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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 7 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)
later: Mr. MARINESCU (Vice-President) (Romania)
later: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Mangwende (Zimbabwe)
Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia)
Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain)
Mr. Vega Imbert (Dominican Republic)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MANGWENDE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, I wish to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the historic fortieth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your now legendary wide diplomatic experience and wisdom will guide this important fortieth session of the General Assembly to a fruitful conclusion of its work. I should like to assure you, Sir, of my delegation's co-operation in your effort to carry out your arduous duties and to fulfil your heavy responsibilities.

At the same time we would like to express our appreciation to the President of the thirty-ninth session of this Assembly, our brother Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, for the efficient and businesslike manner in which he conducted the affairs of the last session.

Finally, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in search of peace and for the excellent practical interpretation of the meaning of the United Nations which he demonstrated in the past year to millions of the hungry and homeless of the world. Such a successful concrete manifestation of guided collective efforts in solving international humanitarian problems as we witnessed in the past year augurs well for the future and is ample justification for the continued existence of this Organization.

Allow me at this juncture to express the profound grief of the people and Government of Zimbabwe over the tragedy that befell the brother people of Mexico during the past month. We offer our most heartfelt condolences and convey our feelings of solidarity to the people and Government of Mexico during these sad times.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

This year's report of the Secretary-General (A/40/1), like those of previous years, provides us with ideas and facts, both disturbing and encouraging; pinpoints and analyses the flaws and strengths of our Organization from its corporate body to its separate organs; warns against deviations from the original purposes and principles of our Organization, in particular against the drift towards unilateralism, isolationism and protectionism to the exclusion and at the expense of collectivism, internationalism and multilateralism; and advises on some courses of action to repair damages to and restore confidence and hope in the Organizations' capabilities and potentialities. It is our fervent hope that this report and the declaration to be adopted during this fortieth anniversary celebration will be seriously studied and a mechanism will be set up to explore modalities for implementing some of the suggestions that could strengthen our Organization.

At the end of the Second World War 40 years ago, the world was faced with cities in ruins and economies in shambles, millions of refugees and displaced people, millions of orphans and disabled men and women, and with millions of people under colonial domination and oppression. Out of these ashes of despair, the United Nations was born as a symbol of faith and hope in a future where all nations, large and small, would be free to take collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace; a future in which free nations would "... develop friendly relations ... based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ..." and a future where there would be "... international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character ...".

I advisedly recall the above purposes of this Organization. Similarly,

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

I advisedly recall the following principles of this Organization: the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members; the principle that all Members should fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter; the principle that States, in settling their international disputes, shall not endanger international peace and security and justice; and the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

These were considered the sine qua non basic purposes and principles necessary for the creation and maintenance of peace and for conducting civilized, legal international relations. Forty years after the war, the relatively long and unprecedented period of peace, during and because of which the world has witnessed a significant economic recovery and expansion, great scientific and political developments, and an increase in the awareness and enjoyment of human rights, the world is facing yet another danger, the danger resulting from man's cynicism about the capability of the United Nations to live up to the expectations that are set out in the purposes and principles of the Charter. The cynics point to the conflicts in Korea, Viet Nam, and more recently, in Central America and the Middle East, to the Iran-Iraq war, to the conflicts in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and to the problems of Namibia, South Africa's abhorrent apartheid system, and so forth.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The list of failures includes the continuing arms race and spread of nuclear weapons development capability outside the so-called nuclear club, the withdrawal and threats of withdrawal from some international organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), non-accession to or non-ratification by some States of a majority of the human rights Conventions; countless violations of the United Nations Charter and decisions; the repeated use of the veto deliberately to frustrate the majority in the Security Council itself or recommendations from the overwhelming majority in the General Assembly - a travesty of the democratic process which we all cherish - and the contempt with which some States defiantly refuse to answer charges brought against them in the International Court of Justice.

Despite the obvious failures and weaknesses of the United Nations because of the lack of a political will on the part of some States that are reluctant to offer more support for the Organization, the United Nations system has more than demonstrated its validity, practicality, potentiality and indeed its necessity.

When the United Nations fails, it is in fact the Member States collectively that have failed and when the United Nations succeeds, it is the collective success of Member States. The United Nations is a vehicle or facilitator at the disposal of Member States. Its ability successfully to carry us all to our destination depends on our collective efforts concertedly and vigorously to push the correct buttons on the machine.

The United Nations has developed into a reliable centre for harmonizing actions of nations in the attainment of the common objectives. We should all unite, and reaffirm our determination to improve the Organization for a better world, avoiding the dangerous retreat into the chaotic chauvinistic cocoon of isolationism. We believe in the ability of the multilateral system to resolve

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

international problems, but for this to become reality we must fulfil our obligations to the Charter and act in accordance with its principles.

One of the major objectives of the United Nations whose theme runs like a binding thread through the Charter is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and to that end the Member States are called upon to unite by taking collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace. Forty years after the founding of this Organization, the Member States have still not succeeded in removing the biggest threat to peace - the bomb hanging over our heads. For whereas 40 years ago one country possessed the bomb, today there are five and probably nine countries with the resources and technical know-how to develop nuclear weapons, and the number is increasing. The total destructive capacity of bombs in the possession of the two super-Powers only - the United States and the Soviet Union - is enough to kill and wipe out everyone and every living organism, not once but many times over. Yet the stockpiling, the perfecting and deploying of these weapons of mass incineration is continuing, with some plans to base some of them in space. What space is there left for peaceful purposes? The chances of a nuclear holocaust increase with the inevitable proliferation of nuclear weapons. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is inevitable, because those possessing them have failed to abide by the terms and expectations of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. As the Secretary-General stated in his message to the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons:

"the Treaty is not a one-way street. In signing it, the nuclear-weapon States parties agreed to pursue in good faith negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

to nuclear disarmament. In this respect, the implementation of the Treaty has been largely one-sided, to the understandable concern and profound dissatisfaction of its non-nuclear-weapon parties. There must be recognition of the fact that restraint on one side cannot reasonably be demanded in the face of unlimited expansion on the other."

This clear warning must be heeded. Peace is in the interest of all of us and we all need it. Let us all, as a first step, be involved in the reduction of the military budget - which is now, we understand, \$900,000 billion - and use the savings to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, cure the sick, and educate the ignorant and illiterate. Nuclear-weapon States must live up to the letter and spirit of the 1963 Non-Proliferation Treaty and begin arms reduction talks leading to the signing of a total nuclear disarmament treaty. The same nuclear-weapon-State parties must demonstrate their commitment by engaging in sincere and ongoing pursuit of the nuclear-arms control negotiations. We call on Member States to put an end to nuclear-weapon testing. We commend those States that have heeded the voices of their people and resisted the pressure to have nuclear missiles stationed on their territories or to have nuclear-weapon-carrying ships call at their harbours. Such principled actions will go a long way towards the removal of threats to peace. We call on the Soviet Union and the United States seriously to engage in negotiations to end the mad race for armament. We hope that at the forthcoming super-Power summit, both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will avoid point-scoring and posturing and remember the heavy responsibility they carry on behalf of the whole of humanity; for never before in the history of man have the hopes and future of so many depended on the wisdom and good sense of so few, as is the case in the nuclear age.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

One of the greatest challenges facing the world today is the task of achieving international co-operation to manage and sustain economic recovery from the recession of the early 1980s, a recession to be remembered as the worst ever during the post-war era. Many countries have gone or are going through a period of severe crisis and in Africa, a combination of the crisis and adverse climatic and man-made factors have generated catastrophic conditions with horrific consequences.

Opinions have been expressed during the course of this debate that the recession is now behind us and that the worst is over. But we all know that the worst is indeed not over as yet. We all know that we are still suffering; we all know there are some countries which are still in the grip of this terrible situation.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The combined effects of many of those policies, and indeed the combined effects of these problems, has brought about a situation which is in fact bringing many countries to near collapse.

Although this observation is supported by empirical evidence, it is alarming to concede that at present there are no negotiated policy instruments to counteract the emerging negative trends. Instead of active policy intervention we seem to have resigned our fate to certain magical forces that would diffuse economic recovery through some random process of osmosis.

The imperative before us is not to dream but to develop a coherent set of co-ordinated policies to counteract these trends. The first order of business would be to seek ways and means of injecting fresh liquidity in the world economy through the enlargement of the capital base of the World Bank, the easing of International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions, debt cancellations, multi-year debt reschedulings and a special issue of the special drawing rights (SDRs).

A necessary condition for the rehabilitation of productive capacity is the restoration of a dynamic, open and non-discriminatory international trading system. Hence if free trade is to resume its role as an engine of growth, it is important that we halt the state of decay that has beset the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) system. In this regard, we call upon the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries to honour the standstill and rollover commitments that were negotiated in UNCTAD IV and in the GATT Ministerial meeting of 1982.

