Latin America has become a net exporter of capital, which is a strange situation for a region of developing countries. Since 1982 this net transfer of resources has reached \$70 billion, which in real terms is equal to nearly twice the resources used under the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged European economies.

The development of circumstances makes it necessary for the General Assembly to undertake at this fortieth session, in the economic sphere, an essential exercise in joint reflection in which we seriously analyse the present situation and attempt to reach a common diagnosis which will enable us immediately to undertake the necessary action.

In matters of trade, there has never before been such a demand for respect for principles and standards together with such a lack of compliance, such threats of trade war and such repeated and open use of the unilateral imposition of measures.

As regards matters of finance, it is scarcely necessary to recall that unless the multilateral bodies have the required resources and appropriate policies it will be at best a coincidence if we are able to overcome the widespread debt problem.

(President Lusinchi)

In monetary matters, there is no prospect of controlling the persistent instability of exchange rates or of reaching a level of international liquidity in keeping with the present situation and the foreseeable needs of the economies enduring harsh adjustment processes at a time when foreign credit is contracting. We lack the operational mechanisms needed to deal efficiently with the international trade and financial situation, which is characterized by volatility and instability. It is even more significant that institutions designed to promote monetary and payments stability and an adequate flow of resources for development are undergoing disturbing changes in their purposes and objectives and being transformed from mechanisms for international co-operation into factors for control and security for the benefit of biased interests.

In our view, it is more necessary than ever before to co-ordinate economic policies multilaterally, both for sustained growth and for development, and the scope and priorities of that co-ordination cannot be disregarded by this Organization.

Certainly, it was not without interest that we received the information about the talks held recently by Finance Ministers and Governors of the central banks of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and Japan. Although nothing specific resulted from that meeting, and the reports that did emerge were cloaked in the traditional frustrating wordiness, the timid acknowledgement of the need to resist protectionist measures, the possibility of opening markets to our exports and a certain understanding of matters concerning reasonable interest rates and the granting of financing in suitable quantities and on suitable conditions could mean that we are witnessing a change in the perceptions of the great Powers. The developing world has been waiting for a long time for the necessary dialogue to materialize.

(President Lusinchi)

Oil continues to be one of the basic elements of the world economy. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is now 25 years old. Its noteworthy efforts throughout that time constitute one of the most just claims of the raw-material-producing countries to promote and achieve more just, rational trade between the developing and the industrialized countries.

Once again OPEC is issuing warnings that are not being heeded in world economic centres. Our warnings to the industrialized countries concerning the risks arising from an unstable, anarchic oil market and the negative repercussions of an erosion of prices on world financial and commercial markets have fallen on deaf ears. What we have said about the rapid depletion of the oil reserves of importing countries and of exporters not members of our organization has been ignored. The reaction has been short-sighted indifference.

OPEC will continue to defend its right to establish the terms of trade for this strategic resource, which is essential for international economic development.

(President Lusinchi)

In Latin America we are facing the challenge of the social and economic development of our peoples. We are also, through the Contadora Group, tenaciously and with perseverance attempting to ward off the crisis in Central America. This action in the cause of peace and good will, which has been given the support and encouragement of the international community, has now been strengthened through the establishment of a support group composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, in a categoric demonstration of the fact that Latin America is prepared to resolve its own problems according to Latin America criteria and formulas, that we are deeply aware of the problem and that determined solidarity is being brought to bear to resolve it.

We unequivocally reject the interference in the region of opposing factors alien to the authentic aspirations of the peoples of Latin America, which in some way agitate and seek to undermine the possibilities of establishing peace and understanding in Central America. We believe that all the countries directly concerned in the region desire peace and that there are no sectors of the area bent on prolonging war-mongering speculation in connivance with foreign interests. We also believe that there is no more room to maintain the privileges and advantages that in large measure explain the present vicissitudes of the fraternal countries and the origins of the present crisis.

Despite many difficulties, steps are being taken to endorse the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America. The recent meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of Central America and Contadora was quite beneficial in this respect and, without being overly optimistic, we believe that the conditions for progress are now present. And I venture to say this fully aware that, as if by magic, every time the Contadora meetings take a step forward, incidents or actions of various types take place in the region which are perhaps intended to undermine the results of those efforts for peace and reconciliation.

(President Lusinchi)

It would be a regrettable paradox if, as we move closer to the signing of the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America, we were to witness a systematic worsening of this type of hypocritical conduct.

In any event, we Venezuelans shall not relent in this quest, since we are convinced that it is necessary to use dialogue to oppose those who try to promote war and confrontation.

Venezuela is committed to peace in Latin America and in the entire world. We are committed to promoting democracy, freedom, well-being and the defence of human rights.

As we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and 36 years after the signing of the Declaration of Human Rights, we see how the racist régime of South Africa persists in erecting a barrier to contain the will of a people that wishes, as is legitimately and humanly its due, to be master of its own destiny.

Nelson Mandela's long imprisonment testifies to the tenacity of a brave and struggling people. It is at the same time, however, a sad symbol of our Organization's inability to end a universal problem that concerns us all.

After so many years of repression backed by selfish interests and associations which have compromised and damaged the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations, we must without delay act resolutely and decisively to apply effective sanctions. A decisive outcome is required to end once and for all racism and the vestiges of colonialism.

We have seen how some Governments are taking selective measures to induce the Pretoria Government to desist from its ignominious practices of racial segregation. But we insist that the firm will of important partners of South Africa is needed for sanctions to be really effective rather than simply an empty

(President Lusinchi)

threat which only serves to spur on the racist Government to an intensified deployment of its powerful repressive apparatus. Nothing must stop us nor cause us to move backwards in the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

The fate of Namibia is closely linked with the racist practices institutionalized by South Africa. We are filled with regret at the fact that we are celebrating this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations without the presence of a delegation representing a free Namibia. Numerous major obstacles have been placed in the way of that wish, shared by the overwhelming majority of nations represented here. We wish to convey to the people of Namibia our solidarity and our support in its struggle to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

The struggle for human rights and freedom cannot be given up. In Latin America, we have in recent years succeeded in eliminating régimes and practices that were shameful for mankind. That task has not yet been completed. Centres of arbitrariness, violence and injustice remain that gainsay the essence of the Latin American peoples and that often, like grotesque ghosts, strike blows reminiscent of a militaristic and arbitrary tradition. We cannot remain passive in the face of these situations.

Thus far, the joint action of the nations represented in this forum has had to be to a large extent a reaction against destructive trends, unacceptable practices, the temptation to dominate and structural deformities. This has been an arduous and commendable task. But the moment may have come to make it more positive and effective, to demonstrate that this dialogue can be devoted to stimulating the potential of mankind and not only to fighting against the violence and exploitation that still exist in much of our world.

We call for the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations and ask for the participation of the military and economic Powers, which is fundamental, to

(President Lusinchi)

encourage a new turn of events on the international scene, based on the practical application of the principles and purposes that we have set for ourselves. We want those initiatives that are in harmony with the collective outcry for a better world to be sponsored and supported within this Organization. We cannot allow this multilateral experience to be diluted or weakened even when faced with intransigence and a lack of understanding. Nor can we allow irreversible conditions that make possible broader conflicts or the creation of distrust among the peoples represented here to prevail.

We fully agree with the call for reflection and action made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in his report on the work of the United Nations, when he points out that

"The Organization's function, and hence that of the Secretary-General, is therefore to harmonize, to encourage and to initiate. But the implementation, the drive, must come from the Members. When this drive does come, it can achieve remarkable results." (A/40/1, p. 7)

At one time, during the 1950s, when a terrible earthquake almost destroyed the city of Ambato in Ecuador, the powerful and resonant voice of a Latin American democrat, Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay, cried out under this same roof, "Let us respond to this so-called act of nature with an act of man: let us help."

I was in Mexico some days ago to convey personally to President de la Madrid, on behalf of the people and Government of Venezuela, our solidarity with the Mexican people in this hour of sorrow and tribulation that has moved the entire international community and, at the same time, to convey our words of encouragement and our undiminished brotherly support. We therefore co-sponsored, with the greatest solicitude, the resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly regarding international help for Mexico.

(President Lusinchi)

Beyond our efforts for world peace, freedom, human rights and social and economic development, we are confronted by a new enemy, perhaps the most dangerous of all: drugs. They are the Trojan horse of our civilization.

In this theatre of peace, I take the responsibility of calling for war, war against this scourge which is endangering the very health of our peoples and, above all, of our poorest, and therefore least protected, societies. And it is in this context that I am gratified to refer to the two resolutions on the subject approved by consensus during the last session, in the adoption of which Venezuela played an important role: one condemned the traffic in narcotics and the unlawful use of drugs and the other proposed the adoption of an international instrument to combat the problem in its new and devastating manifestations.

