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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

(Spain)

- Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations [39]
(continued)

Statements were made by:

Brigadier-General Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Council of State
of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau

Justice Daniel F. Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National
Defence Council of the Republic of Ghana

Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema M'Basogo, President of the Republic of
Equatorial Guinea

Mr. José Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola
/...

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Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Mr. Radovan Vlatkovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Mr. Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

The Right Honourable Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister of the Republic of Uganda

Mr. Pierre Harzel, Minister of State and Special Envoy of the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium

Mr. Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, Minister for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Colombia

Mr. Vladimir A. Kravets, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Senator Ezequiel González Alsina, Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Paraguay

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)

COMMEMORATION OF THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Brigadier General Joao Bernardo Vieira.

Brigadier General Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, was escorted to the rostrum.

President VIEIRA (spoke in Portuguese; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation): Since its foundation the United Nations has become the international embodiment of the ideals of peace and the liberty of peoples, and the most efficient instrument created by mankind to meet the challenges confronting it during this stage of its evolution. The creation of the United Nations began a new system of international relations based upon a new philosophy and new concepts which would substantially change relations among States.

The Organization had entrusted to it the historic tasks of encouraging the process of decolonization and the emancipation of peoples, promoting economic and social development and international co-operation, and strengthening world peace and stability in accordance with the objectives of the Charter.

The birth of the United Nations marked the beginning of a new stage in the evolution of mankind characterized by a growing awareness of interdependence among nations and the need to combine efforts to solve problems of peace and international stability.

Solidarity among peoples is an imperative of our day, because the moral values which flow therefrom constitute one of the areas of common ground for mankind. The impetus of solidarity, which has been demonstrated in various circumstances, such

(President Vieira)

as the famine in Africa and the recent earthquake in Mexico is eloquent testimony to this fact.

It is with a feeling of profound gratitude for the valuable assistance provided by the United Nations only yesterday in its struggle for national liberation, and today in its difficult task of reconstruction, that the people of Guinea-Bissau are taking part in this exercise of stock-taking on the achievements of the Organization and prospects for its future work.

The United Nations has opened the way to participation in the guidance of the world's destiny on an equal footing for all countries, regardless of their size, their wealth and their political and ideological views.

Because of its commitment to the building of a world of liberty, peace, dialogue and co-operation, the world Organization has succeeded in symbolizing the aspirations of our peoples and invigorating the process of decolonization, thus making it possible for the new independent States of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Oceania to join the great family of the United Nations.

The commemoration this year of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, provides us with an opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the United Nations for its praiseworthy work in this regard.

The people of Guinea-Bissau recall with pride the support from this universal forum which was always forthcoming in the course of our country's struggle for freedom and independence. The visit of a special United Nations mission to the liberated regions of our country in April 1972, at the invitation of our late lamented companion in arms, Amilcar Cabral, at that time Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), was undoubtedly the culmination of this invaluable support.

(President Vieira)

In making known to the world the realities of the struggle in the field this special mission brought about a better understanding on the part of the international community of the legitimacy of our struggle, and highlighted the *raison d'être* of the wholesale widespread movement of solidarity with our people.

Vestiges of colonialism, racism and domination imposed by force of arms continue to exist in the world, although only in residual fashion, and we must put an end to them in conformity with the Charter and decisions of this Organization. We have in mind particularly the urgent need to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, the elimination of the system of apartheid and the affirmation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to independence and the creation of their own State, the restoration of the Arab territories occupied by Israel and the implementation of the right of the peoples of the Western Sahara and East Timor to self-determination and independence.

We also have in mind the urgency of restoring peace and stability in Latin America and the Caribbean, in South Asia, in particular in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, through respect for the territorial integrity of the States of those regions and also their right freely to choose their own social, political and economic system.

We also have in mind the continuing fratricidal war in Chad, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the situation in Cyprus and the question of the reunification of the Korean peninsula on an independent and peaceful basis. These are problems which, if they are to be solved, call for the conciliatory role of the United Nations to be strengthened, and for the countries concerned and all other members of the international community to respect strictly the principles of the Charter, particularly the principle calling for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States and the non-use of force in international relations.

(President Vieira)

In this context, the exacerbation of the situation in southern Africa has shown once again the persistence of the racist Pretoria régime in pursuing its policy of apartheid and its scorn for the decisions of the United Nations and for world public opinion.