If trade is to be beneficial to all countries, developing countries should be guaranteed just and equitable prices for their exports. Indeed, no durable economic recovery can take place unless urgent steps are taken to safeguard the incomes of primary commodity producers. The Integrated Programme of Commodities

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

has already demonstrated its potential for protecting the incomes of primary goods exporters, and it would be to be benefit of all if more and elaborate commodity agreements were concluded. The activation of the Common Fund for Commodities and the strengthening of both the stabex scheme and IMF compensatory facility for export earnings shortfalls would contribute significantly to the recovery of incomes in developing countries.

Durable economic recovery would be stabilized only by policies that would generate a sustained transfer of financial resources to developing countries. This conclusion is not rhetorical but is prompted by the consideration that at present developing countries are engaged in a costly adjustment process that requires massive capital inputs. In such circumstances the present trend of reverse capital flows to developed countries is not acceptable and should be stopped. Developing countries are now paying \$72 billion annually in interest payments and in the coming five years about two-thirds of the third-world debt will have to be repaid or rolled over. As for Africa, the projections are that capital outflows will exceed combined official development assistance inflows.

It is unrealistic to expect that developing countries would in the medium- and long-term, generate trade surpluses sufficient to finance their currently structured debt obligations. It is equally scandalous to expect Africa, a continent that is fighting for its survival to shoulder a debt burden of 59 per cent of its export earnings. Essentially, our argument is that the recession of the early 1980s halted the capital formation process in the developing countries and an injection of new capital is a condition for the reactivation of the development process. As it is, high interest rates and the scarcity of new loans are forcing countries to make repayments at the expense of essential imports. It is unrealistic to expect that trade surpluses would diffuse the debt

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

bomb particularly in a trade context characterized by rising protectionism, declining commodity prices and monetary instabilities.

An examination of the interrelationships among the issues of debt, trade, money and finance convinces us that the existing narrow approaches to the debt crisis are inadequate. The responsibility for resolving this crisis must be shared equitably between the debtor and the creditor countries. Such an approach suggests a condition for resolving the debt crisis, the condition being that the debtor country should remain solvent and viable in order for that party to discharge its contractual obligations, thus satisfying that conditions can safeguard the international credit system as we know it today. If it is a shared objective that the present credit system has to be preserved, which implies the solvency of the debtor country, then we need a forum where debt policies consistent with those shared objectives could be negotiated. At present such a forum does not exist.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has called for an international conference on debt. It is important that the present session of the General Assembly make advances towards that objective. We have already stated that it is not serious to expect Africa over the medium term to sustain the present haemorrhage of capital caused by debt servicing. The twenty-first session of the Organization of African Unity summit on economic matters has called for an international conference on African debt. This proposal should be viewed as part and parcel of the present initiatives for halting the economic crisis in Africa.

The African economic crisis is one of development, and unless the structural constraints are addressed it is likely to become a permanent feature. The OAU leaders have assumed responsibility for pulling Africa out of this tragedy. But to do this effectively they still need more support as well as the creation of external economic conditions conducive to the resumption of growth and economic

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

activity. Since there is a perceptible international consensus to resolve the African issue, as evidenced by the consensus declaration on the African economic crisis adopted by the General Assembly, it is time that this good will was translated into concrete action. The OAU Summit has already initiated consultations on the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to Africa. We call upon the international community in a spirit of solidarity to lend its support to this legitimate African request.

Today the spirit of multilateralism is at its lowest ebb, meaningful dialogue no longer exists and confidence and support for multilateral institutions have been replaced by confrontation and bilateralism. This development stands in antithesis to the dreams of yesterday. Worse still, over the past 40 years we have forged a truly interdependent world and the present policies of some industrialised countries seem to be alien to our economic reality - perhaps they belong to a future era, a future of anarchy.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

Our plea is for moderation, dialogue, negotiations and compromises. The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations gives us an occasion to commit ourselves and our collective resources to the challenge of eradicating poverty, illiteracy, hunger, malnutrition and disease throughout the world.

There is no alternative to multilateralism. It is a fact of life dictated by the reality of interdependence, a reality that can only be ignored at our own peril. A consensus for development is also a consensus for resuming dialogue on the institutional obstacles to the launching of the global negotiations on the establishment of a new economic order. Indeed, the people of the world and their governments have the potential of rising to such a challenge, and this solemn occasion should generate the necessary political will that would sustain that renewed commitment to development.

Unity of purpose is particularly vital when dealing with hotbeds of tension and conflict in the present world. Regional conflicts, if incorrectly handled, have the capacity to engulf us all in a major catastrophe. And of the many regions of tension and conflict today, few challenge the United Nations system with such poignancy as the tragic situation prevailing in southern Africa. In that corner of the world many fundamental principles forming the bedrock of this Organization and the brotherhood of man are under severe threat from the arrogance and greed of a small group of frightened and narrow-minded men. The hallowed principles of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples", and the cardinal principles that "States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State" are all violated by the apartheid régime of South Africa. Aggression, intervention, interference, discrimination, destabilization, colonialism and racism are the

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

hallmarks of the Pretoria régime. The Pretoria régime's continued existence poses a threat to international peace and security. Apartheid is in every sense and meaning a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security of the same genre and origin as nazism, its spiritual and philosophic ancestor.

The inability, nay the unwillingness, of those great Powers that wield such obvious influence over South Africa, to flex their muscles in order to force Pretoria to change its inhuman policies, is one of the greatest betrayals of the United Nations system and the concept of the brotherhood of man. We have all recently witnessed just how vulnerable South Africa is to economic pressure from the Western countries. This vulnerability was recently demonstrated by the nervousness that led to a heavy depreciation of South African financial assets in international markets. Yes, South Africa was nearly brought to its knees by nervousness alone. I therefore would ask this august body to reflect on what concerted international political action could achieve in South Africa if the mere nervousness of markets produced such a panic.

It is the appearance or the reality of the indifference and cynicism of these great nations that emboldens the racist régime. Time and again we have seen the United Nations frustrated by the abuse of the veto power by the United States and the United Kingdom in defence of South Africa. I appeal to the leaders of these two great nations to live up to some of the noble traditions of their countries by accepting their responsibility in the fight for justice and human dignity in South Africa and Namibia and to stop being the misguided protectors of this evil régime.

I speak these words, not in anger, for we already have too many angry young men and women in southern Africa today; it is more with sadness and sorrow that I mention the tragedy in South Africa. Despite the recent semantics of reform, the sad reality is that the régime remains obdurate. Racism is the order of the day,

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

the majority are still denied participation in the process of government, and the carnage and slaughter continues unabated. What we have seen is the gimmickry of the creation of the tripartite parliaments, a mere elaboration of the doctrine of separation; the setting up of innumerable commissions whose findings are known even before those commissions are set up.

It has all been talk, talk, talk, without any concrete positive action. What is really needed is a dismantlement of apartheid. The only action we have witnessed is the old brutal repression at home and naked aggression abroad. Nearly a thousand people have been killed in the streets of South Africa in the last 12 months, and the carnage continues. There is the incarceration of thousands of schoolchildren, women and workers for daring to demand justice and equality, and the suppression of peaceful demonstrations with bullets, truncheons and the hippo-hide whips called sjamboks. The picture has been depressingly familiar.

Not content with inflicting such misery, destruction and bloodshed on its own citizenry, the racist régime has continued to export violence to neighbours. The recent barbaric and unprovoked acts of aggression unleashed against the innocent people of Angola is one in a litany of dastardly deeds that Pretoria has perpetrated against Angola. It should be recalled that earlier this year one of its commando units was caught red-handed trying to blow up the Cabinda oil installations in Angola in the hope of crippling the economy of that country.

After that disastrous mission, the racists then tried to recoup their bruised pride by sending a murder squad into Gaborone, the capital of Botswana. That gang of cutthroats murdered, in cold blood, 12 refugees and Botswana nationals, including a six-year-old boy, all in their sleep.* The action of the régime

* Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

against the small kingdom of Lesotho, against Zambia, Mozambique and my own country, Zimbabwe, are a matter of public record. In the case of Zimbabwe the racists have a dual strategy. The first is to recruit, train, finance, equip and deploy dissidents and malcontents, whom they infiltrate back into Zimbabwe to spread destruction and fear. A special radio station has been installed in Northern Transvaal, for use by these bandits, which daily broadcasts hostile propaganda against my Government. The second is to use the bandits in Mozambique, known as Mozambique Nationals Resistance Movement, to cut all of Zimbabwe's outlets to the sea through Mozambique, whether by rail, road or pipeline. South Africa's continued use of rebels in Mozambique is a flagrant violation of the solemn and binding undertaking it entered into at the time of the signing of the Nkomati agreement.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

Besides trying to overthrow the Government of Mozambique, the second aim of these bandits as directed by Pretoria is to make Zimbabwe and other landlocked southern African States become totally dependent on South Africa. In this way, it is hoped, we would become hostages in any moves to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The argument can then be made that the black people of South Africa and the majority-ruled independent States surrounding South Africa would be the first to suffer if sanctions were imposed against South Africa.