As a corollary to this process, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has called for a meeting to be held at the ministerial level for the purpose of dealing with all aspects of the drug problem. We attach the greatest importance to this proposal.

I must say very plainly that we must act simultaneously on the production, traffic and consumption of drugs. Only the co-ordinated actions of all countries can put an end to this tragic situation. Among the countries participating in this Assembly there are more than enough resources to do so. Clearly what is lacking, is the resolve to take the necessary heroic measures. I appeal to this Assembly: let us fight this war together.

I could not conclude this message from the people and Government of Venezuela without paying tribute to those men who have devoted an important part of their lives - and have even given up their lives - in the service of the United Nations: Trygve Lie, Dag Hammarskjold, U Thant, Kurt Waldheim and Javier Perez de Cuellar, who, in the post of Secretary-General, have helped to establish the role of the Organization as an essential and irreplaceable instrument of co-operation and

(President Lusinchi)

solidarity among the peoples of the world. I also wish to pay tribute to a Venezuelan who has played an important part in the struggles of the United Nations since its early days, Manuel Perez Guerrero, a Minister in my Government, who was present at the birth of the United Nations in San Francisco, but who has unfortunately not been able to be with me during this session.

I am particularly gratified to appear before this General Assembly, this democratic world parliament, as a spokesman for the genuine feelings of the Venezuelan people, as President of the homeland of the Liberator Simon Bolivar, who foresaw an institution such as this one and who, by summoning the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama in 1826, helped to establish the foundations for the future development of the international Organization, designed to bring about a reconciliation of positions and co-operation with mutual respect among nations. By historical tradition and by deep-rooted conviction, we are firm believers in the enormous potential of the United Nations. And to believe in the United Nations is, above all, to trust in the intrinsic capacity of the human being to reconcile conflicting interests, harmonize different views and cultivate the fertile soil of understanding. He who has faith can move mountains. Let us make the effort; let us together set the world on the path towards a new, more just, more humane and more free civilization. The United Nations can do it.

(The PRESIDENT) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Jaime Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. AYOUB (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): I am honoured, Sir, to extend to you our warm congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this significant and historic session. Your election reflects the appreciation of the international community for your skilled leadership, and its esteem for your country, with which the Sudan has strong ties of friendship.

I should also like to express the deep appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka, who brought honour to his country and to Africa as a whole through his skill in successfully conducting the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, a skill reflected in the numerous achievements of that session despite a number of difficulties and obstacles.

I should also like to express our appreciation and thanks to His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his invaluable work at the head of our Organization, and for his comprehensive report on the work of the Organization, which gives a sound evaluation of the achievements and duties of the Organization on its fortieth anniversary in the light of the provisions of the Charter.

I should also like to extend to the Head of the Mexican delegation the sincere sympathy of the Government and people of the Sudan to the Government and people of Mexico on the recent catastrophe which devastated Mexico and claimed the lives of thousands of its people.

The United Nations is currently playing host to world leaders commemorating its fortieth anniversary. We must pause on this occasion to examine the problems and challenges that face us and to evaluate the work of the Organization during the past four decades of its existence. Our belief in the mission and principles

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

of the United Nations requires us to attach special importance to its fortieth anniversary. We believe this is a good opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the principles of the Charter and our support for the international Organization in the fulfilment of its noble mission, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation in all vital fields.*

* Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

The Assembly has naturally followed the recent political developments in my country which on 6 April last led to the victory of the popular revolution and to the elimination of an authoritarian rule which had lasted for 16 years. Through that great upheaval, our people in the Sudan affirmed its commitment to the democratic option, the safeguarding of human rights and the solution of our problems by peaceful means and through dialogue. Our people also renewed their firm belief in the Charter of the United Nations and in the other regional organizations to which it belongs.

Since its inception, the Transitional Government has sought to establish relations of good neighbourliness with all neighbouring countries, to settle disputes peacefully, to promote regional and international co-operation and to consolidate the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Sudan is one of the founding members. We initiated all this immediately upon the victory of the popular will last April, and we opened our doors to friendship with all. We have affirmed the freedom and dignity of the citizen and his right to full political participation and we have restored the freedom of the press, the independence of the judiciary, the neutrality of the civil service and the sanctity of the universities and other educational institutions.

The Assembly is aware that the problems and difficult circumstances we are facing at present, especially those of the drought, starvation and influx of refugees, constitute a heavy burden which we are doing our utmost to shoulder. We have succeeded to a great extent in mobilizing the available resources to contain the catastrophe of starvation and drought which has devastated various parts of the country. We have established a Supreme Committee, under the direct supervision of the Provisional Military Council, to co-operate with the donor States and relief organizations. The assistance of friends has been combined with that of the international community to help us to overcome this devastating catastrophe which

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

is afflicting our country. The General Assembly is perhaps familiar with the real magnitude and dimensions of the problem and of its implications, as reflected in various reports published by the United Nations and those of its agencies involved.

My country looks forward to continued aid by the international community and by friendly and fraternal States, commensurate with the gravity of the starvation, especially during this phase when the processes of relief are facing great difficulties because of the rains impeding the transport of relief to the more disadvantaged areas in the west of the country, which has led to an accumulation of relief supplies at the only port in the country.

While on the subject of the grave conditions prevailing in my country, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the prompt response and the spirit of solidarity demonstrated by the United Nations and the international community in respect of the critical economic situation in my country and elsewhere in Africa. I would like to extend grateful thanks to all those who have come to the assistance of the Sudan, and in particular I commend the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization in Africa under Mr. Bradford Morse, Mr. Maurice Strong and Mr. Winston Bradley, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for relief operations in the Sudan, together with their colleagues and assistants in the field, the United Nations Development Programme and other specialized agencies and their representatives in the Sudan. I should also like to thank the Governments of the United States, the member countries of the European Economic Community, the Government and people of Japan, the Arab States and other fraternal and friendly States, the non-governmental organizations, voluntary organizations and associations of artists in Europe and the United States.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

Our experience of relief operations in Africa has proved that the United Nations is capable of carrying out its duties and commitments towards the international community, given the necessary support and confidence. The Disaster Relief Office has succeeded in acquainting the international community with the magnitude of the tragedy and the real needs and priorities of the various affected States. It has also succeeded in mobilizing international support and in co-ordinating the efforts of specialized agencies and voluntary organizations. As we celebrate this year the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, I should like to cite this experience as a living example of the effectiveness and success of the United Nations in the vital field of relief. While hoping that the Office will continue its relief efforts, we also hope that the success of this experience will be reflected in the contribution of the United Nations system to the support of the African States in moving from the relief phase to the phase of rehabilitation and development. That is the main challenge facing the African countries and the international community.

The current economic crisis is still adversely affecting the developing countries, and especially those in Africa. The critical economic situation currently prevailing in Africa, with its short-term and long-term effects, constitutes one of the negative aspects of international economic relations. The United Nations Declaration on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its last session, is a candid acknowledgement of the deterioration of that situation and a conscious awareness on the part of the international community of the need to face that crisis which, in our view, is the result of several factors, the most important being the current stagnation of the world economy and the repercussions of an unjust international economic order which has driven most developing countries into increasing indebtedness, has devastated their economy and trapped them in a vicious circle of instability. The

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

repercussions of this situation are most dangerous for the African countries concerned. What has probably contributed to the compounding of the problems of the African States in particular are the natural disasters which have devastated those countries, and also the problem of refugees. The twenty-first summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, convened last July, was devoted to a discussion of economic problems. That meeting was a landmark in the African endeavour to contain these grave economic effects. One of the most important characteristics of that meeting was the acknowledgement for the first time by the African Presidents of the shortcomings of local economic policies, and their readiness to adopt corrective measures and to formulate policies in conformity with reality and with local and international conditions.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

They also affirmed that the primary responsibility for the development of Africa falls on the Governments and peoples of Africa. They reaffirmed the validity of the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action: self-reliance, rehabilitation and revitalization in the food and agricultural sectors.

At the Conference the Heads of Government also reviewed the problem of Africa's external indebtedness, a problem which has worsened in the past few years because of the increasing international monetary and economic crisis. That crisis has had serious repercussions on the development processes because of the increasing burden of indebtedness and the decrease in the flow of new financial resources and concessionary terms for development efforts.