The actions of the South African patriots under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), the progress of the struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, the growing number of protest demonstrations against the racist policy of the Pretoria régime, and the evolution of the position of certain traditional allies of South Africa are increasingly isolating that régime.

(President Vieira)

The stepping up of aggression by the South African Government and its attempts to destabilize neighbouring independent States, in particular Angola and Mozambique, can only be interpreted as proof of the desperation of a régime which knows it is doomed to give way to a democratic society based on respect for the human person.

The constant violations of the national territory of the People's Republic of Angola by South African forces, the obvious purpose of which is to support the destabilizing actions of the puppet groups and to hold up the process of Namibian independence, should continue to be vigorously condemned but, above all, should encourage the international community to apply sanctions, particularly those provided for in the Charter.

The application of those measures is a matter of urgency in the light of the untenable situation resulting from the state of emergency decreed by the South African Government and the stepping up of repression and the growing number of arbitrary imprisonments. The freeing of political prisoners, and in particular Nelson Mandela, which continues to be called for by the international community as a whole, is all part of this action which is required and calls for us to exert constant pressure on the Pretoria régime.

Questions of economic and social development have always been an essential aspect of the work of this Organization.

The expansion of these activities into ever more diversified fields and the positive effect of the work of the specialized agencies in various parts of the world, and in particular in the developing countries, confirm the role of the United Nations as the most appropriate instrument for solving economic problems.

However, there have been many factors which have prevented that goal from being satisfactorily achieved - the goal of attempting to introduce a greater measure of justice and equity into international economic relations and to contribute to collective welfare.

(President Vieira)

The growing imbalance in terms of the level of development between various parts of the world and the tendency for this gap to grow even wider between rich and poor countries has led to a situation of this kind in spite of the many measures taken within the framework of the development strategies adopted by the United Nations.

The world economic situation and the growing adverse effects of the current crisis on developing countries demonstrate the legitimacy and relevance of the concerns which have always been expressed by those countries, particularly within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and the various bodies of the United Nations.

The economies of the developing countries - marked as they are by a constant decrease in production, especially of agricultural products, a decline in exports, lack of financial as well as human and material resources and an adverse balance of payments and the burden of external debt, to which must be added social problems connected with ever more difficult conditions of life for the people - continue to decline without any prospect of any kind of improvement.

The overall approach to development problems and the revitalization of multilateral co-operation, as well as the consolidation of the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the preservation of the universality of the United Nations system - all are elements which in our view would help to safeguard the positive role of the Organization in its attempts to achieve the objective of establishing a new international economic order.

Within the framework of the profound and generalized crisis affecting the world, the situation in Africa is a matter of particular concern.

The strategy emerging from the examination of the situation by the Heads of State or Government of Africa at the Twenty-First Summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should inspire and guide action designed not only to solve the

(President Vieira)

immediate problems of the continent through the application of emergency measures but above all the better to identify the deep-lying causes of that situation and to advocate medium and long-term policies and measures to promote a recovery of the African economies. The convening of a special session of the General Assembly in this regard on the critical economic situation in Africa, proposed by the OAU, is something which would meet that concern.

Indeed, the combination of internal efforts and effective international aid to create conditions promoting a reduction and a gradual replacement of external aid, as well as embarking on a process of self-propelled development, should lead to self-sufficiency in food and is the only way of facing up to the crisis currently affecting Africa and of improving the living standards of the people of that continent.

The question of external indebtedness, which is one of the major concerns of the developing countries, should receive serious and urgent attention from the international community. There can be no doubt that international co-operation with regard to this question, and the convening of a conference on currency and finance, as advocated by the Seventh Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi in 1983, would make possible a comprehensive analysis of the situation, as well as helping - as it undoubtedly would - to identify ways and means and the application of measures to reduce the effects of this problem of indebtedness on the world economy and its pressure, in turn, on the economies of developing countries.

In Guinea-Bissau, in spite of the situation inherited from colonialism and the consequences of the world economic recession and natural disasters, such as drought and desertification which are connected with the fact that my country belongs to the Sudano-Sahelian zone, we are nevertheless firmly committed to the search for ways and means of overcoming present difficulties, particularly thanks to the

(President Vieira)

mobilization of the active forces within our country and the rational utilization of all our potential.

The co-operation of the international community in this regard has proved very valuable. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all countries and bodies whether international, governmental or non-governmental for their important contribution made to the development efforts of our people and Government.