We do not want the international community to shirk its responsibility to the people of South Africa by hiding behind our vulnerability to South Africa's reprisals if mandatory sanctions are imposed against it. We accept that there is a price to be paid for the liberty of our brothers and sisters in South Africa and Namibia. For our part, we are prepared to play our full role; but equally we expect the international community to shoulder its responsibility to the region for the consequences of any decision and action it may take, including mandatory sanctions, in fulfilment of its duties and obligations to the people of South Africa.

The now over-delayed independence of the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia represents one of the most glaring failures of the United Nations since its inception. The legality of the issue is not in doubt, and an internationally negotiated and agreed plan to bring the Territory to independence has long been in place - ever since the adoption of resolutions 435 (1978). Yet extraneous issues of East-West rivalry, expediency and cynicism have been allowed to cloud and derail the process of bringing Namibia to independence. It is such callous calculations and selfishness on the part of the big Powers that cause frustration, despair and anger among the weaker nations.

(Mr. Matigwende, Zimbabwe)

Before the advent of the concept of what has now been renamed the policy of "active constructive engagement" - presumably as distinct from the previous and now discredited policy of "passive constructive engagement" - and its concepts of linkage and parallelism, the Pretoria régime had agreed to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978); but since then linkage has introduced an ideological content into Pretoria's resistance to granting Namibia its independence. Linkage has thereby given respectability to the racist intention. Therefore it is heavily responsible for delaying Namibia's independence. For this reason the Government of the United States bears a special responsibility in the delaying of Namibia's independence.

The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a matter between the sovereign States of Cuba and Angola. It has nothing to do with independence for the struggling masses of Namibia. The struggling Namibians have no control over this matter, just as they have no control over the issue of foreign forces in Guantanamo and Diego Garcia and the hundreds of thousands of foreign troops, missiles and other military equipment stationed in other countries all over the world. They should not be penalized for matters which are totally irrelevant to their demand for freedom. It is not fair or just to use their independence as a pawn and to hold them as hostages for whom a ransom has to be paid. We condemn this cynicism and this unprincipled behaviour perpetrated by Members of this Organization.

The Middle East continues to cause great concern to all of us. Peace in that region remains elusive and will continue to be so as long as Israel is permitted to defy United Nations resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights. We condemn in the strongest terms possible the recent gross Israeli violation of Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the cold-blooded murder and maiming of defenceless Palestinian refugees. We warn that Israel's bellicose behaviour and hegemonistic tendencies pose a serious threat to the stability of the region as well as to

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

international peace and security. We call upon Israel to end its expansionist policies and to start negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinians. Israel is in the Middle East, and if peace is to come to that part of the world all the people of that area, including the Israelis, must observe, in good faith, the principles of good-neighbourliness. We are aware that Israel has now acquired nuclear-weapon technology and that it may already have the deadly weapon. We are also informed that some such weapons may have been deployed in the Golan Heights. This brings a new and more dangerous dimension to the area, as it may not be long before other States in the region also acquire the same capability, and world peace will then be faced with a very grave threat. This body cannot wait until such a crisis arises. Therefore we strongly support the call for an urgent international conference on the Middle East at which all concerned and involved in the dispute would participate. We believe that such a conference without the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization would be like trying to stage Shakespeare's Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

My Government is seriously concerned at the continuing war between the two sister countries, Iran and Iraq. We urge them to resolve their dispute peacefully and to concentrate on rebuilding their war-ravaged economies.

We are appalled at the repeated interference in the domestic affairs of other states by some States Members of this Organization. In the case of Nicaragua, we have witnessed the open threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of that country. There is a military and economic siege of that country, all because it has decided to be free to choose a socio-economic political system most suited to its own peculiar situation. The United States Administration finances, trains, equips and deploys the contras in Nicaragua, where

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

they are committing murder, rape and economic sabotage and making the lives of the people of that country a real nightmare. We condemn in no uncertain terms such barbaric actions perpetrated against a small nation that can in no way pose any threat to the security and interests of the mighty United States. We call on the United States to observe the rule of international law in its relationship with Nicaragua and leave that country to pursue its own course.

We call on all interested parties to participate in and fully support the efforts of the Contadora group. We are confident that the interests and concerns of the Central American States would be served in the context of a comprehensive agreement reached within and by that group. We salute the efforts of the Contadora group of nations and urge them to persevere in their noble goal.

We reiterate our opposition to the invasion of, interference with or intervention in the internal affairs of one country by another, be it in Grenada, El Salvador, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Mayotte, East Timor, Chad or Western Sahara. We call on the interventionist States to withdraw their troops and let the peoples of those countries run their affairs free from any interference. We commend the Secretary-General for his efforts in seeking solutions to some of these problems and urge him to persevere until just and honourable solutions are found.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The situation in Cyprus continues to threaten peace in that country and in the Mediterranean region as a whole. We commend the Secretary-General and his envoy for their efforts in bringing the two Cypriot communities together to discuss their common destiny. We call upon all outside Powers to stop interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus and to remove their troops from that island State.

There will be no peace or security on the Korean peninsula as long as foreign troops and missiles remain stationed in South Korea and Korea remains divided. Foreign interference must stop, to facilitate and encourage South and North Korea to engage in meaningful discussions aimed at the peaceful reunification of that country. The reduction of tension and potential conflict is in the interest of us all. We therefore call for the start of negotiations involving all the parties concerned, including the United States.

I want to leave this body with one message, and it is this. As we spin into the unknown void behind the galaxies, let no one ever forget that we are on this spaceship, planet Earth, together. Let us therefore pool our resources, our enormous scientific and technical know-how and our collective wisdom and will to make this, our Earth, a home worthy of man, a shining star among the stars of the universe.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): At the outset, I extend to Ambassador de Piniés of Spain the sincere congratulations of the Mongolian delegation on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We believe that his vast experience in the work of the United Nations will undoubtedly contribute to the success of this important session.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Before proceeding further, I wish to express the profound sympathy of the Government and people of Mongolia to the Government and people of Mexico in connection with the tragedy which has befallen that friendly nation as a result of the recent terrible earthquakes.

(spoke in Russian)

This year the people of the world widely commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the historic victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. That was a victory of the forces of peace and reason, the result of co-operation of the Powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition of nations big and small.

A decisive contribution to that victory, to the cause of liberating many peoples from the yoke of fascist and militarist forces, was made by the Soviet Union. It is with pride in our people that we declare from this rostrum that from the inception of the anti-fascist coalition the Mongolian People's Republic firmly sided with it and took a direct part in the defeat of the militarist forces of Japan.

The establishment of the United Nations was one of the major results of that great victory. The main lesson of the war had determined the principal objective of the Organization: to join efforts to safeguard international peace and to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The quintessence of its activity constitutes the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination, the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, the renunciation of the use of force and the ensuring of collective security on the basis of trust, mutual understanding and co-operation.

The purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter were affirmed and expounded in decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences and in the declarations of Bandung, Belgrade and Helsinki.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The experience of the past 40 years has, however, shown that the actions of imperialist circles run counter to the efforts of the United Nations and are detrimental to the interests of peace and security of peoples. The policy of the cold war and atomic blackmail - which had been adopted already during the Second World War - has repeatedly threatened to undermine the very foundations of international peace.

Today the same forces are subjecting mankind to the mortal danger of a new world war, a nuclear catastrophe. They are acting in disregard of the obvious fact that in this nuclear era there is no alternative to the peaceful coexistence of States on the basis of the principle of equal security for all.

The bellicose militarist circles, and above all those in the United States, reckon on the use of force. They pursue a policy of confrontation with the socialist world and exercise State terrorism vis-à-vis progressive States and the forces of national and social liberation. They support and nurture revanchism, militarism and racism. The United States is bent on attaining military-strategic superiority in order to secure for itself a dominant position in the world. The policy of ensuring so-called United States vital interests brings death and suffering to millions of people in the Middle East and the Near East, Latin America, southern Africa and other regions of the world. It ruins economic life and undermines political stability in many countries. Even United States allies have to suffer commercial, financial and other losses in the name of those "vital interests".

The arms race is being stepped up. New types of nuclear missile, chemical and other weapons are being developed. The deployment of American first-strike nuclear missile systems in some countries of Western Europe and Asia is being pushed ahead. Now an arms race in outer space is being imposed. A multi-billion-dollar "star wars" programme and anti-satellite weapon tests are being carried out.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

All this increases the war threat. This is caused by the action of forces which disregard the realities of today's world. We are, however, far from being pessimistic. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, comrade Jambyn Batmunkh, has pointed out:

"The foreign policy of socialism is based on respect for the right of States and peoples to live in peace. Optimism and faith in human reason are its inherent characteristics."