Although we fully respect our international commitment to repay these debts, we simply cannot, on the one hand, repay them and, on the other, continue to provide even the basic means of survival for our peoples. There must be further and intensified international efforts; all the necessary ingenuity must be brought to bear to find new methods that avoid the traditional formulas, which have provided only palliatives and not cures. The international action necessary to deal with the indebtedness problem must take into account the deteriorating situation in some countries, especially the most disadvantaged and least developed countries in Africa, which are in a deficit situation and are clearly unable to repay their debts. The debts must be rescheduled for a longer period and, in addition, the grace period must be extended and new concessionary terms must be worked out, taking into account the ability of the African countries to repay without damaging their importation possibilities.

At the Addis Ababa summit conference, the African Heads of State and Government took two initiatives in connection with their examination of the problems of Africa. First, they called for the convening of a special session of

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

the United Nations General Assembly to deal with all aspects of the economic crisis in Africa and to examine medium-term and long-term methods for solving that crisis. Secondly, they called for the convening of an international conference on Africa's external indebtedness, which has completely paralysed the economies of Africa. We hope that during this session the General Assembly will reach agreement on the convening of a special session and on the sound preparations to be made for it. We hope also that the current session will provide a good opportunity for consultations on the proposed international conference on Africa's indebtedness.

These are glorious days for southern Africa. Men, women and children are engaged in an all-out revolution in South Africa to sweep away the abominable policy of apartheid. The apartheid régime has been making cosmetic changes which in no way affect the essence of the policy of apartheid. The African States and the international community as a whole have for the past decade been drawing attention to the risks inherent in South Africa's continued policies and practices, and have been calling for the intensification of serious action to put an end to the racist régime. But the continued military and economic co-operation between certain States and the Pretoria régime has helped to entrench that régime and to enable it to continue its racist oppressive policies against the Black majority and its aggression against the neighbouring African States.

The terrorism practised by the white minority Government will not succeed in extinguishing the heroic resistance of the courageous people of South Africa, which is engaged in an all-out revolution which will certainly result soon in victory. From this rostrum we salute the defenceless people of South Africa in their struggle and reaffirm our absolute support for that struggle, under the leadership of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We call for an increase in international support for the demands of the Black majority in South Africa.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

In this regard, we must note that the policy of "constructive engagement" with the racist minority Government has proved that it cannot effect the desired change; rather, it has contributed to increasing the intransigence and arrogance of the Pretoria Government. Furthermore, the argument that the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa will lead only to more misery for the Black people is fallacious. Continued economic co-operation with South Africa and the continued flow of investments to South Africa lead only to hampering the increasing attempts to isolate the Pretoria régime; they provide it with the resources it needs to continue its policy of apartheid and to deprive the Black majority of its legitimate rights. Only the tightening of the stranglehold on the Pretoria régime, the isolation of that Government and the imposition of a complete boycott and further sanctions against it can lead to the termination of the abominable apartheid régime and the exercise by the Black majority of its legitimate and just rights, as well as the establishment of a sound, democratic society based on justice and equality and guaranteeing freedom for all.

We have followed with great interest the response by some Governments and parliamentary institutions, and their adoption of varying degrees of economic boycotts of the South African Government. We hope that even these limited actions will mark the beginning of a unified and intensified international effort to support the struggle of the people of South Africa and that they will accelerate the desired radical change in that country.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

The subject of the co-operation by some countries with the racist Pretoria régime, with a view to entrenching that régime in power, leads us to denounce the intense co-operation between the racist ideology in South Africa and the Zionist ideology in Israel, especially in the cultural, economic and military fields. The culmination of that co-operation has been its extension to the nuclear field, resulting in the development of nuclear capabilities threatening the Arab and African regions and frustrating the endeavours now under way for the declaration of the two regions as nuclear-free zones. We condemn this co-operation and call for an increase in the campaigns by the international community to expose the co-operation and ensure that an end is put to it once and for us.

The Pretoria Government is still defying the international community by occupying Namibia and imposing its domination on Namibia, despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The international community has constantly condemned the Pretoria Government for its illegal occupation of that Territory and for plundering its natural resources. We state again that the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia is the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). From this rostrum we repeat Sudan's categorical rejection of the linking of Namibia's independence with other issues. We also reject the installation by the South African Government of an interim government in Namibia. We reaffirm the legal responsibility of the United Nations for the independence of that Territory and the duty of the Security Council to ensure implementation of its resolutions.

We also support the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization and we urge that it be given all possible support. In this regard, we hope that Security Council resolution 569 (1985) will constitute a serious step towards the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

I do not think I need to stress the gravity of the situation in the Middle East and its real danger not only for security in that region but for international peace and security. The lack of a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine, which constitutes the core of the conflict in the Middle East, has continuously aggravated the situation in that area, especially in view of Israel's persistence in its illegal occupation of Arab territories, in its confiscation of Arab lands and in depriving the Palestinian people of its legitimate and inalienable rights guaranteed by the United Nations Charter and reaffirmed in numerous resolutions of this Organization since its inception.

The acts of aggression still being committed by Israel against Lebanon and its continued brutal bombardment of the Palestinian camps is positive proof of its intentions and its disregard of international public opinion, international institutions and the security of the peoples and States of the region.

The Arab States, at the Fez Summit Conference and on other occasions, have affirmed their commitment to peace based on justice and right for all peoples and States in the region, thus providing a historic opportunity for the restoration of peace in one of the most important and sensitive areas of the world. But Israel has chosen to take the opposite course and to persist in its policy of aggression, disregarding all peace efforts.

The international community has affirmed in various forums its conviction that a lasting, just peace in the Middle East can be achieved only through the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Holy Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole, legitimate representative, of its inalienable rights, including its right to establish its independent State on its own soil, in accordance with its free will. These

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

conditions remain a firm foundation for peace based on justice, not peace imposed by force of arms.

In this context, we reaffirm the importance of convening an international conference on peace in the Middle East, as specified in the Geneva Declaration of 1983, which was endorsed by the General Assembly, if the United Nations is to carry out its duties and responsibilities and contribute to the solution of this question on the basis of justice, right and international legitimacy. We declare from this rostrum our support for all sincere, serious efforts to settle the conflict in the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned, on the international and regional levels and on a footing of equality at every stage.

The Government and people of Sudan have been following with great sorrow the continuing war between Iraq and Iran, which has now entered its sixth year. We feel great sadness at the continuing conflict between those two countries to which we are bound by close historical and spiritual links. Like other friendly Moslem people, we feel the bitterness of this strife, which has had devastating effects on the resources and potentials of those two neighbouring countries and shaken the stability and security of the entire Gulf area. The international community has on numerous occasions stressed the need to bring about a peaceful settlement of this conflict. The Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have made efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement to put an end to this bloody war in a context of respect for the basic tenets of international law, the United Nations Charter and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Sudan will continue to support these endeavours until there is a positive response to the appeals of the international community and the fighting between the two neighbouring States is ended.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

Sudan has always believed in the peaceful settlement of disputes, through dialogue and negotiations, without resort to the logic of force and aggression. Accordingly, we have repeatedly stressed the need for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan in such manner as to preserve for the people of Afghanistan its sovereignty, self-determination and freedom, without foreign interference in its internal affairs.

Similarly, we consistently assert the importance of achieving a lasting and just solution to the question of Kampuchea in accordance with international law and in the context of the Charter of the United Nations.

The continued tension in South-East Asia makes it imperative for the international community to seek a comprehensive political solution that guarantees the withdrawal of all foreign forces and full respect for the independence of all States of the region, including Kampuchea. We reiterate our support for the efforts exerted by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to achieve an acceptable, peaceful solution to this problem.

We are deeply convinced that peaceful dialogue is the only way to settle conflicts. This conviction makes us look continuously for a solution between the Cypriot communities through serious negotiation and constructive dialogue. We welcome the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this direction. We believe that they constitute the right approach to finding a just solution to the problem that takes into account the legitimate rights of the two communities while guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

We are following with interest the efforts of the Korean people to arrive at peaceful reunification through dialogue, consultation and continued meetings between the representatives of organizations and institutions in the two countries.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

We should like to emphasize the meetings between parliamentarians and the Red Cross organizations in the two Koreas, as well as the reunions of families. We hope that these efforts will culminate in success that will enable the Korean people to make an effective contribution to the efforts of the international community towards peace and international co-operation.

As far as Central America is concerned, we still hope that the peace efforts, in particular those of the Contadora Group, will be successful and that a peaceful settlement will be found that will restore stability to this important region and enable its peoples to devote their energies to achieve progress and prosperity.