The conciliatory role of the United Nations, which has so often made it possible to solve grave conflicts, has contributed to the preservation of international peace and security. The fragility of peace and stability in the world, especially when viewed from the standpoint of the generalized economic crisis and the arms race, leaves the international community with no choice but to act together to eliminate the danger of nuclear war and to work together in accordance with the objectives of peace and development of the world Organization to bring about general and complete disarmament.

We are convinced that the convening of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, with the participation of all Member States, would provide us with a good opportunity to undertake an exhaustive analysis of this question, which is of concern to the whole of mankind.

The arms race, which in recent years has assumed unprecedented proportions, is a matter of grave concern in the light of the tensions it engenders in international relations and the vast expenditures it entails, to the detriment of development objectives.

We think that only the promotion of a constructive and permanent dialogue between nations, particularly between the major nuclear Powers - especially the United States of America and the Soviet Union - can help to eliminate the spectre of nuclear war.

(President Vieira)

If we are to be realistic, we must recognize the weaknesses that have characterized the work of the Organization and which have been the subject of such relevant comments by the Secretary-General in his most recent reports. However, if there are certain shortcomings, they are above all due to the conduct of the States Members themselves and to the lack of political will, which reduces the real impact of United Nations intervention in resolving the world's problems. Consequently, our work in the years to come should be aimed at endowing the United Nations with the position, scope and means necessitated by the nature and complexity of the problems to be solved.

At this time of stock taking, when we are all attempting together to find the best ways to strengthen the role and the action of the United Nations, it is fortunate, Mr. President, that the international community is able to rely upon your long experience with the Organization.

We wish to thank the Preparatory Committee, and particularly its Chairman, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, for its efforts to make this commemorative session a success.

We also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the devotion of the United Nations Secretary-General, whose efforts and personal commitment have made a valuable contribution to the achievement of the ideals that inspired the founders of this Organization.

It is the duty of all people of all continents to consolidate the achievements of the 40 years of life and work of the United Nations, to make sure that the future is not compromised and to so act that the youth of the world, to which we have devoted special attention this year, and future generations can, in turn and in a better world, contribute to the fulfilment of the aspirations of mankind.

Brigadier General Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency Justice Daniel Annan.

Mr. Daniel Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of the Republic of Ghana, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. ANNAN (Ghana): Almost 25 years ago to the day a distinguished son of Africa, the then President of Ghana's First Republic, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, stood at this very rostrum to bring an urgent message to this Assembly and to the world. At that time the world was on the brink of a political crisis whose potential was deadly. The Congo crisis reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations. It demonstrated the potential of the United Nations to contain conflict that could lead to war, but it also showed the impotence of the United Nations in the face of the persistent pursuit of big-Power interests even if those interests run counter to the wishes of the majority of the Members of the United Nations. The Security Council having failed to live up to its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly had made tentative progress towards fulfilling that role, but the Congo crisis showed how even the General Assembly could be manipulated by the big Powers.

The United Nations is 40 years old. Has it been useful? Can it continue to perform in the manner it has been doing recently? Is there anything that can be done to make the Charter work better for the benefit of mankind? These are questions to which we must address ourselves today.

Before I do so, however, permit me, Sir, to convey to you the satisfaction of the Government and people of Ghana at your unanimous election to the exalted office of President of this session of the General Assembly. The honour is undoubtedly richly deserved, for you are recognized as one of the most experienced diplomats of our time, having served your illustrious country, Spain, and the international community in this house with sincerity and distinction for over three decades.

(Mr. Annan, Ghana)

To your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, that worthy son of our continent, goes our sincere gratitude in equal measure. His exemplary leadership, his wisdom and depth of understanding and the meticulous work he put in in connection with the arrangements for the celebration of this anniversary are a source of pride.

When the founders of this historic Organization gathered in San Francisco their aim, in those final depressing days of the Second World War, was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to promote global economic and social progress, as well as better standards of life in larger freedom. Has the Organization lived up to those expectations? One thing can be said, and that is that it has withstood the test of time, even though it has been through tribulations and experienced situations that have rocked it to its very foundations. It has been through moments that have threatened to reopen ghastly political and military wounds comparable even to those of the Second World War.