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

There are forces capable of curbing the adventurist actions of adversaries of peace and the social progress of peoples. The leading role belongs to the socialist community, which has emerged and grown immeasurably stronger in the past 40 years. Ever more tangible becomes the contribution of the young, independent States, as represented by the Non-Aligned Movement, to the struggle for peace and disarmament and against war. This is evidenced anew by the results of the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Luanda in September this year. Neutral and other peace-loving States play a positive role. The anti-war and anti-nuclear mass movement has become an important factor in the struggle for peace.

The countries of the socialist community are taking active steps to avert the threat of war. Their efforts are aimed at maintaining military and strategic parity at a constantly decreasing level of armaments, achieving real measures of disarmament and strengthening the material, political and legal foundations of détente and peaceful co-operation.

The Soviet Union has undertaken concrete, practical steps. It has put forward at the Geneva negotiations a new proposal for a radical cut in the strategic armaments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, unilaterally suspended the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and declared a moratorium on all nuclear explosions until 1 January 1986, to be extended further if the United States does likewise. It has also declared a moratorium on the stationing of anti-satellite weapons in outer space as long as the United States and other countries refrain from doing so. At this session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Government has advanced the concept of "star peace". The aims and principles of the use of achievements of space science and technology for the benefit of mankind are set forth in a memorandum on the question of "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization" submitted for consideration at this session.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

All this creates a solid material prerequisite for ensuring success in the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space weapons and at the forthcoming meeting between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeivich Gorbachev, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States, in November this year.

The Mongolian People's Republic, like other countries, attaches great importance to that summit meeting and hopes that it will lead to positive steps towards curbing the arms race and easing international tension. We share the view that the United States of America should adopt a responsible and positive approach towards the constructive steps of the Soviet Union.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers it exceptionally important for reducing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe that all nuclear Powers undertake an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, following the example of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The United Nations could play an important role in this regard. In particular, the Security Council could address itself to the question of elaborating a document acceptable to all the nuclear Powers envisaging such an obligation. The Security Council would be acting in conformity with United Nations General Assembly resolution 2936 (XXVII), in which the Assembly, having solemnly declared in the name of Member State renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, recommended that the Security Council should take, as soon as possible, appropriate measures for the full implementation of these provisions.

The document we have in mind, along with the solemn obligation by nuclear Powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, could reflect certain key provisions of the Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, of 22 June 1973, in particular the obligation of nuclear Powers to refrain from any

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actions which might increase the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict, to take the necessary measures to lessen the threat of nuclear war, and on reducing and completely eliminating nuclear weapons.

The strengthening of the nuclear weapons non-proliferation régime acquires greater importance than ever before. First of all, it is imperative to give an impetus to the work of the Conference on Disarmament on the elaboration of an international instrument on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests with a view to closing the channels of the so-called vertical proliferation of that weapon.

In this connection my delegation once again expresses its support for the Delhi Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of six countries, which specifically emphasizes the need to cease nuclear-weapon tests and limit and eventually eliminate nuclear armaments. Its assessment of the results of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is positive and it supports its final Declaration. The accession to this Treaty by France, China and other States, especially the so-called near-nuclear States, would help significantly in strengthening the non-proliferation régime.

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in different parts of the world constitutes an important means of preventing the territorial spread of nuclear weapons and reducing the danger of nuclear conflict. In this connection my delegation expresses anew its support of the proposals on the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Balkans and in northern and central Europe. It welcomes the decision of member State of the South Pacific Forum to declare that region a nuclear-free zone.

The United States build-up of an arsenal of another type of weapon of mass destruction, the chemical weapon, causes grave concern among world public opinion.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Production of its most dangerous type, the binary weapon, is under way. Plans are being made to deploy chemical weapons in Europe and elsewhere. In this connection, Mongolia fully supports the proposal made by the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe. Our delegation considers most timely the idea of reaching an international agreement on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons advanced the other day by comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In connection with the increase in the chemical weapon arsenal, the General Assembly could address an appeal to States which have not yet done so to accede to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Along with the accumulation of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, the world is witnessing an increased build-up of so-called conventional weapons on the basis of the long-term programme of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The sophistication of these weapons has reached such a stage that the distinction between their destructive power and that of weapons of mass destruction becomes increasingly blurred. The present session of the General Assembly should stress the need to comply with the provisions of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

The General Assembly should similarly express itself in favour of the elaboration of an international agreement on the prohibition of the production and use of new categories of conventional weapons with exceptionally destructive effects.

Peace, disarmament and development are closely interrelated. Equitable trade and economic co-operation are the material basis of peace and international stability. It was precisely such co-operation that was advocated by the 1984 economic summit of the countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

The policy of diktat, blockade, discrimination and protectionism in international economic relations not only breeds crisis phenomena in the world economy but also exacerbates international tension. The deterioration of the economic situation and the excessive growth of the external debts of developing countries are caused mainly by such practices by economic and financial colonialism and the ruinous consequences of the monetary and financial crisis of the capitalist economic system.

We welcome the initiative of the Republic of Cuba which helps to concentrate the attention of the world community on these problems, which cause immense

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difficulties to the developing countries. We in Mongolia have welcomed with deep sympathy the decisions of the 21st Assembly of the Heads of State or Government of the States members of the Organization of African Unity and the Pan-African Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development, held in August this year.

Implementation of the proposal of the Polish People's Republic on the creation of an international debt and development research centre under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations would provide an impetus to the activities of the United Nations on this vital problem.

Turning to regional problems, my delegation wishes, first of all, to address itself to Asia. The situation in many parts of the continent has become increasingly tense. The United States is intensifying its efforts to realize its military and strategic plans in regard to this vast region. It encourages the revival of militarism in Japan in every way, drawing that country into its adventurist schemes against the forces of peace and socialism on the continent and throughout the world.

Steps are being taken to create a military and political grouping in the Far East and the Pacific with the participation of Japan, South Korea and a number of other States of the region. The deployment of first-strike nuclear-missile weapons in different parts of the continent and surrounding seas and oceans is well under way.

Imperialist and hegemonist forces continue their hostile intrigues against the countries of Indo-China. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea firmly rebuff such intrigues. At the same time, they pursue a flexible and realistic policy in the international arena. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports their

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tireless efforts aimed at establishing normal relations with the other States of South-East Asia and turning the region into a zone of peace, stability, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. It welcomes all steps leading to dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

In the light of the prevailing situation in Asia, the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of American troops and armaments from the south of Korea, the adoption of a declaration on non-aggression between north and south and turning the peninsula into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, become even more topical. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the initiatives and efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the reunification of the country on a democratic basis in peaceful conditions.

The situation around Afghanistan should be normalized without delay on the basis of the constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The immediate cessation of the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, waged by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism through their accomplices, constitutes the basis for the normalization of the situation.

American-Israeli "strategic co-operation" inflicts serious damage on a Middle East settlement in the genuine interest of the Arab peoples. The recent criminal air raid on Tunisian territory demonstrated once again that the reckless actions of the ruling circles of Israel are fraught with the danger of spreading the conflict to other areas. The United Nations should take active steps for the convening of an international conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in order to bring about a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem which fully ensures

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the right of the Palestinian people to independence and the elimination of all the consequences of Israeli aggression. The Mongolian People's Republic once again expresses its support for the preservation and strengthening of the national unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

We call upon the Governments of Iran and Iraq to respond positively to the international efforts to end the hostilities between the two countries and to proceed to a peaceful settlement of questions in dispute. The well-being of the peoples of both countries and the cause of the peace and tranquillity of the continent require such a solution.

Strengthening the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus is in the interests not only of the people of that country but of the peace and security of the countries of three continents - Asia, Europe and Africa. We lend our support to the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, aimed at bringing about a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus question, in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions.

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Practical implementation of the 1971 United Nations Declaration on the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and the earliest convening of an international conference on this question acquire ever more urgency.

The Mongolian People's Republic considers that good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China constitute a most important factor in strengthening the cause of peace in Asia and beyond. My Government therefore follows with keen interest the consultations on the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The socialist and non-aligned States of Asia exert efforts to strengthen peace and co-operation on the continent and put forward concrete initiatives and proposals. The implementation, for example, of the Soviet proposal on the adoption of confidence-building measures in the Far East and on carrying out step-by-step measures in the joint search for constructive solutions to the problems of security in Asia would contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace on the continent.

The Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation, adopted by the 1955 Conference of Asian and African nations held at Bandung, Indonesia, becomes increasingly topical. The spirit of this Declaration was reaffirmed at the widely representative meeting held this year on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of that Conference. The Mongolian People's Republic has fully supported the declaration adopted at that commemorative meeting.

It may be said that our proposal on the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific not only is in keeping with the principles of the Bandung Conference but is directed to their practical implementation in the conditions of the region.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that collective security in Asia can be ensured only through the common efforts and political will of all the States of the region. Consideration at a broad and representative Asian forum of all the proposals put forward by the countries of the region concerning the question of peace and co-operation on the continent would constitute a useful step towards achieving that objective.