In the context of international peace and security, we must refer to a particularly complex and dangerous aspect, the nuclear terror, which threatens mankind with extinction through the increased rate of stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the increase in their destructive power. We hope that the fortieth anniversary of the Organization will prove a new point of departure for the negotiations on disarmament.

The experience of the Second World War must never be forgotten. That war, with its social and economic destruction, proved the imperative need for international co-operation to preserve the basis of liberty and peace. But as a result of the present lack of confidence between the two super-Powers the disarmament negotiations in Geneva are stalled and this urgent question is excluded day after day from the context of the international Organization.

Along with others, we stress the imperative need to control the production of conventional and nuclear weapons, quantitatively and qualitatively, to reduce military forces to the lowest possible level, to reduce military budgets and to establish a serious organic link between disarmament, and development in the interest of the developing countries.

(Mr. Ayoub, Sudan)

We urge implementation of the special Declaration of the 1980s as a Disarmament Decade, to be followed by the conclusion of a comprehensive convention on prohibiting nuclear tests, and by another convention prohibiting the production and use of chemical weapons. We reaffirm the need to respect nuclear-weapon-free zones.

We feel that the continued building and development of military arsenals will only provide an ephemeral peace based on fear and terror. We feel that the alternative lies in rebuilding the bridges of confidence between the two super-Powers, reducing tension between them, and reactivating the disarmament negotiations in a climate of goodwill and mutual confidence in the interest of the future of mankind.

We hope that the scheduled meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will create such a climate conducive to peace and pave the way towards serious and sincere co-operation among the various members of the international community in order to achieve the lofty human objectives of peace and well-being.

Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from Russian): I congratulate the President cordially on his election to the important post of President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and I wish him success in his responsible work.

At the beginning of my statement I would like to convey the sincere condolences of the Bulgarian people to the people of Mexico for the natural disaster which has resulted in loss of life and has inflicted heavy material damage.

Our Organization stands on the threshold of its fortieth anniversary. Born in the course of the historic common struggle against German fascism and Japanese militarism, it emerged as the expression of the common resolve of nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

The progressive and democratic purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are of enduring importance. They include the maintenance of peace, co-operation, equality of peoples and their right to self-determination, prohibition of the use of force and the threat of force, respect for territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and so on. These principles embody the idea of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and are the very core of universally recognized norms of international law. Unfailing adherence to them is the true path to a peaceful future and the progress of mankind.

We note with satisfaction that the United Nations has stood the test of time. Over the course of its existence it has made a substantial contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security, of furthering co-operation and promoting friendly relations among nations. The United Nations has become the natural forum for the discussion of the most important political, economic, social and other problems of the world today and for seeking solutions to them. At the same time, it is obvious that the United Nations has far from exhausted its potential. It can and must play an even greater role in international affairs. An important pre-condition for the attainment of this goal is strict and unswerving observance of the Charter of the United Nations and the implementation of the decisions adopted in accordance with its provisions.

History is a great teacher and makes it imperative for us today, 40 years after the end of the Second World War, not only to remember the bitter experience of it, but also to learn clear lessons for the future. Co-operation within the anti-Hitlerite coalition was a good example of how States with different social systems can, in spite of the ideological and political differences between them, act together in the name of a common goal, namely, that of ensuring lasting peace on earth.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

Today, this goal is even more urgent. Mankind is threatened with extinction. This could be the only possible result of a nuclear catastrophe.

The United Nations approaches its anniversary in a tense international situation. The acceleration of the arms race and actions which lead to its possible spreading into outer space, the policy of attaining world supremacy, gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, the raising of obstacles to the peaceful settlement of conflicts - all of this is leading to a sharp increase in the danger of nuclear war.

The military-industrial complex is spending vast sums of money on the development and stockpiling of new types of weapons, including space weapons, for the purpose of gaining military superiority over the socialist countries. The experience of history confirms, however, that this exercise is a futile one. This has been true in the past and is even more certain in today's circumstances. Military strategic parity will unquestionably be maintained, although at the cost of raising the level of armaments and increasing the threat of war.

For four decades now the undying echo of the nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been appealing to the conscience and common sense of mankind to take resolute measures for the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms until they have been totally and finally eliminated. Today, the question we face is this: either mankind destroys nuclear weapons, or nuclear weapons will destroy mankind.

We are firmly convinced that the strengthening of peace and international security, the curbing of the arms race, the limitation and reduction of armaments, the lowering of the level of military confrontation, can only be achieved through constructive negotiations aimed at producing effective and mutually acceptable agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security. This is the basis on which all negotiations should be conducted, whether in Geneva or in Vienna, Stockholm, and indeed at all international forums.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

The world today needs the concerted and honest efforts of all States and social forces in order to halt the juggernaut of the arms race and to put into effect the practical measures designed to improve the international situation and to restore détente.

In our view, this imperative is paramount today.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

Taking into consideration the crucial role of the relations between the USSR and the United States ~~for~~ the overall state of the political situation in the world, the People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the forthcoming summit meeting between the leaders of the two countries. We express the hope that at that meeting agreements will be reached which will contribute to the revival and consolidation of trust and mutual understanding.

My country attaches primary importance to the disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States. The new Soviet-American talks in Geneva have given rise to hopes that effective solutions will be found for the whole complex of issues concerning space and nuclear weapons. Strict adherence to the agreement reached on the subject and goals of the negotiations is a prerequisite for their successful conclusion. In order to contribute to achieving success at those negotiations, the USSR suspended the deployment of medium-range missiles and the introduction of other retaliatory measures in Europe until November this year. Regrettably, however, the actions of the American side so far have raised serious doubts about its willingness for and interest in achieving positive results. Not only has there been no readiness to give up the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative, but work on that project has been speeded up. The development, production, testing and deployment of space strike weapons will make impossible the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and will, on the whole, accelerate the pace of the arms race in all areas and increase the danger of nuclear war.

The question of preventing an arms race in outer space has literally become decisive for the fate of mankind. The acid test of realism or adventurism in the approach to resolving the key issues of peace and war is precisely the attitude adopted towards that question.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

In the face of the growing threat, the Soviet Union has taken an important step. It has proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations an item entitled "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space in conditions of its non-militarization". The response of the United States was the first military testing of an anti-satellite weapon. It is worth recalling that in August 1983 the USSR announced its decision not be the first to launch an anti-satellite weapon in outer space.

A new, decisive and bold step by the USSR was its unilateral suspension of all nuclear explosions and its call upon the United States side to follow its example. Testimony to the exceptional significance and timeliness of the Soviet moratorium is the considerable response with which it has been met throughout the world. An opportunity appeared for the joint implementation of a concrete and effective measure aimed at curbing the nuclear-arms race. Once again, however, the answer was a peculiar one of further nuclear explosions.

I think that the contrast between the actions of the two sides is evident. Constructive initiatives and concrete actions, rather than empty statements of good intentions and peaceableness, are needed for the removal of the nuclear peril. It is precisely at such concrete actions that the proposals of the USSR and the other Socialist countries are directed. Included among them are the initiatives for the assumption by all nuclear-weapon States of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, for a nuclear-weapon freeze, for a total ban on the testing of such weapons and for nuclear disarmament.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms the position of the socialist countries that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of Europe and in other parts of the world would greatly contribute to lessening the

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

nuclear danger. It is within this context that one should also consider our efforts for turning the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The achievement of positive results on the other disarmament issues as well is of great importance for curbing the dangerous and ruinous arms race. We are convinced that with good will and persistent efforts by all States a total ban on chemical, radiological and a number of other weapons could be achieved. The proposal that the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic made to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe is yet another example of the presence of such good will on the part of the socialist countries. However, such actions as the decision to manufacture binary chemical weapons, coupled with plans for their deployment in Europe, raise most serious obstacles to the reaching of an agreement on this question.

Measures must also be taken to limit and reduce conventional armaments. A matter of serious concern is the escalating race in naval armaments and the increased naval presence and activities which directly endanger the security of many countries, peaceful navigation and the exploitation of the world's oceans. It is our firm conviction that the time has come for honest, businesslike and constructive talks which could lead to the concluding of mutually acceptable agreements. On this basis, Bulgaria will again submit a draft resolution on this question at the current session.

We can state with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of States in the world resolutely oppose the arms race and the growing threat of war and are sincerely striving for lasting peace.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly appreciates the contribution of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to the cause of maintaining peace, of ending the arms race and of achieving disarmament. Bulgaria's positive attitude towards the

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

Joint Declaration of the six Heads of State and Government is yet another confirmation of our readiness to strengthen our co-operation and unity of action with all countries in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Another positive factor is the growing involvement of the broadest circles of the international community in questions of peace and disarmament. Their will has become a factor which can no longer be disregarded in establishing the policies of States on these vitally important questions.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

The mobilization of world public opinion in support of disarmament efforts has become an important part of United Nations activities. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the World Disarmament Campaign.