While the power of veto provided for under the Charter with the best of intentions has been employed to render the Security Council impotent to provide prompt and effective action to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations, particularly through the General Assembly, with its almost universal membership, has succeeded as a forum for reflecting international public opinion and bringing the moral force of such opinion to bear on issues that would otherwise have got out of hand. The General Assembly has, albeit in a modest manner, developed coercive muscle to make up for the deficiencies of the Security Council. Thus, from the Palestine problem through the Korean question, the Viet Nam war, the Congo crisis and now such problems as the Afghanistan question, to name but a few, the moral force of the United Nations has been a factor in the prevention of global war. In the light of

(Mr. Annan, Ghana)

the accumulated nuclear arsenal of the nuclear Powers, this achievement amounts to saving mankind from extinction, if not from the scourge of war.

We are, however, far from achieving international peace and security. There are still today many flashpoints of conflict that could turn our moderate success into an exercise in futility.

(Mr. Annan, Ghana)

The Palestine question, South African intransigence and the Afghanistan problem are issues likely to ignite general if not global war, while the spiralling arms race, including the totally unnecessary research currently being carried out in connection with the emplacement of military weapons in outer space, attest to the intensity of the mutual suspicion or the rival pursuit of hegemony of the power blocs, the pursuit of hegemony being very often the basis for the destabilization of the Governments of the third world.

In this connection, it is particularly sad that some Powers do not even wish to see the United Nations exert the only power left to it - the moral authority of the collective voice of mankind. The activities of the United Nations are regarded by some Members as irksome, and they therefore either resort to threats of withdrawal of membership or financial support or seek the resolution of conflicts on the agenda of the United Nations outside the Organization's framework.

In this context, the Government of Ghana wishes to add its voice to those of countries which have already appealed especially to the Western countries to join on this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist South African régime. We believe that, in addition to the economic pressure that sanctions would exert on the apartheid administration, they would also be symbolic of the unwillingness of the international community to underwrite that régime's arrant racism in any form.

A far larger threat to peace is posed by the economic and social disparities between nations. We all know how economic factors have often been the basis of civil wars and international conflicts. The chasm between the rich and the poor, between the haves and the have-nots, has a far greater potential for endangering international peace and security than even the political questions to which I have referred.

(Mr. Annan, Ghana)

We all know about the historical foundations of the exploitative system of world economy that exists today, but what is unbearable is the continuation of policies that cause the plight of the third world to worsen. The third world has emerged from colonialism without a corresponding freedom of economic action. The promise of political independence remains largely unfulfilled in real economic terms. In the face of crippling debts fostered essentially by the inequitable system of international trade, the third world is forced to accept inflexible prescriptions by international financial institutions that threaten social peace and, indeed, lessen the productive capacity of those nations.

In addition to selfish national policies of the developed countries, such as those on interest rates and import tariffs, the plight of the third world is made worse by the refusal by its trading partners to subscribe to arrangements that would ensure stable income from third world produce. In the limited time available to me, I cannot fully recount the woeful tale of the suffering of the third world, suffering made worse by the calamities of drought and desertification.

The peoples of the third world are making feverish efforts to resuscitate their economies and to provide themselves with decent standards of living. In Africa there is now a singular determination to overcome famine and poverty. Those problems must be resolved if the world is to enjoy peace and security, and they can be resolved only with understanding and co-operation from the developed countries. In this regard, the United Nations system contains institutions which could give considerable assistance in this process.

When the United Nations was established 40 years ago, the economic and social underpinning of peace came into being. The existence of the Economic and Social Council and several specialized agencies and other institutions fathered by the United Nations testifies to this. Those institutions have done a great deal to

(Mr. Annan, Ghana)

improve conditions in the underprivileged countries of this world and to improve international co-operation, and it is in this respect that some measure of success can be attributed to the United Nations. But more, far more, remains to be done.

The United Nations Charter has adequate provisions to ensure a peaceful world. What is necessary is to make the system created by the Charter work. In this regard, the two super-Powers bear a special responsibility. We can envisage a more responsible use of the machinery of a vigorous Security Council through mutual understanding and respect and a greater sense of moral responsibility.

Through appreciation of the need to sacrifice parochial interests for the general good, the Security Council could be an effective instrument for the resolution of such explosive issues as those of Namibia, apartheid and equity for the Palestinians. Through scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, big or small, the foundations of peace would be strengthened. Through recognition of the right of all nations to organize their lives as they see fit, without external intervention, opportunities for confrontation would be reduced. Through a commitment by all nations to work within the United Nations system to resolve conflicts and, above all, through a more substantial contribution by the industrialized nations to the welfare of the underprivileged nations of this world, including acceptance of a new international economic order, the prospects for peace for generations yet unborn would be greatly enhanced.