As to other regions of the world, the dangerous aggravation of tension in Central America causes deep concern among world public opinion. The United States Administration intensifies its interference in the affairs of the countries in that region and steps up its policy of blackmail and intimidation towards Nicaragua with the aim of suppressing the Sandinist revolution.

The Mongolian people and its Government strongly condemn this policy of naked State terrorism and express their full support for the struggle of the friendly Nicaraguan people in defending its inalienable right to free, democratic and independent development. They support the efforts of the Contadora Group and a number of other States of Latin America, directed at achieving a peaceful settlement in Central America.

This year the international community commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By its efforts to ensure the implementation of this Declaration the United Nations has made a major contribution to furthering the decolonization process and to the cause of liquidating the colonial system of imperialism.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Colonialism, however, is not yet completely eliminated from the face of the earth. Namibia is a vivid example of this. The alliance of the forces of imperialism, racism and Zionism blocks the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and resorts to different kinds of manoeuvres and intrigues.

The Mongolian People's Republic opposes the attempts to perpetuate colonial rule in Namibia. It expresses full solidarity with the Namibian people and with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been leading the struggle of its people for freedom and independence for a quarter of a century.

The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic strongly condemn the new bloody acts of repression committed by the Pretoria régime against the indigenous population of the country, which is struggling against the inhuman system of apartheid. We associate ourselves with the demands for an immediate halt to the violence and repression. Apartheid must be eliminated. My delegation demands that the Pretoria régime put an end to acts of aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States. The United Nations should take effective measures against the apartheid régime, including comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of its Charter.

The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is being widely celebrated in the Mongolian People's Republic, as elsewhere in the world. This world Organization is an irreplaceable instrument for the maintenance and strengthening of universal peace and international co-operation. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, whose fifteenth anniversary is being marked this year, holds a special place among the documents adopted by the United Nations with a view to achieving its main purposes. The thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly approved, on the basis of the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Declaration on the Right of

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Peoples to Peace. This document calls upon all Governments and the international community as a whole to unite efforts for safeguarding the right of man to life and peaceful creation in the face of the common danger confronting the whole of mankind - the threat of nuclear war.

The Charter of the Organization has stood the test of time and fully meets contemporary requirements. The Mongolian People's Republic rejects any attempts aimed at undermining the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations and its family of organizations. In this year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it reaffirms its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

My delegation, guided by this policy of its Government, will facilitate, to the extent of its ability, the success of the work of the present General Assembly session.

Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, in the name of His Highness Shaikh Isa bin Salmawn Al-Khalifa, The Emir of the State of Bahrain, it gives me pleasure at the outset to congratulate Mr. De Pinies on his election as President of the General Assembly at this historic session, which coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. I should like to pay tribute to his friendly country Spain, for its contribution to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, and for the close friendship existing between our two countries. I wish him all success in carrying out the work of this session.

I should not fail to express my deep respect to the President of the General Assembly at the last session, Mr. Paul Lusaka, for his success in conducting the work of that session. I also pay my respects to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his unremitting efforts to create an international atmosphere more favourable to international co-operation in a world in which security, justice and peace prevail.

The fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations distinguishes this session from former sessions. The United Nations, during the forty years of its existence, scored brilliant successes and failed dismally in other respects. These failures were due to the negative attitude of some States, which has led to the weakening of the role of this Organization. Nevertheless, the need to keep the United Nations in existence and strengthen its role is unavoidable.

Consequently, the international community should take this historic opportunity to study and define the reasons which prevented our international Organization from implementing many of its principles and goals.

It has become clear that the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace and security is weakening, due to the tension and conflict existing in the relations between the super-Powers.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

As a result of the need to keep our international Organization in existence, on the one hand, and the fact that its role has been weakened in recent years on the other, we should evaluate the role of the United Nations, its accomplishments, and the extent to which it has been able to implement the goals and principles of the Charter.

We, in Bahrain, believe in the importance of the role of the United Nations, and always reaffirm the need to develop its organs, so that it may be able to deal with international problems and find appropriate solutions to them. Our belief is based on the firm conviction that all nations of the world adhere to the goals and principles contained in the United Nations Charter, and that no State or small group of States, however much may be its resources and capabilities, can by itself alone deal with the grave problems confronting the world of today. The problems of peace, security, the arms race, poverty, famine, pollution, unemployment and other matters need collective efforts for their solution. The role of the United Nations should therefore be strengthened and developed to cope with such matters.

Our concern for the United Nations should not be confined only to keeping the Organization in existence. To cope with the current political, economic and human conditions, this important Organization should be developed, and its efficiency and power strengthened. It is regrettable that collective efforts have not been made during the last forty years to develop the organs of this international Organization, due to the cold war between East and West, which has resulted in weakening the role of the United Nations in dealing with international questions.

Due to the universal nature and gravity of the problems confronting humanity, we have to appeal to the international community to intensify its efforts to implement the goals and principles of the United Nations, and develop the powers of our Organization, so that it may be able to deal with such international problems.

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The continuation of the cold war between the two super-Powers has created state blocs, which weaken collective international co-operation. In recent years, a new trend appears among some States to blame the United Nations for the conflict between the two super-Powers and the alignment of some States in the third world to either of them.

The reason for the non-implementation of the principles and goals of the United Nations is primarily the failure of some great Powers to abide by their obligations under the Charter, and their recurrent use of the veto in the Security Council to promote their own private interests, and those of States allied to them, against the interests of the world community as a whole. In so doing, they do not heed the resultant loss of confidence in the ability of the Organization to implement its principles and resolutions.

In this connection, Israel is the best example of that. Since its establishment on the Arab land of Palestine to this day, it has not stopped its aggression against the people of Palestine and the Arab States, the latest manifestation of which has been the savage attack on our sister country of Tunisia, and its disregard for United Nations resolutions on the Palestine question and the problems of the Middle East. Nevertheless, neither the Security Council nor the international community has been able to stop its recurrent aggression or impose against it the sanctions provided for in the Charter.

The criticism launched against the United Nations should not make us forget that it has been able during the past forty years to score many successes. In the field of decolonization, the United Nations assisted many people of the world to obtain their independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. During the

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last forty years, hundreds of millions of people have been able to obtain their freedom and independence through the effective role played by the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Consequently, the membership of the international Organization has increased from 51 members in 1945 to 159 today. It has thereby attained one of its main objectives, namely, universality.*

The Organization has also made important achievements by providing technical aid through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and specialized agencies. The United Nations allocates nearly US \$2.6 billion every year for economic development. In the human and social fields, the United Nations provides much aid through the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to the children of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) tries also to save the lives of forty thousand children who die every day in the world. The General Assembly had already adopted a resolution calling for the reduction of the rate of death among children to 50 in a thousand in all parts of the world by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

In the field of human aid, Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees provides aid to tens of millions of refugees, in addition to humanitarian aid to tens of millions of people in Africa who suffer from the ravages of drought.

The United Nations also encouraged the observance of human rights. The General Assembly adopted in December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration has become an historic document which entitles the international community to look after human rights in all parts of the world.

* The President returned to the Chair.

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The Organization has also helped in the codification and development of international law. The International Law Commission was established in 1947. The United Nations scored great success in this field by sponsoring many multilateral treaties dealing with vital subjects such as the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, outer space, health, trade, development, educational matters, freedom of the press, disarmament, environment, telecommunications.

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The most important achievement of the United Nations in recent years perhaps was the preparation for the conclusion of the Convention on the Law of the Sea. Member States of the Organization have been able, after exhausting attempts lasting almost 10 years, to lay down a comprehensive Convention on the Law on the Sea.

United Nations peace-keeping operations have proved to be the means for the settlement of many international disputes arising from regional conflicts, particularly as the principle of collective security has become unattainable, due to the differences existing among the great Powers. The Charter has laid down definite procedures for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and definite measures for the use of collective armed force against any aggressor State or States. The current tension in international relations, however, makes it difficult for the Security Council to apply the provisions of the Charter to prevent aggression or deter the aggressor.

It was therefore necessary to find new means compatible with the goals of the Charter. Thus, there came out the idea of keeping peace by formation of peace-keeping forces, which intervened, more or less successfully, in Indonesia, Palestine, Kashmir, Korea, the Congo, Cyprus, Sinai, the Golan Heights, South Lebanon and other regions which witnessed serious conflicts or disturbances. Although such operations were important to maintain peace and security in such hotbeds of tension, the United Nations could not settle a great number of international disputes and conflicts due to its inability to a great extent to execute its decisions. The Charter has given the Security Council the necessary power of execution to maintain world peace. Therefore, it is difficult to carry out the duty to maintain peace and security for everyone in the world, unless the great Powers can settle their chronic differences, or at least attempt to establish constructive working relations among them.

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It has been clear from the experience of the last 40 years that the Security Council, which is invested with the power to maintain peace and security, could not settle serious political disputes in the world, because of the conflict in interests of its permanent members, as some of them would side openly with parties violating the principles of the Charter. Thus, important disputes, such as the questions of Palestine, Namibia, racial discrimination and Afghanistan, remain unsettled.