When speaking of disarmament questions, we must stress that in no circumstances must we allow the positive results achieved in the 1960s and 1970s to be undermined. It is in the interests of all countries that those results should be reaffirmed and strengthened. A positive example of this was the recent Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The elimination of hotbeds of tension and conflict in various parts of the world is also of vital importance to peace, together with the struggle to avert the nuclear threat. It must be noted that certain imperialist circles, for the sake of their selfish strategic goals, continue to flout the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, interfere flagrantly in the internal affairs of sovereign States, resort to political pressure and economic blackmail, and employ the methods of State terrorism. Striking examples are the aggressive actions against Nicaragua, the threats against Cuba, and the armed interventions in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It would be in the security interest of all countries for such policies and practices in relations among States be halted forthwith.

Particularly dangerous for international peace are the hotbeds of tension and conflict which for so many years have been smouldering or actually flaring up one after another, taking their toll of innocent life. This applies, first and foremost, to the conflict in the Middle East. The situation in that region continues to be explosive. Encouraged by its "strategic ally", Israel has not

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

ceased its aggressive actions against Lebanon, as well as against the Palestinian people, and continues its illegal occupation of Arab territories. In our opinion, a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be brought about only through the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish an independent State, and the guaranteeing of the right of all countries in the region to exist in conditions of peace and security. Such a peace can be achieved only through collective efforts within the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

There must also be an end to the war between Iran and Iraq, and the controversial issues existing between the two countries must be settled through negotiations.*

It is becoming increasingly urgent to find a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem by ensuring the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, and the dismantling of foreign military bases, while respecting the interests of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The unabating tension in Central America continues to cause serious concern. There is a growing threat of open military intervention against Nicaragua. We support the proposals of the Sandinista Government and their readiness for talks

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

with the United States of America, as well as the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group to find a political solution to the conflict without outside interference.

Bulgaria supports the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea and the peaceful, democratic unification of that country.

The present tense international situation requires even more active efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. Fifteen years after its adoption, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security continues to point to the right way to undertake concerted efforts to establish an effective system of collective security.

Many regional proposals have created considerable opportunities for the strengthening of international security. In Europe, through the collective efforts of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation, the groundwork has been laid for détente, which has demonstrated its indisputable advantages and benefits for all. The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki confirmed its viability and its great importance for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of co-operation in Europe. The conclusion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe with meaningful results would make a substantial contribution to the cause of détente on the continent and throughout the world. A good basis for this are the proposals put forward by the socialist countries, such as those for the conclusion of a treaty embodying a mutual agreement on the non-use of military force, for the conducting of negotiations on freezing and reduction of military expenditure, and so forth.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

Objective conditions exist for the strengthening of security in Asia. The basis for this has been laid by the USSR proposal for the working out of a joint comprehensive approach to the security problems of that continent. Equally topical now are the proposals of the Indo-China countries designed to enhance stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, the proposals by the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, India and other States of the region. The implementation of those proposals, and of the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, is in keeping with the interests not only of the people of Asia but of all peoples in the world.

The United Nations should complete its work of eradicating colonialism. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should serve as an incentive for resolute action to terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa, grant independence to the Namibian people and eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism. We support the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and call for the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We categorically condemn the aggressive actions of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola and other States in that region.

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

The latest events in South Africa unequivocally reveal the profound crisis gripping the Pretoria régime - one which, with the support of its protectors, survives only through terror and violence. It is high time that the criminal system of apartheid in South Africa was ended. We categorically condemn this policy and vigorously call for the imposition by the United Nations of mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Tensions in the political area are also accompanied by the intensification of negative processes in the sphere of international economic relations. Fundamental principles of international economic co-operation are being increasingly violated. Sanctions, blackmail, threats, diktat, embargoes, trade restrictions, and so on, are being used for essentially political purposes. The question of restoring confidence in international relations, including international economic relations, and of solving existing grave economic, financial and social problems in the developing countries has now become an urgent matter.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria views with understanding the problems of developing countries that are struggling for economic independence. The causes of the serious difficulties they continue to encounter are rooted in the colonial past of these countries, in the continuing dependence of their economies and the neo-colonial exploitation of their material and human resources. The developing countries have been adversely affected by the "open door" policy to foreign capital forced upon them by the developed capitalist States and their monopolies, as well as by the practice of protectionism and restrictions and the attempts to exploit the difficulties of the developing countries for the purpose of their economic and financial enslavement. The intensifying of neo-colonial exploitation has been most strikingly demonstrated in the sphere of international financial and credit relations. The problem of foreign debt has emerged in recent years as one of the main destabilizing factors within the system of international monetary and

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

financial relations of capitalism. This grave and pressing problem can and must be solved by means of a radical restructuring of the system itself.

My country has repeatedly expressed its support for the basic documents of the United Nations relating to the establishment of a new international economic order. Together with the other member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Bulgaria has been unremitting in its efforts to promote equitable and mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological co-operation in relations between East and West, as well as with all States, including developing countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has made a worthy contribution to United Nations activities designed to foster broad international co-operation in the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Bulgaria has also contributed to the accomplishments of the United Nations in the social area, including the holding of the International Youth Year and the United Nations Decade for Women.

At the same time we consider that even more active and resolute action is necessary for the elimination of the mass and flagrant violations of human rights in various parts of the world.

In conclusion I should like to stress that the solving of global problems, such as the elimination of economic underdevelopment, hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy and others, is closely related to the strengthening of peace and security and to the cessation of the arms race, something that would release vast resources for improving the living conditions of every individual and the whole of mankind.

December of this year will mark the thirtieth anniversary of the admission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to membership of the United Nations. For us this is an occasion once again to state that our country, together with the other

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

countries of the socialist community, will continue to pursue an active and consistent policy designed to strengthen international peace and security and to further co-operation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the entire world.

This policy of ours was recently reaffirmed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, who stated:

"We have pointed out on many occasions that, given the existence of opposing social systems, the only sensible basis for building international relations are the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. We support the efforts of all those who are seeking and are prepared to seek ways of removing the threat of nuclear war and ways of expanding international co-operation in the interests of all peoples on Earth."

Mr. WU Xueqian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): At the outset I should like warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly and to wish you every success, in your highly responsible post.

I wish also to take this opportunity to express my thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Lusaka, for his contribution to the work of the last session, for which he has won the respect of all of us.

Being convened during celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the present session is more significant than the previous ones. The United Nations is the outcome of victory in the world war against fascism. The United Nations Charter laid down the purposes and principles for maintaining world peace, suppressing acts of aggression, ensuring international security, promoting international co-operation, respecting the equality of nations, large and small, settling international disputes by peaceful means and refraining from interfering in the internal affairs of any State. Facts show that these

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

purposes and principles established 40 years ago are still of great immediate significance for the just handling of the problems facing the world today. The purpose of solemnly commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is to reaffirm the unalterable principles of the United Nations Charter and further strengthen the functions of the United Nations so that it may play a greater role in the noble cause of maintaining world peace and increasing international co-operation.

In the past 40 years tremendous changes have taken place in the international situation and the world as a whole. The vigorous movement for national independence has made colonialism a thing of the past as a system. A number of countries have taken the road of socialist development. The emergence of the third world and the numerous small and medium-sized countries on the world political arena has brought a fundamental change to the pattern of international relations. With the rapid development of modern science and technology, mankind has achieved successes beyond the imagination of the past generations in the effort to conquer nature, expand productive forces and enhance its own welfare and has broadened the vistas of a better future before it.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

The changes of the post-War world are reflected in the changing United Nations. The emergence of many newly-independent countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania and the consequent big increase in the membership of the United Nations have strengthened the universality of the Organization. Despite the twists and turns the United Nations has gone through, we should on the whole give a positive appraisal of its efforts for peace, international co-operation and the greater well-being of mankind. We congratulate the United Nations on its achievements over the past 40 years and are ready to work with all other Member States to strengthen the role of the Organization.

Compared with the preceding year there are certain signs of relaxation in the world situation. But the root cause of tension remains. There is a universal desire for a genuine relaxation of international tension. To this end it is imperative to stop the arms race and seek fair and reasonable solutions to regional conflicts. Here, I should like to speak on those two issues.