The United Nations must succeed and it is the responsibility of all of us to make it work.

Mr. Daniel Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of the Republic of Ghana, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, His Excellency Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema M'Basogo.

Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema M'Basogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, was escorted to the rostrum.

President NGUEMA M'BASOGO (interpretation from Spanish): As I am participating personally in the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, I should like, on behalf of the people of Equatorial Guinea, to convey sincere greetings and good wishes for peace, happiness and well-being to all the nations of the world, with the heartfelt hope that the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization will provide a suitable opportunity for rediscovery to humanity in search of itself, for the solution of the grave problems of world peace, security and stability, hunger and malnutrition, the development of the countries of the third world, the spiralling arms race, the insecurity and instability of the States considered to be weak, the serious world economic crisis created by the present inequitable economic system, the threat of the ever-increasing world population, the resistance to colonialism in the territories under its domination, apartheid and racial discrimination, and the persistence of focal points of tension in various parts of the world.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

We warmly welcome the valuable contributions that have been made by the Heads of State and Government in their various statements, which have shed light upon these grave international problems and have revealed their deep sensitivity and concern for finding solutions.

It is therefore our understanding that the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations should not only give us an opportunity to assess failures and successes since its creation and its impact on the fulfilment of the objectives that inspired the San Francisco Charter, but that it should also be an opportunity for the courage, solidarity and interest of our Governments to create a world worthy of the human person, to give way to sincere dialogue, understanding and mutual regard.

The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization provides valuable evidence of the scope of the matters for which solutions are being sought at this fortieth anniversary session and the programme adopted for that purpose demonstrates the complexity of the problems that are the concern of the world today.

During the 40 years of its existence, we can say that the United Nations has pursued very positive action for the establishment of a world worthy of the human person. The action taken by the various specialized agencies of the United Nations system, the special committees, the organs and conferences established, have not only given shape to their economic, technical or educational programmes, but have indeed created a new spirit and new ideas which, in turn, have been shaping international morality and opinion in support of understanding and mutual regard among nations.

The General Assembly, therefore, instead of serving as a forum for confrontation between States, should serve as a forum for dialogue and for narrowing the differences between nations.

(President Nyuema M'Basogo)

It is clear that, thanks to our Organization, many peoples have recovered their political independence and, as a result of the principle of State sovereignty, their voices have been heard the United Nations system.

Our Organization has come to the aid of countries in cases of extreme need. Many disputes have been and are being resolved through dialogue without resorting to force. The increase in multilateral co-operation is making a positive contribution to international détente. To attempt to draw up an exhaustive list of the positive achievements accomplished through the far-ranging work of the Organization would be an endless task.

Unfortunately, the initial dynamism that characterized the work of our Organization which, in the past, resolved various international conflicts, is now being reduced through the negative attitude of some States which do not respect international morality and are imposing the law of might on our common efforts.

The United Nations should therefore adopt a new strategy to strengthen its effectiveness, with more democratic decision-making and more binding implementation of its decisions. If that is not done, the Organization would run the risk of becoming handicapped and bankrupt.

One cannot understand why the United Nations should feel incapable of eliminating colonialism in Namibia, resolving the crisis in the western Sahara, in the Middle East and apartheid in South Africa as well as the political crisis in Latin America.

The principle of the right of self-determination and independence of peoples and of respect for the basic rights of the human person continues to be applied fictitiously because of the imposition of the rule of the mighty by those who have the means to subjugate others in order to perpetuate dependence and domination over the peoples most in need.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

It is regrettable to note, in this connection, the heavy-handed practices of some countries in their relations with weaker States in order to create in them internal problems that provoke crises or weaken their independence. These include the imposition of ideologies unsuited to the way of life of the population, protectionist policies governing manufactured goods, the lack of transfer of technology which condemn the youngest countries to indefinite dependence, the supporting of separatist movements and other similar practices of international terrorism.

The United Nations should strive to help the young countries to strengthen their political and economic independence. The division of the countries of the third world into two blocs, called progressive and moderate, is nothing but the ridiculous influence of imported ideas that are threatening the integrity and unity of its organizations.