For the sake of historical comparison, we may recall that many political disputes were submitted to the League of Nations after its establishment in 1920. The League found solutions to some of those disputes, but failed to settle most of the important ones. In the end, the League collapsed as an international organization and the Second World War commenced and involved the world in violence, disorder and instability.

Let us now renew our determination to strengthen the role of the United Nations, so that it may remain an important platform for dialogue and understanding among nations and peoples, and provide a good framework for co-operation and settlement of disputes, in order to maintain world peace and security and spare future generations from the scourge of war.

The Iraq-Iran war has entered its sixth year. Its danger and scope have been so extended as to endanger navigation in the whole of the Gulf region. Commercial ships have been attacked outside the zone of military operations, although they belong to States not parties to the dispute. The Security Council adopted resolutions 540 (1983) and 552 (1984), which reaffirm the principle of freedom of navigation in that vital region of the world. They call upon all States to refrain from any act that may obstruct freedom of navigation in the Gulf to and from the ports of States which are not parties to the dispute.

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A dangerous development took place in this war when Iran started detaining in its ports commercial ships belonging to States not parties to the dispute. Such acts aggravate the dangers of the war, threaten international navigation and undermine the relations of good neighbourliness.

The Iraq-Iran war has become, without any doubt, a source of concern and instability in the Gulf region. Moved by the need for peaceful co-existence among all States of the region and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, the countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council of Arab States deployed and exerted tireless efforts to settle the dispute between the neighbouring States of Iran and Iraq, and called upon the two warring States to apply the dictates of logic and justice and accept its own mediation or that of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference or others.

It is worth noting that Iraq has responded to all initiatives to settle this dispute peacefully through negotiations. Moved by the desire to safeguard the security, peace and stability of the people of the two countries, we sincerely hope that Iran will respond to the peaceful initiatives and mediations, so that peace may return to the countries of that region.

The international community as a whole is called upon to move to contain this destructive war and settle it peacefully. The international community can no longer ignore this dangerous war, which has started to threaten the peace and security of the Gulf as a whole, and endanger the interests thereby of other States lying far from the region.

The question of Palestine is one of the chronic problems that the United Nations has been dealing with, since it was laid before the General Assembly by Great Britain on the grounds that it was unable to solve that problem. The General Assembly adopted the well-known partition resolution in 1947, in which some Western

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States and other States from the Eastern bloc played an effective role in its drafting and adoption. It was under that resolution that the Zionist entity was established on the Arab land of Palestine.

Ever since that date, Israel started to carry out its expansionist policy. It still occupies all the land of Palestine, to build unlawful Zionist settlements. It attacks continuously the neighbouring Arab States and occupies by force their territories, as happened in 1982 when its forces attacked Lebanon. It still subjects the Arab inhabitants to the most severe kinds of injustice, murder and dispossession and applies against them the same terrorist and racial measures - used by the Government of Pretoria against the people of South Africa.

The failure of the Security Council to implement its decisions has encouraged Israel to persist in its challenge to this Organization. It persists in attacking any Arab State and violating the integrity of its territories or air space. In June 1981, its aircrafts attacked the Iraqi nuclear reactor built for peaceful purposes. Last week, it launched an air raid against the sister country of Tunisia, and inflicted heavy losses in life and property among the civilian population.

This criminal attack by Israel is an overt terrorist act, and a grave violation of the sovereignty and security of a State Member of this Organization. It is a serious disregard of all principles and goals advocated by the United Nations Charter and international law. We appeal to the international community to condemn this criminal aggression committed by an entity which pretends to be a State abiding by international law, whereas in fact it is far from being so.

The Security Council has not been able to adopt resolutions to prevent or stop recurrent Israeli aggression, or to implement positive decisions adopted by it to reaffirm the illegality of the annexation of Arab land, due to the support of the

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United States to Israel and its recurrent use of the veto against any proposal to condemn or punish Israel for its inhuman practices, which are contrary to international law. The prestige of this Organization cannot be restored except by due respect for its resolutions.

Despite the arrogance of Israel and its continuous aggression, the Arabs have proved to the world that they want peace. They exposed the fraudulent allegations of Israel when they put forward the Fez Plan for peace in the Middle East. It is a positive plan, which has been rejected by Israel. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has responded to the initiatives for a peaceful solution by participating in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to carry out a dialogue with the United States in preparation for an international conference to solve the Palestinian question peacefully.

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Anybody who reads through Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) will find that they are based on the sound principle of peace for land. All initiatives for peace in this respect are based on this principle. Thus we see that the Arab nation is moving towards peace, whereas Israel is blocking this forward movement, for it does not want peace. It prefers the occupation of Arab lands to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

The question of apartheid has been under discussion by the General Assembly since 1946. It is regrettable that the international community has so far been unable until now to stop the inhuman practices of the white minority régime directed against the people of South Africa.

The question of apartheid has given rise to a number of decisions at the international level; possibly the most important is the Security Council resolution of 4 November 1977 which, under Chapter VII of the Charter, made mandatory the then voluntary ban on the export of arms to South Africa. The racist Pretoria Government tries to contain international pressure by introducing formal reforms which do not deal with the actual policy of racial discrimination in South Africa. This action has not deceived the international community which has, on the contrary, reaffirmed the conviction of the black majority that a continuous struggle against that despicable policy is the only way in which it can regain its freedom and put an end to the policy of racial discrimination. The current mass uprising in many parts of South Africa confirms this conclusion, which has become increasingly inescapable over the years.

We appeal to the international community to support the struggle of the people of South Africa and call upon the Security Council - and particularly its permanent members - to do its duty and impose economic sanctions and a total boycott on the Pretoria Government to compel it to abandon its policy of racial discrimination.

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As regards Namibia, the Government of South Africa still disregards Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which calls for the independence of Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations. I associate myself with the majority of Member States of this Organization in reaffirming the illegality of the elections and of the local measures imposed by the Government of South Africa in Namibia, contrary to all United Nations resolutions.

The question of Afghanistan has been attracting the attention of the international community since 1979, when Soviet forces attacked that country and occupied it against the will of its people. The Soviet forces must, in accordance with repeated United Nations resolutions, pull out from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people may regain their freedom and select the system of government that they want, without any interference or threats, and resume the policy of non-alignment which they have chosen for themselves. We hope that the negotiations conducted through the United Nations between Pakistan and Afghanistan aimed at finding a solution to this dispute will be crowned with success.

As regards the question of Cyprus, we commend the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to create a favourable atmosphere that will lead to a just and lasting peaceful solution acceptable to both parties.

With regard to Korea, we support the negotiations conducted by both parties under the auspices of the Red Cross with a view to the reunification of that country so that the people of Korea may realize their desire to live in comfort and prosperity.

As we review the work of our Organization over the past 40 years, we would express the hope that every effort will be made to bring about its development. I have the honour to declare here that the State of Bahrain is not only fully prepared but also determined to act with other peace-loving Member States to bring about the achievement of the objectives of the Charter. We sincerely hope that

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

our current historic session will adopt the resolutions necessary to solve the international problems confronting mankind, for they will have the most disastrous effects if they are not tackled by means of joint international action. It has become necessary for the existence of the human race to act seriously and sincerely to build for future generations a human community in which peace, justice and prosperity prevail.

Mr. VEGA IMBERT (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish): This session of the General Assembly is of a very special nature because of its great historical significance. The international community has expressed the hope that the year 1985, in which we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, will mark the beginning of an era of lasting peace and justice throughout the world, as well as one of social and economic development, progress and independence for all peoples of the world. In view of the great importance that the work of this session will have for the future of our Organization, your election, Mr. President, could not have been wiser or more just. You possess not only a thorough knowledge of the work of the United Nations, acquired over a period of many years, but also a broad understanding of the role that the Organization should play in the creation of a better world. Moreover, your election is a recognition of the outstanding role played by Spain in the evolution of the world's culture and the indisputable contribution it has made to the development of the norms and principles governing the conduct of nations in their mutual relations. It is also a significant demonstration of affection for the noble people of Spain, at present living through one of the glorious periods in its history as a result of its steadfast resolve to live under a system in which democracy and justice prevail. In the circumstances, this special session could not have begun under better auspices.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a most sincere tribute to the magnificent job done by your predecessor, Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia, whose constant devotion to his work and faith in the Organization's future allowed him to bring to a successful conclusion all the activities connected with the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

It also gives me great pleasure to mention the dedication and zeal with which the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, is carrying out his important tasks. His confidence in this Organization and his ideas regarding its revitalization, to which all Members must contribute, compel us to follow the guidelines he has laid down, which are both wise and sincere.

I cannot proceed with my statement before referring to the great sorrow felt in the Dominican Republic with regard to the tragedy that has befallen Mexico, a country closely linked to ours. We would reiterate the appeal addressed by the General Assembly to the international community that the flow of assistance to the victims should be maintained on the basis of a co-operative effort.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

The Dominican Government and people reiterate their constant support for the purposes and principles that led to the establishment of the United Nations 40 years ago. The Dominican Republic, together with the other countries of Latin America, had the honour of being represented in San Francisco when the Charter of this international body was signed.