In the past four decades, discussions on disarmament have been going on every year, both inside and outside the United Nations. Regrettably, the arms race has never ceased for a single moment. On the contrary, it has kept escalating. That is an undeniable historical fact. One may ask several questions: How many nuclear weapons were there in the world in 1963 when the partial nuclear-test-ban Treaty was signed? How many nuclear weapons were there in 1972 when the interim United States-Soviet agreement on strategic arms limitation was signed? And how many more nuclear weapons are there today as compared with 20 years ago? The number of strategic nuclear warheads alone has increased several times. This trend cannot but cause general concern. The arms race cannot possibly be a unilateral affair. Although both sides have claimed only to maintain parity, each is in fact bent on gaining supremacy over the other. When one side declares that it has fallen behind and must catch up, the other side will do likewise on the same excuse. This

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

inevitably leads to an alternating escalation of their arms race. In order to change the long-standing situation in the arms race, in which each side tries to outdo the other, it is imperative for the two nuclear Powers that possess 95 per cent of the world's nuclear weapons earnestly to consider taking the lead in drastically reducing their nuclear arsenals. They will still have enough left to destroy each other even if their nuclear arsenals are cut by half, let alone by a quarter. It must be pointed out that the arms race between the super-Powers has been extended from land, sea and air to outer space. If this trend of large-scale qualitative escalation is allowed to continue unchecked, it is bound to increase the danger of war and to pose a grave threat to world peace.

We welcome the resumption of disarmament talks in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two countries will also hold a summit meeting in the near future. It is hoped that through serious talks they will reach a practical and effective agreement without prejudice to third countries. Of course, it would be unrealistic to pin our hopes for peace on their talks only.

In view of the grave threat to world peace posed by the continued escalation of the arms race and in view of the strong desire of the people of the world for nuclear and conventional disarmament, the Chinese delegation wishes to put forward to the General Assembly the following four-point proposal:

First, in order to reduce the danger of a nuclear war and to create the conditions for the complete elimination of that danger, all nuclear States - and the two big nuclear Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in particular - should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons in any circumstances and should unconditionally pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States or against nuclear-free zones. Proceeding on such a basis, an international convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons should be concluded with the participation of all nuclear States.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

Secondly, in order to avert the possible escalation of a conventional war into a nuclear war in areas with a high concentration of nuclear and conventional weapons, the two military blocs - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty organization - should reach an agreement as early as possible on the drastic reduction of their conventional weapons.

Thirdly, outer space belongs to all mankind and ought to be used for peaceful purposes for the benefit of all. The United States and the Soviet Union should immediately stop the arms race in all its forms in outer space. All countries with a space capability should refrain from developing, testing or deploying outer space weaponry. An international agreement on the complete prohibition and destruction of outer space weaponry should be concluded as soon as possible.

Fourthly, in view of the fact that the arms race in the development of chemical weapons has not been checked, the 40-nation Geneva Conference on Disarmament is called upon to complete its negotiations at an early date and to conclude a convention on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons. Pending that, all countries capable of manufacturing and producing chemical weapons should stop testing, producing, transferring and deploying chemical weapons and should pledge not to use such weapons.

The aforesaid points are all reasonable measures for resolving the most pressing issues of our time. We hope that the above proposal will be considered by the General Assembly in the interest of promoting disarmament and a relaxation of international tension.

China's position on disarmament is clear and firm. We are resolutely opposed to the arms race and stand for practical and effective measures to reduce armaments. China's military expenditure has long been kept at a low level. Although there has been a fairly rapid growth in China's economy in recent years, its military expenditure has not increased correspondingly.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

The few nuclear weapons China possesses and the limited number of nuclear tests it has conducted are solely for the purpose of self-defence. On the very first day we came into possession of a nuclear force, we declared that China would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. China has also undertaken not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States or nuclear-free zones.

Not long ago, China decided to reduce the size of its military force by 1 million. Part of China's military industry is being shifted to civilian production so as to meet the increasing daily needs of our people.

We have demonstrated our desire for peace and our policy of peace with actual deeds.*

*Mr. Kiilu (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

The existence of hot spots is an important source of world tension and turbulence. Where there are hot spots, there is a danger of expanded conflicts and crises and they deprive large parts of the world of tranquillity. How to end conflicts and remove hot spots is a concern of us all. We are in favour of political settlement, but political settlement can only be achieved through peaceful negotiations on a fair and reasonable basis. In other words, there must be full respect for the sovereignty and independence of countries and strict observance of the international principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of any other country. Professed readiness for a political settlement with the intent to impose on others a fait accompli created by aggression, expansion and interference is nothing but a fraud. The Chinese Government has always maintained that international disputes should be settled through peaceful negotiations on an equal footing, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, without resort to the use or threat of force.

The Kampuchean question remains a matter of concern to the international community. While expanding the war in Kampuchea and incessantly violating the borders of Thailand and China, Viet Nam has resorted to political tricks by using "political settlement" as a means to split and destroy the Kampuchean patriotic forces one by one. But this attempt cannot possibly succeed. The tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk, has closed its ranks and persevered in the struggle against the aggressors, winning extensive support from the international community.

China is firmly opposed to Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea and any big Power's support for such acts of aggression. In our view, the key to the solution of the Kampuchean issue is the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from that country. The so-called complete withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea by 1990 is a

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

sheer hoax, the aim of which is to eliminate the resistance forces and perpetuate Viet Nam's control over Kampuchea. China sincerely hopes that Kampuchea will become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. We appreciate the position taken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in support of the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression, for national salvation and in the search for a just solution to the Kampuchean question. The proposal for a Kampuchean solution put forward by the recent ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting is reasonable, as are the position and steps taken by Democratic Kampuchea in regard to the present situation. Viet Nam should make a positive response to all this if it really wants a solution.

The Afghan issue is in essence one of armed aggression against, intervention in and occupation of a non-aligned country by large numbers of troops dispatched by a super-Power, which have not only grossly trampled on the norms guiding international relations but also posed a grave threat to the peace and security of neighbouring regions. We condemn the intensifying military suppression of the Afghan people and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. We support the efforts made by the parties concerned to bring about a just solution to the Afghan question in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

We resolutely support the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and strongly demand Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. We maintain that all countries in the Middle East are entitled to exercise the right to independence and existence. We support the Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization in their efforts to strengthen their unity and to attain their national goals through political negotiation and by other means. We are in favour of holding an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations so as to seek a just and

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

comprehensive solution to the Middle East question and bring about peace in the region.

We are opposed to any outside intervention in the affairs of the Central American countries. The internal problems of Central American countries should be solved by the people of the respective countries. We support the Contadora Group in its continued efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement of Central American problems and hope that the parties concerned will take practical steps and hold consultations on an equal footing so as to ease the tension in the region.

Recently, the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated drastically. In defiance of opposition from the international public, the South African authorities have clung stubbornly to the system of apartheid and racial discrimination, openly declaring a state of emergency in some towns and cities, in ruthless suppression of the black people.

They have set up an interim government in Namibia to obstruct its independence and intensified their acts of aggression and provocation against neighbouring countries. That racism and apartheid should exist now, in the 1980s, is a disgrace to mankind. We indignantly condemn the South African authorities for their crimes perpetuating racist rule, bloodily suppressing the black people in South Africa and wilfully invading and threatening neighbouring States.

We sternly demand that the South African authorities immediately abolish the so-called interim government they have rigged up in Namibia and terminate their illegal occupation of the country so that it may attain independence at the earliest possible date, in compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We will, as always, unswervingly support the South African people in their struggle against racism, the Namibian people in their struggle for national independence and the other peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for national security, peace and stability.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

We support the proposal put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea - namely, the establishment of a confederate republic with two coexistent systems and the holding of parliamentary talks between the North and the South, as well as tripartite talks. United States troops should be withdrawn from South Korea. We support dialogue between the north and the south and appreciate all efforts conducive to the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula.

While discussing the danger of war in the current international situation, we must not lose sight of the growth and development of forces for peace.

For the sake of survival and development, the third-world countries, whose aggregate population accounts for three quarters of the world's total, resolutely oppose war and the arms race, and demand world peace.

Many member States of the East and West military blocs, having suffered the catastrophe of two world wars, are unwilling to be dragged into another war.

The many small and medium-sized countries in Asia, Oceania and Europe do not want war. They demand independent and equal participation in international affairs and oppose big-Power domination of the world.

Hundreds of millions of people in the world, including intellectuals, artists, scientists and religious leaders of different races and creeds, all hate war and desire peace. Engaging in different forms of activity against the arms race and the threat of a nuclear war, they constitute a mighty and irresistible force for peace.