The existing bastions of colonialism must disappear throughout the world and, with them, the reprehensible system of apartheid practised by South Africa. The white minority of the racist Government of South Africa and those who are indirectly supporting it must acknowledge the right of all people to enjoy the same rights. They should know that by its very nature the system of apartheid must be abolished.

The illegal occupation of Namibia is a blatant challenge by South Africa to the fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it to administer that Territory. The United Nations should avail itself of this opportunity to resolve definitively the problem relating to the occupation of that Territory and its accession to independence. Further delay would inevitably be damaging even to those who for the time being consider that the situation is to their benefit.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

We renew our support for and solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and reaffirm our belief that conditions and situations prevailing outside the Territory of Namibia should not affect or delay the process of complete enancipation.

The self-determination of the Sahraoui people through a popular referendum under the supervision of international observers to define the status of the territory, as proposed by King Hassan II of Morocco, should be endorsed by the United Nations as the best way of solving that problem.

The people of Chad should be supported by and receive assistance from other countries to help it in its task of national reunification.

Palestine should recover its territory and coexist with the Hebrew State, with the Palestine Liberation Organization being recognized as its legitimate representative. Radical positions cannot help to solve this problem.

The people of Korea, like the people of Kampuchea, should recover their unity through a national convention and all other countries should help them in that endeavour, in recognition of the right of the territorial integrity of States as accepted by all nations represented here.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

The advances of science and technology should enable the peoples of the world largely to satisfy their basic needs, if their application were focused principally on ensuring the well-being and peace for all people. However, considerable efforts are being exerted continually to aggravate not only the great differences between the developed countries and those of the third world but also to create and maintain in the latter conditions that are inappropriate and make it difficult for them to achieve lasting peace and stability.

Consequently the difficulties third world countries have in gaining access to the technology of the developed countries should be brought to an end by replacing the present system of co-operation maintained by the donor countries. The new system of co-operation should be geared not only to the simple financing and execution of projects by the donor countries or organizations, but should include a formula for the transfer of technology through the establishment of mixed companies in which the underdeveloped countries concerned should have an active part in order to assimilate the new technologies of the developed countries.

The problems of the third world countries must be finally resolved if we wish to strike a proper balance in the world. The system of grants or donations for dealing with the disasters or economic crises of those countries do not solve the situation, but only make it worse. The best form of assistance would be the implementation of projects that would make our countries capable of reaching self-sufficiency and of dealing effectively with such crises and disasters themselves.

In various parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, focal points of tension are being created and maintained because these are profitable to the arms trade conducted by the political classes responsible for that situation. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction only confirms the general view that

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

peace and security in the world are seriously threatened and that the danger of a nuclear conflict is imminent, both because of the clash of interests upheld by those who possess such weapons, but also because of the possibility that some rash action might bring about that disaster. For that reason we support proposals for the reduction or elimination of nuclear arsenals, and use atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes. Thus the vast sums spent on rearming could be used to finance projects and programmes directed towards the development of the poor countries.

Equatorial Guinea has acceded to several of the conventions prohibiting weapons of mass destruction, and we believe that the States which have signed it or are otherwise involved should fulfil those agreements.

The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization should give us an opportunity to reflect about the present economic crisis afflicting the world and in particular its repercussions upon the poor countries. The differences we observe in trade because of the low prices we get for our raw material exports, the prices of manufactured products, and the attempt to replace our raw materials by synthetic products all combine to lead to a permanent balance-of-payments deficit in developing countries.

Moreover, the fall in levels of output, the high interest rates charged on international loans, and the natural disasters and social problems that afflict the third-world countries, make the debt created by the world crisis even more difficult to sustain for those countries. Hence our appeal to the developed countries and international financial institutions that in their exchanges with the developing countries they should bear in mind the principle of interdependence of peoples, which means that fair prices should be paid for raw materials and that protectionist measures that make the rich even richer should be eliminated, and instead similar measures should be adopted with a view to effecting a considerable improvement in the economies of the poor countries.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

We should eliminate the complexes that encourage the maintenance of this iniquitous system which provokes such a crisis and makes some States dependent on others, and replace it by a more just and equitable system, since the natural interdependence of nations will automatically ensure international co-operation and coexistence. This inequality, restriction and injustice in international economic relations makes it difficult to resolve other connected problems such as those posed by the present growth of the world population because of the failure to make a rational use of the abundant resources that exist in the world or the lack of a general co-ordinated development.