I reiterate my country's unswerving support of the principle enshrined in the Charter concerning respect for the self-determination of peoples and our condemnation of attacks against the sovereignty of States, whatever form they may take. The Dominican Republic is one of the democracies most concerned with preventing the violation of those principles, whose effectiveness is one of the main goals of our world Organization.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the States Members have the duty to stop and think about the effectiveness of our Organization aware that its success or failure is up to us. This is a responsibility that all the States Members have to assume, thus removing from the United Nations a guilt that is not attributable to it.

This is also a time for States Members to reaffirm their determination to unite to combat the serious problems that we are facing in a world that is increasingly interdependent and in which the destiny of union to which the human race is called becomes increasingly clear and inevitable.

We agree with what the Secretary-General says in his annual report. His chief concern is the future, threatened as it is by nuclear war, a danger which calls for effective action by the United Nations and political will on the part of its States Members to respect the decisions and resolutions of the world Organization.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

Thus the developing countries come to this Assembly more resolved than ever to denounce the devastating effects on our economic growth and social peace of the arms race and its astronomical costs. The Secretary-General, in a statement he made during his recent official visit to my country, said that:

"The United Nations is sounding the alarm against the accumulation of armaments, which not only increases international tensions but also aggravates and prolongs underdevelopment."

Among the conflicts that constitute a threat to international peace and security we are particularly affected by and concerned at that in Central America. We are a Latin American country, situated not far from the very vortex of this conflict; the struggles and tensions in that area are struggles and tensions among brother peoples.

Ever since its present Government came to power the Dominican Republic has firmly and clearly stated that only a peaceful, negotiated settlement can resolve this serious conflict. Consequently the Dominican Government has always maintained its absolutely unswerving support for the activities for peace of the Contadora Group, which is advocating a Latin American solution to a crisis caused essentially by the age-old problems of the underdevelopment and social injustice that prevail in that region.

Contadora's magnificent work, as we have said many times, has prevented a widespread conflagration that would jeopardize the peace and security of the region, with serious repercussions that could affect the whole international community.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

At the present time one last great effort is required to induce the Central American countries immediately to sign the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which is based on one of the great diplomatic successes of Contadora - the Document of Objectives adopted in September 1983 by the Central American countries.

In speaking of the Central American crisis we must stress, as we have said, that its origin is indubitably linked with the serious social and economic problems of that region. However, we fully agree with what was said a few days ago from this rostrum by our dear friend, the Foreign Minister of Mexico, Bernardo Sepulveda Amor, namely:

"... we cannot fail to recognize that the conflict implies geo-political considerations of zones of influence and strategic balance; nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the cessation of foreign interference is a decisive condition for achieving any peaceful settlement in Central America."

(A/40/PV.8, p. 29)

For that reason, the Dominican Republic has always held the view that the Contadora Group, in its productive activities for peace, requires active support and solidarity from all Latin American countries, particularly from the democracies. That is why our Government was the first to respond positively, decisively and energetically to the recent establishment of a Support Group for Contadora by the South American countries.

Furthermore, in this same context, we have always stated clearly and firmly the need for total support from the United States and Cuba the Contadora Act as essential for its full and effective implementation.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

We follow with great interest and concern the development and evolution of conflicts in other areas of the world where there is disregard for the guiding principles of the United Nations Charter concerning respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention, non-interference in internal affairs, the non-use of the threat or use of force, while at the same time attempts are made to restrict the right of peoples to self-determination by means of foreign occupation or colonial domination.

We firmly uphold the view that there is no international dispute or conflict that cannot be resolved on the basis of dialogue and negotiation among the parties directly concerned; in other words, a peaceful and political settlement.

In the framework of the principles that I mentioned earlier can be found the basis for an immediate solution of the problems facing various countries in different areas of the world, such as those of the Middle East, Kampuchea, Korea, Cyprus and Afghanistan, among others, on which we have expressed clear and firm views in earlier statements. In particular, I reiterate the unchanging position of the Dominican Government, namely, that to achieve a durable peace in the Middle East it is essential that all the parties involved in the conflict take part in the negotiating process.

We recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, as well as its right to establish a State on Palestinian territory, without disregarding, as far as Israel is concerned, the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) concerning the right of all countries in the region to live in peace within secure and well-defined boundaries.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

It is important to note, and we heartily welcome, the efforts steadfastly exerted by other countries of the region not directly involved in the conflict in support of the steps to achieve a peaceful solution. At the same time we are hopeful that other peace initiatives will emerge in the region itself and will have the support of the international community.

The Dominican Republic joins in the appeal so often made in this forum for the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from its territory.

Furthermore the Dominican Republic also welcomes the progress made in recent months in the talks between South Korea and North Korea in the area of bilateral economic co-operation and cultural exchanges.

We are pleased to note that through dialogue, negotiation and mutual understanding the situation in Korea may be brought to a satisfactory settlement.

Similarly, we endorse the just claims of Argentina regarding the problem of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and we hope that the talks between Argentina and the United Kingdom will be resumed with a view to seeking a peaceful and amicable solution to this problem.

Every year the Dominican Republic reiterates its total condemnation of the abhorrent practice of apartheid. In this regard we must express our concern over the worsening and growing deterioration of the situation in South Africa, where the absurd policy of apartheid is producing untold human suffering, arbitrary mass arrests and forced displacement of great sectors of the population. We wholeheartedly join in the unanimous international call for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

We wish also to reiterate our firm support for the heroic struggle waged by the people of Namibia for its self-determination and independence and to reaffirm

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our unswerving position to the effect that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the sole acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian conflict.

The serious world economic crisis is becoming ominous. In general terms, growth rates do not even measure up to those of the 1970s. The anticipated recovery in the industrialized countries has not met initial expectations. The limited recovery has not had any significant effect on the expansion of third-world exports. Hence the tendency of concentrating the benefits of world economic growth in the industrialized countries continues.

Unemployment rates in the developing countries are reaching alarming levels. In this International Youth Year, millions of young people will swell the legions of those who are already desperately seeking work, but in vain.

As I mentioned earlier, the recovery in the major industrialized economies has not had any beneficial effect on the third-world countries. Stubborn protectionist measures in time of depression turn the markets of the developed countries into impregnable fortresses, in violation of international agreements.

Over the past 10 years the prices of third-world export products have collapsed and reached indefensible levels, thus destroying the most optimistic programmes for adjustment and economic recovery.

With regard to international trade, the many meetings of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have not managed to meet the aspirations of the developing countries regarding the gradual elimination of the limits imposed on their export products. On the contrary, after the GATT Ministerial Meeting in 1982, the industrialized nations imposed greater restrictions in disregard of their commitments and the rules and principles of the General Agreement.

Last year in this Hall I spoke of the importance for the Dominican Republic of

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sugar as a main source of foreign currency and I mentioned the 20 per cent reduction announced by the United States in the quota allotted to producing countries. In recent days the export quota from my country to the United States market has once again been reduced as a result of pressures from already highly protected producers. These reductions largely cancel out the benefits of the assistance programmes that great nation is carrying out on behalf of our people.

However, even more serious for our sugar industry is the continuance of subsidy policies practised by the European Economic Community (EEC) for the benefit of its producers which substantially depress prices on the international market.

A new round of GATT negotiations is under way, and issues vital for developing countries, such as tropical products, quantitative restrictions, textiles and subsidies on agricultural products, remain to be solved. We believe that gradual implementation of the GATT General Convention and the commitments adopted at earlier meetings constitute a point of departure for dealing with new items put forward by countries which traditionally ignore GATT provisions.

The debt problem is today the greatest challenge facing Latin American countries. Indeed, the enormous amount of our countries' debt, which has reached \$370 billion, constitutes a problem of such magnitude that it can no longer be ignored by those who make demands and call for implementation of traditional economic policies to allow them to recover their loans.

Latin America devotes more than 35 per cent of its annual exports to paying the interest on its foreign debt. Payment of the debt is made more difficult by the lack of opportunities significantly to increase our exports. A region cannot develop by exporting capital when it most needs to retain it.

The developing countries are not opposed to programmes of adjustment as such. Our complaint is that usually the stabilization programmes, in particular those of

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the International Monetary Fund (IMF), do not eliminate the structural imbalances and in practice lead to greater social costs and political pressures.

Furthermore, the increased rate of inflation, the problems of exchange rates and the decline of our peoples' standards of living - elements in a typical adjustment programme - are not even offset by a sufficient flow of resources from outside. Similarly, in exercising strict control over the adjustment programmes the IMF does not take into account the damage caused our external sector by the protectionist and deficit policies of some industrialized countries. In general, the goals of the International Monetary Fund and the development policies of the third-world countries diverge. Frequently the obligation to achieve certain objectives leads to increased unemployment and the reduction of domestic demand, thus harming the production and financial systems.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

Like other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic has been suffering from the instability in international trade, the decline in export income, the impact of fluctuations in interest rates, the recessive effects of adjustment programmes and the social pressures that are involved in this situation.