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

In a word, the people are the motive force of history and the masters of the world. They will take their destiny into their own hands. Popular desire for peace is the general trend of the world. Whoever undermines peace by resorting to an arms race and the threat of war will be opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people. Drawing a bitter lesson from the Second World War, they are determined to take preventive measures against the possible danger and avoid the recurrence of the historical disaster. Both the nuclear super-Powers have overkill capabilities and neither of them can afford to ignore the calamitous consequences of a nuclear war for itself. Therefore, so long as the people of all countries continue their efforts, persevere in struggle and develop the peace forces against war, there are good hopes for the maintenance of world peace.

Development is a major issue closely related to world peace. World economic development has been characterized by growing imbalance and instability in recent years as a result of the widening economic gap between the developed and the developing countries. At present, many countries still face grave economic difficulties. Latin America groans under a crushing debt burden. Africa is not only plagued with drought and famine but also beset by the debt problem. And Asia is suffering greatly from trade protectionism. Moreover, they are generally faced with lack of development funds, a fall in the prices of raw materials and primary products and sharp fluctuation in the money and financial markets. All this greatly hinders the growth of the developing countries.

Since achieving political independence, the developing countries have scored marked successes and accumulated valuable experience in their strenuous endeavour to develop the national economy. Facts have shown that the important point for the third-world countries is how to formulate a development strategy suited to their actual conditions so as to alleviate the current economic difficulties and ensure a steady economic growth. As an old Chinese saying has it, "Poverty gives rise to a

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

desire for change and change will work out a way leading to success and success tends to hold out." The developing countries should be able to lift themselves out of their backwardness. They have rich natural resources and industrious people who desire development. Provided they bring into play all positive factors, tap their own potentials and take part actively in South-South co-operation, they can gradually overcome their difficulties in the course of development.

Of course, the development of the third world is not a matter of concern to the third world alone. The international community should take effective measures to create an international economic climate favourable to the economic development of the third world. In a highly interrelated world, the economic stability and growth of the developed countries cannot be based on the stagnation and poverty of the developing countries. The existing international economic order is evidently out of step with the changed world economic and political pattern. To change it into a fair and just economic order benefiting the people of all countries is the call of our time. Besides, the economic stability and development of the South are an important factor making for world peace and stability. The developed countries should be farsighted enough to proceed from the overall interests of the world and give serious attention to the question of the North-South relations. At present, it is imperative in particular to take effective measures in favour of the developing countries by alleviating their debt burden, lowering interest rates, opening markets and providing them with funds and increased economic and technological assistance.

In the international economic field, trade, money, finance and debt are interrelated. It is necessary for the international community to seek a composite solution to these pressing issues facing the world economy. The United Nations and other international organizations should step up their role of co-ordination in improving North-South relations. China supports North-South dialogue and

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

South-South co-operation in the hope that the joint efforts of North and South will lead to a stable and balanced development of the world economy.

Here we wish to mention in particular the critical state of the African economy. The 21st Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity, held not long ago, gave expression to the eager desire of the African countries for closer unity and co-operation and the revitalization of the African economy. We call on the international community and especially the developed countries to do their part in helping the African countries overcome their economic difficulties and improve their economic position.

China is both a socialist country and the largest developing country in the world. We have achieved great successes in all fields since the founding of the People's Republic of China 36 years ago. However, prolonged efforts are required before we can thoroughly eliminate backwardness in China and turn our large country of 1 billion people into a modern socialist country with Chinese characteristics. We are carrying out an economic reform to invigorate the domestic economy and open the country to the outside world. This is a great experiment. Experience in our reform over the past few years gives us full confidence in its success. To attain our goal we need peace not only for the rest of this century but in the next century as well.

In international affairs, we pursue an independent foreign policy of peace namely: we oppose hegemonism and maintain world peace; strengthen China's solidarity and co-operation with the rest of the third world and support the other third-world countries in their just struggles to safeguard their sovereignty and independence and develop their national economies; develop normal relations with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence irrespective of the differences or similarities in their social systems as compared with that of China; do not enter into alliance or strategic relationship with any

(Mr. Wu Xueqian, China)

big Power or line up with one against another; make our own independent judgement on international issues; and support whatever is in the interest of world peace, international co-operation and common development and oppose whatever is not.

Proceeding from the fundamental interests of the Chinese people, China's independent foreign policy of peace is also in the fundamental interests of the people of the whole world. Fully aware of our responsibility and weight in international affairs, we are determined to do all we can to help relax tension, maintain world peace and promote international co-operation. China will never do anything detrimental to world peace. We will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, nor seek spheres of influence or practice hegemonism. This is, and will remain, our position. China is a factor making for peace and stability. It is our hope that, with the growth of its economy and strength, China will be able to contribute more to the cause of peace and human progress.

Peace, co-operation and development are our goals. They are also our earnest aspirations, which we wish to reaffirm to the whole world on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The Chinese Government and people are determined to make sustained and joint efforts together with the peoples of other countries for the realization of these lofty aspirations.

Mr. IMAYAH (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Jaime de Piniés my sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that, thanks to his long diplomatic experience in this important international forum and to his outstanding qualities, he will no doubt contribute to the success of this session on which our peoples pin great hopes.

I should also like to extend our appreciation to Ambassador Lusaka, for his judicious conduct of the work of the last session.

Before going into the substance of my statement, I must refer to the earthquakes which have devastated the friendly country of Mexico and which have deeply touched us. We were shocked by the tragedy that ensued in their wake and by the magnitude of the human and material losses incurred by the Mexican people. We cannot but express sincere sympathy and solidarity with the Government and the people of Mexico, while at the same time calling for the provision of urgent international assistance to tackle the effects of this disaster.

The special significance of this session stems from the fact that it coincides with the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and also with the passage of 40 years since the victory, after a devastating war, over the forces of fascism and nazism. This occasion should inspire us to reflect on the objectives of the United Nations and on the noble principles included in its Charter, and to examine its successes and failures, to renew our commitment to its Charter and resolutions, and to give it the vitality and the effectiveness necessary to achieve its primary aim of the maintenance of international peace and security. It is in its vitality that our security lies and its effectiveness enhances our existence and preserves our integrity.

The United Nations has become an indispensable basic factor in international relations. Although it has not achieved its objectives in full, it has laid down

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

great values and ideals which cannot be ignored. It has become the champion of oppressed peoples and of the sovereignty and independence of small countries. The United Nations is based on the principle of equal sovereignty among all States, large and small, rich and poor, and on the achievement of justice and peace for all peoples.

During its existence the United Nations has accomplished much, most notably the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are celebrating this year, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has championed the interests of peoples in decolonization and in the establishment of a new international economic order.

Regrettably, there are obstacles impeding the work of the Organization and paralysing its effectiveness. In his most recent report on the work of the Organization and on numerous other occasions the Secretary-General has touched upon this question. We support any action which would enhance the role of the United Nations and increase its effectiveness.

It has often been argued that the crisis of this Organization lies in the practices of those Member States that give precedence to their own narrow self-interests. Thus, might replaces right and the narrow approach becomes an alternative to wisdom and far-sightedness. Those Member States adopt positions that run counter to the interests of peoples and to their legitimate aspirations to peace, disarmament, stability and an independent choice in their path towards development.

The forces of imperialism - especially the United States of America, which abuses the right of veto in the Security Council - exercise all forms of oppression, terrorism and political, economic and military blackmail in order to

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

tighten their grip on the peoples and States and their resources, exploiting the difficult situation of some countries to push through their colonialist schemes, to paralyse the effectiveness of international and regional organizations and even to attempt their elimination.

The enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations for the achievement of peace, security, justice and development calls for the adoption of effective measures to contribute to the improvement of international economic and political relations in the interest of enhancing international peace and the advancement of mankind. We must fully realize the increased interdependence of States and the fact that there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, détente and co-operation among States, on the basis of equality, regardless of their military and economic power, their social and political systems, their size and their geographical position. We must also affirm our categorical condemnation of State terrorism as a way of conducting policy and see to it that those States refrain from undertaking any action aimed at changing or undermining the social and political systems of other States by force or in order to destabilize their Governments and overthrow them.

Our world today is fraught with tension and instability. The question of disarmament has become a vital factor making it imperative for all of us to struggle for its realization in order to prevent the risk of a nuclear holocaust. The United States of America has demonstrated its intransigence and openly defied all international appeals and decisions aimed at bridling the arms race and at achieving general and complete disarmament and the easing of international tension. It has not responded positively to constructive initiatives and proposals made in this regard; rather, it persists in its policy of aggravating the situation and of militarization of outer space with the so-called Star Wars scenario, thus

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

disregarding the initiatives aimed at freezing the deployment of missiles, the commitment to the non-use of nuclear weapons, the unilateral halting of all nuclear-weapons tests and other constructive initiatives made by the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

We hope that these proposals will be met by similar practical steps by the United States of America and the other nuclear-weapon States, so that an end may be put to the dangerous escalation in the build-up of nuclear arsenals.