As a consequence of the crisis created by the present world economic system, the countries of the third world have reached a level of external indebtedness which could be liquidated only through concessionary measures by the creditor countries and organizations.

Equatorial Guinea in its recent past experienced a political, economic and social deterioration, but, on the basis of the principles adopted on 3 August 1979, adopted in Geneva in April 1982, a three-year programme of economic rehabilitation and development, and in parallel fashion another programme for the democratization of our nation, and these two projects taken together constitute our plan for national reconciliation and reconstruction. The activities undertaken under this programme, both externally and internally, have made it possible to make substantial changes both in the internal structure of our country and in our relations with the outside world.

We must take this occasion to express our thanks to all the friendly countries and international organizations which have directly or indirectly made a practical contribution to the realization of the many projects that have made possible the

(President Nguema M'Baogo)

socio-economic take-off in my country. We are aware that we still have a long way to go, and we trust that the help we have thus far been given will be increased, being confident that the friendly countries and international organizations that have not yet done so will make their contribution to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

We should note that although the external financing requirements at the Pledging Conference were estimated as 140 million dollars, during the execution of the programme an analysis of only 140 projects executed with outside resources showed that the sum of 156 million dollars had been spent, of which only 7 per cent was invested in my country, whereas technical assistance costs amounted to 93 per cent. This indicates that there is a continuing need for financing, while at the same time there is a major imbalance between the various sectors with respect to the allocation of funds. During the period of execution of the three-year programme of economic rehabilitation substantial improvements have been made in several sectors, and many obstacles that constituted bottle-necks have been overcome; the existing conditions are now sufficiently good to make investment in my country attractive.

In fulfilment of the undertakings we made, my Government decided to hold a follow-up meeting in Malabo in February 1986 on the economic rehabilitation programme, as a preparation for the round-table planned for the middle of next year. At that follow-up meeting, as well as the round-table that will follow it, we should be grateful for the attendance of friendly countries and international organizations so that they can contribute to the success of those meetings.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

Equatorial Guinea's programme of national reconstruction includes an important project designed to provide the country with sound administrative structures with legal foundations, in conformity with our national characteristics and acceptable to the international community. Accordingly, several legal instruments have been adopted, such as the Fundamental Law, the Organic Law on the government and administration of communities, the Judicial Law, the Law governing the central administration, the Civil Service Law, the Local Régime Law, as well as economic and financial regulations, making possible the exercise of democracy in Equatorial Guinea. In my Government's view, any democratization should take into account the specific features of the people to which it is applied, and should therefore be brought about in such a way that it can be adapted to society. We believe that although concepts are universal, their application should respect the genuine traditions and customs of each nation or people, since the importation or implantation of foreign laws or standards can only lead to the destabilization of democracies and create problems for young countries.

For these reasons, we urge the international organizations to assist emerging countries in their efforts to democratize their societies by sending experts who will take account of these realities on the spot, and by familiarizing them with national priorities. My Government feels that it is vital to co-ordinate organizational and regulatory activities with efforts to bring about the economic and social well-being of the population. The assistance we request from outside should be of real value and we hope that those who provide it will agree with us that it should conform to the nature of our structures, since only by adapting the experience of the more advanced States and organizations which wish to promote the well-being of various emergent peoples to the customs and characteristics of those peoples will it be possible to stabilize their political and economic systems.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

We are convinced not only that our traditional structures can be accepted and adapted to the rules governing more advanced societies in other countries, but also that our development implies the incorporation of such structures in the national reconstruction process.

For this reason, the crucial role must be played by traditional government and administrative bodies in our democratic system, and must parallel practical efforts to improve the living conditions of our citizens. Women also play an important part in the development of the third world countries, since they constitute an irreplaceable human resource. My Government proposes that better training should be provided for women, that better use should be made of their abilities, and that they should be integrated in the general national development effort.

My Government firmly supports initiatives designed to bring about peace, freedom, stability and well-being in the world, both within the United Nations system as well as in other international, regional and subregional organizations. Accordingly, our recent membership in the economic and financial institutions of Central Africa, and in the international institutions and bodies in other parts of the world, as well as our establishment of relations with all countries committed to peace and freedom will enable us to make appropriate contributions in the light of prevailing circumstances.