The President of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, in a statement he made on the occasion of the ministerial meeting of the Cartagena Consensus held last February stated the following:

"It is essential that the debt be paid - not by impoverishing our peoples even further, but by developing their economic potential. This requires the active co-operation of industrialized countries and international bodies to raise, with their financial and technical support, the purchasing power and productive capacity of the people of the region so that higher production and prices may partially cancel out external obligations, while at the same time improving living conditions in the region.

"This would be a firm basis for stability and a stronger international financial system."

Despite the picture I have drawn, our country, under the wise leadership of President Salvador Jorge Blanco, and at great sacrifice in the face of enormous obstacles, has been able to honour its commitments vis-à-vis the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and private international banks.

The most recent assessments of the international economic situation show that the hoped for recovery has not led to a sustained rate of growth in the gross product of our region. In view of such prospects, it is even more necessary to have a political dialogue among creditors and debtors as an effective means of producing general solutions to the debt problem.

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These demands are a fundamental part of the Cartagena Consensus, which united the efforts of foreign and finance ministers of 11 countries of the region, vigorously supported by their Heads of State. The statements by qualified spokesmen from the region and recent statements made here in this Organization by the Presidents of Brazil, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela reflect the need for the political dialogue that we are advocating.

Without any doubt, the Cartagena Consensus, as a concerted-action group, has largely helped to consolidate Latin American solidarity and has produced positive effects on the processes of rescheduling the external debts of our countries.

We should refer here to a concept that the Cartagena Consensus group of countries has systematically rejected. I am speaking of the formation of a so-called debtors' club. We oppose that idea, having always understood that it would mean global and collective negotiation of the Latin American external debt. However, we emphatically advocate the institutionalization of a whole set of principles and common parameters that would serve as a point of reference and contribute to the success of the separate negotiations of each country.

Among such guidelines I would cite those established by the Cartagena Group to grant the same most favourable possible conditions to all countries as are obtained by a single country in its individual relations. Similarly, it is vitally important to establish a viable relationship between export income, the flow of new capital and foreign debt-servicing so as to guarantee the payment of external commitments in the same ratio as the region's economic growth.

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Furthermore, there is no overlooking the fact that the efforts of Cartagena, and its much-needed and reasonable proposals, have contributed largely to the entire international community's perceptibly growing awareness of the problems. This is apparent from statements by high-ranking political figures from the developed countries and from concrete proposals that are beginning to be outlined in those countries. These proposals, if they become effective in the short term, could contribute - if not to solving the entire serious debt problem - at least to initiating effective remedial processes in the quest for a solution.

In this context, our attention is concentrated on the results that may emerge from the meeting now being held in Seoul, and from the forthcoming negotiating round on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The overwhelming debt situation is of such magnitude and its consequences are of such proportions that it is curious but encouraging to see that such influential, and yet such dissimilar spokesmen as Henry Kissinger and Fidel Castro, agree on the peremptory necessity of seeking a solution to this serious problem. Of course, each has his own proposals and approaches.

Despite the aforementioned gloomy prospects, third world countries are striving to meet the challenge imposed on them by the present economic crisis. This is apparent from the boom in South-South co-operation, encouraged by the Group of 77, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the active participation of developing countries in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and other forums of an economic character where negotiations are underway.

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As part of these efforts, the third world nations have put forward initiatives, such as the Arusha and Caracas programmes, they have encouraged programmes of co-operation within the United Nations and have promoted the creation of specialized agencies to deal with problems chiefly affecting the third world.

In particular, Latin America and the Caribbean, with their firm determination to engage in dialogue and consultation, have also created many mechanisms for integration and regional and subregional co-operation. Among them we would cite the particular importance of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), which was set up in 1975, as a regional instrument to implement the economic guidelines adopted by the Group of 77, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the postulates of the new international economic order.

SELA at present is one of the most effective mechanisms for co-operation among third world countries. On the tenth anniversary of the establishment of SELA, we venture, on behalf of the Dominican Republic, to welcome all the initiatives that have emerged from that body with a view to the consolidation of interregional links.

Furthermore, we must recognize the valuable contribution of the United Nations system to the success of co-operation programmes to benefit developing countries.

There is no doubt that the General Assembly's decision to proclaim 1985 as the International Youth Year has led to a vigorous, world-wide movement that has highlighted the importance of youth in the task of forging the future of mankind. We need the support of that valuable sector of the population to create the basis and conditions for a more just and equitable international society.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican
Republic)

Inspired by these noble goals, the Government of the Dominican Republic set up a national committee to co-ordinate all activities related to the preparation and commemoration of International Youth Year. That committee has carried out an active campaign throughout our national territory with the aim of promoting the role of youth in the process of national development, while at the same time involving young people in my country to participate in the study and solution of our most crucial problems.

It is of especial importance that the international community endeavour to encourage programmes of action to guarantee economic and social security for elderly people, while offering a whole series of opportunities for them to continue to contribute to the development of their respective countries.

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Furthermore, the aim of effectively implementing the international plan of action regarding elderly people, adopted by the same General Assembly, the delegation of the Dominican Republic considered it appropriate to set up a similar body to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), in other words, to set up a United Nations programme that would be financed by voluntary contributions and that would protect elderly people in the same way that UNICEF protects children.

With regard to UNICEF, I must inform the international community in this General Assembly that the Government of the Dominican Republic has carried out an intensive national campaign to vaccinate children against the main lethal diseases that affect children. This campaign has had public recognition from UNICEF, and we shall be able to immunize all of our children before 1990.

We consider it very important that this Assembly should encourage all countries that have not yet done so to sign the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Last year in this General Assembly the Dominican Republic gave its determined support to the Quito Declaration on drug trafficking and expressed its total solidarity with the view that drug trafficking was a crime against mankind. Bearing in mind the serious problem of the abuse and illicit traffic in drugs, we welcome and support the Secretary-General's proposal for a world conference to consider the implications of this serious problem.

To tackle all the aspects of this scourge of mankind is an unavoidable necessity for the international community, in view of the material and human damage caused to our societies, in particular to young people, and the unforeseeable consequences of that scourge.

Aware of the serious repercussions for our national life of the consumption and traffic in drugs, the Dominican Republic has undertaken a firm campaign to combat this pernicious practice. A few days ago, our President informed the whole nation of the arrest and break-up of a group of drug traffickers among whom

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were involved both foreigners and Dominicans.

At the same time, the Dominican Republic wishes to ~~express~~ its serious concern over the increase in acts of terrorism in international life. We are concerned over the fate of the daughter of the President of El Salvador, and we hope that she may soon be released, to the relief of her family and so as to reduce the tensions that this kidnapping has caused.

It is an essential part of the policy of the Dominican Republic to observe, promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. As a consequence of our strict concern for these guidelines, I can state with legitimate pride that in the Dominican Republic such rights and freedoms are effectively enjoyed. This is an undeniable fact. In view of our interest in this subject, we are always ready to co-operate with the United Nations and all bodies in the United Nations system to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Dominican Republic has enthusiastically supported from the outset the establishment of the Decade for Women and has taken an active part in the various events connected with it, including the most recent Conference held in Nairobi, to evaluate the goals of this Decade, and we share the general concern over the status of women and their participation in development.

We, as the host country, have given all the necessary support to the activities of the United Nations International Institute for Research and Training of Women. We are very pleased to see the quality and effectiveness of the work which that body has done. In acting as host to that organization, the Dominican Republic shows its commitment to the United Nations Decade for Women. We wish to make an appeal to all countries here to step up their co-operation with the Institute.

(Mr. Vega Imbert, Dominican Republic)

The presence at this session of an unprecedented number of heads of State is clear proof of the growing importance that States Members attach to international relations, and the United Nations is the forum par excellence to express our policies and collectively to formulate positions on political and economic situations, as well as to define joint development strategies.

In view of the fact that these relations must be intensified, it is for the United Nations to channel them in the most effective manner. It is for the United Nations to play the role of a body where joint negotiations can be held. It is for the United Nations to offer support to States Members in their work to attain economic independence and the growth and development of their peoples. And, what is most important, it is for the United Nations to open the way to the daily struggle for a more just world.

At such an opportune time as the fortieth anniversary, we should reflect calmly and deeply on the serious threats hanging over the human race, even its total extermination. Likewise, we must think of the overwhelming obstacles to true social justice in and among peoples.

But in the tenacious struggle among men of goodwill for this ideal world of peace, security and justice, solidarity and co-operation, dreamed of by the creators of this great Organization, let us recognize once again that it is the Organization that constitutes the most appropriate instrument to achieve those supreme goals of mankind. By strengthening our faith and our efforts in this Organization, we shall bequeath this ideal world to new generations whose preservation, peace and security are our greatest obligation before history.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.