We are all looking forward to the forthcoming summit meeting between General-Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. We are hoping for positive results, in the interest of the alleviation of existing international tensions and the elimination of hotbeds of tension.

On our planet there are areas that are constant hotbeds of tension which threaten international peace and security. We are aware of the significance of the Middle East region and the magnitude of the tension prevailing there. Various United Nations resolutions have emphasized that the question of Palestine is the core of the problem in the region and that there can be no comprehensive and just solution without complete withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, including its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State on its national soil. But Zionism and imperialism are scheming to circumvent these requirements and the relevant resolutions, with a view to imposing unilateral, partial and capitulatory solutions - solutions that have already proved that they can only fail.

The United States of America, which claims for itself the role of mediator in the conflict, is in fact the strategic ally of Israel, which it provides with all kinds of economic, military and political assistance to strengthen Israel's policy of aggression based on racism and expansionism and to consecrate its occupation of the Arab territories and pursue its inhuman policies of oppression against the Palestinian Arab people.

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

The Zionist régime has increased its intransigence, further displacing and uprooting Palestinians, establishing new settlements, seizing the territory of Palestinians by force, blowing up their houses, closing colleges and universities, and trying to eliminate the Palestinian identity. The policy of imperialism is aimed at the generalization of the Camp David approach and the imposition of the Reagan plan and other, similar capitulatory plans.

For all these reasons, the international community must continue its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and to pursue its efforts for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on an equal footing, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Arab Fez plan.

We hope that Lebanon will achieve peace, security, and stability, through agreement by the national parties, while reaffirming its sovereignty, independence, Arab character and territorial integrity. There must be withdrawal from the occupied Arab territory in conformity with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

It causes us great anguish to see the Iran-Iraq war still raging, contrary to the interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq. The escalation of that war can only serve the forces of imperialism, which exploit these circumstances as a pretext for intervention. We hope that mediation efforts will succeed in finding a comprehensive and just solution, through peaceful means, so that the two peoples and the entire region may enjoy peace, security and stability.

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

Democratic Yemen, as a littoral State of the Indian Ocean, is gravely concerned at the increasing risks and grave developments being experienced by the Indian Ocean region, and at the escalation of tension there resulting from the increased United States military build-up in the region. This intensifies the arms race in the region and affects peace and stability there, as well as international peace and security. We state again our conviction that the adoption of concrete measures to achieve the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace will make a great contribution to the elimination of the risks besetting the region and will enhance the prospects for peace and stability there. We hope that the international conference on the Indian Ocean will be held during the first part of next year, 1986, especially since that is a practical and necessary step towards the early implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We call for the renewal of constructive efforts towards the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration.

The grave, indeed volatile, situation in southern Africa emphasizes the need to double the efforts of the United Nations and the international community to eradicate the criminal policy of apartheid and to achieve genuine independence for Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as well as to enable the people of South Africa to exercise its legitimate right to freedom. We salute the people of South Africa for the heroic struggle they are waging and, at the same time, we express again our full support for the struggle of the African peoples in southern Africa and their national liberation movements, especially the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people in its just struggle against racial discrimination, oppression and occupation. We vehemently condemn all the forms of arbitrary aggression perpetrated by the racist South African régime against the peoples of southern Africa. We call for an end to the state of emergency and for

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

the release of all political detainees and freedom-fighters from the prisons of South Africa; foremost among them is Nelson Mandela. We condemn all racist policies and internal settlements pursued by the racist régime, and we emphasize our support for Angola and the other African front-line States in their resistance to aggression and acts of sabotage and economic boycott. We call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The policy of "constructive engagement" pursued by the United States of America can only encourage the racist régime to consecrate and intensify its policy of aggression and racism.

The alliance between the Pretoria régime and the Tel Aviv régime, with United States support and assistance, reveals the true nature of the two régimes as they pursue their policies of oppression and aggression against the Arab and African peoples. A further complication is the co-operation of the Pretoria-Tel Aviv alliance in the military field, and especially the nuclear field, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolution.

We believe in the right of peoples to self-determination, and we therefore emphasize the need to implement the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations General Assembly in relation to the people of Western Sahara, through the initiation of direct negotiations between the Government of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front.

The blatant imperialist intervention has spread to other independent countries. Thus, the United States Administration is pursuing its aggressive approach in its attempts to overthrow nationalist régimes in Latin America. It is resorting to all kinds of means, from economic and military blockades to the recruitment, training and financing of mercenaries against Cuba and Nicaragua, in particular.

(Mr. Irayah, Democratic Yemen)

It is hatching conspiracies and financing sabotage against democratic Afghanistan and people's Kampuchea, thus threatening their security and obstructing their right to choose the course of independent development. We condemn these acts of aggression.

We stand by the people of Cyprus in their call for the elimination of military bases and the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. We reject the policy of imposing faits accomplis through unilateral action, and we hope that the mediation between the Greek and Turkish communities will be successful.

We express our support for the proposals of democratic Korea on the withdrawal of American forces from South Korea, the peaceful reunification of Korea and the holding of negotiations in the interests of security and stability in the Korean peninsula.

The peoples of the United Nations decided 40 years ago to promote social development, to raise the standard of living in broader freedom and to use the international machinery in the promotion of all international and economic questions. Today the developing countries are suffering socio-economic crises which are causing great damage. These are mainly due to the adherence of the capitalist industrialized countries to colonialist methods in dealing with the developing countries, which has led to the deterioration of international commercial and economic relations.

The problem of foreign debt is in the forefront of the many economic problems plaguing the developing countries. The magnitude of the foreign debts and the debt-servicing burden has had extremely serious adverse effects by wiping out the totality of the development revenues of the developing countries. This foreign debt crisis has created a paradox by transforming the developing countries into net exporters of capital to financial institutions and private banks in the

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

capitalist industrialized countries. In view of the worsening of the foreign debt crisis, we believe that it is essential for the financial institutions and international commercial banks to agree to just solutions to the problem of foreign debts by rescheduling in keeping with the financial and economic capabilities of the developing countries and in such a way as not to impede the implementation of their national development programmes as called for at the Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held recently in Luanda, Angola.

The developing countries have expressed in several economic and political forums their view that the international economic crisis is a comprehensive structural crisis which has affected all fields of the present international, commercial, financial and economic order. They have also defined the reasons for the crisis, which include, inter alia, the failure of the capitalist industrialized countries to pursue justice in international economic relations.

In this regard, the developing countries have indicated that the unilateral approach of those industrialized countries to dealing with the economic crisis is not in keeping with the reality of economic interdependence and is characterized by monopolistic greed in plundering the resources of the developing countries and thwarting their legitimate aspirations by impeding their national development programmes designed to complete the building of their economic structures and independence. We refer the Assembly to the many protectionist policies pursued by certain capitalist countries, the imposition of obstacles to the exports of the developing countries and the reduction of official development assistance from the ratios agreed upon when the Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade was adopted. In short, my country feels that the only way to get out of the present economic crisis is to provide an impetus for the launching of global negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order in

(Mr. Imayah, Democratic Yemen)

accordance with the objective parameters defined by developing countries in numerous international forums.

Democratic Yemen, as one of the least developed countries, is pursuing its social and economic development amidst extremely difficult conditions. The main obstacle to national development is the paucity of both human and natural resources. Moreover, the small area under cultivation and the irregular supply of water inhibit our efforts to enlarge the agricultural sector, which is the most important development sector in our country. Despite these obstacles, Democratic Yemen is exerting increasing efforts to improve the standard of living of its citizens and to satisfy the need for social welfare and health care. We were gratified by the positive results we achieved last year in the comprehensive campaign to eradicate illiteracy. Moreover, we are at present trying to formulate studies and programmes to implement the third five-year social and economic development plan, for the period 1986-1990, in continuance of the efforts to enhance comprehensive national development.

Our country is at present in the midst of preparing for the third general conference of the Yemen Socialist Party, which leads the process of social, economic and political change on the basis of our position of principle of building a new society and consolidating security and stability in our region through the strengthening of normal, peaceful relations with neighbouring States, based on mutual respect, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and mutual interest.

We hope that this significant session will open new, broad avenues towards strengthening the role and effectiveness of this international Organization, towards a world wherein confidence, co-operation, friendship among peoples, peace and welfare will prevail.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.