At this meeting the contacts maintained by the specialized agencies of the United Nations system, as well as those maintained by other international bodies, and especially the bilateral contacts of representatives of countries Members of our Organization, should be used to bring about definitive solutions to disputes and conflicts in Central America, in the Far, Middle and Near East, in Chad, Western Sahara, southern Africa, Korea, Kampuchea, Cyprus and other areas, as well as to serious economic problems, disarmament, and the natural disasters affecting people in various countries.

(President Nguema M'Basogo)

In this international forum, therefore, we once again appeal to all nations of the world to proceed with a sense of responsibility and commitment to establish firm foundations for a better world.

Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema M'Basogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the People's Republic of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, was escorted to the rostrum.

President DOS SANTOS (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): It is no longer possible to say how many times, in addresses to this Assembly, the words peace, freedom, the independence of peoples, disarmament and peaceful coexistence have been uttered. With these words, countless representatives from Member States have expressed their concern, since the establishment of the United Nations, about the most serious problems affecting life in today's world.

A brief analysis of the evolution of the international situation in the last 40 years and of the role of the United Nations shows unequivocally that this Organization has been and remains an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of international security. It has had a considerable positive influence on the elimination of colonialism, the easing of tension in international relations, the preservation of peace and the promotion of a climate of dialogue and understanding among nations.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer my heartfelt congratulations to the United Nations on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, and express the

(President Dos Santos)

deep appreciation of the People's Republic of Angola for the dynamic and constructive action undertaken by its institutions in order to ease and help solve the burning issues of the international situation, on the basis of the principles and norms of its Charter.

However, while on the one hand we acknowledge that collective efforts have been made and progress achieved in the establishment of ever more just and peaceful relations among peoples, we cannot, on the other hand, conceal our apprehension in the face of the serious and delicate problems which remain unsolved in several parts of the world.

(President Dos Santos)

Although the United Nations has sought to accomplish with dedication the fundamental mission entrusted to it, the danger of a third world war is today the major concern of all nations. Our planet has never before been equipped with so many conventional and nuclear weapons, the destructive power accumulated by the super-Powers is overwhelming and continues to grow, and the arms race has now reached outer space. The idea of the establishment by one State of military supremacy over the others still prevails, and may lead the whole of mankind to a real catastrophe. The defence of peace is a value common to all independent peoples, regardless of their size and stage of development, and is the greatest challenge facing our Organization.

This is becoming particularly evident and alarming as, unfortunately, we continue to witness certain behaviour contradicting the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter, namely, the policy of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, and resort to the threat and the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other countries on the part of Powers with imperialist and expansionist ambitions and their allies.

This practice constitutes the real cause of local armed conflicts which are proliferating in various parts of our planet and are threatening security and regional and international stability. Several peoples in southern Africa, the Middle East and Central America have been the victims of such arbitrary and wrongful policies. In those regions men and women are struggling and dying for their right to self-determination, for the preservation of their independence and the attainment of freedom. This just struggle against colonialism and against the illegal occupation of the territories of others is presented by certain political circles as being part of the dispute between East and West in a deliberate attempt to hide the true character of the conflict and continually delay its solution.

(President Dos Santos)

It is serious, extremely serious, when such an attitude is taken by certain States Members of the United Nations, since it reveals a de facto rejection of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Action of this nature can to a large extent diminish the authority of the United Nations and affect its international prestige. Therefore we all have the responsibility of studying ways and means of reinforcing the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and especially the Security Council, in the settlement of international conflicts and disputes between Member States.

It is our duty to revitalize the Organization, so that it continues to be an international forum of undoubted competence for dialogue and discussion that may lead to the elimination of colonialism and racism, complete and general disarmament and the establishment of a new international order which will be more just and equitable, as well as realize the other profound aspirations of mankind.

With that in mind, we believe that particular attention should be paid to economic issues and their impact on peoples' daily lives, such as the problems of drought and other natural disasters that afflict poor countries, and the serious international economic and financial situation. Developed countries possess a technical and scientific monopoly, exercising economic power over underdeveloped and developing countries, imposing the rules of the game as regards trade in primary commodities and manufactured goods and thereby constantly aggravating the dependence of those countries and their external debt.

The external debt of the so-called third world has reached tremendous proportions. The criteria for the adoption of a solution to this intricate problem can no longer be merely economic and financial; they must also be political. It is necessary that we recognize the urgency of renegotiating this debt and cancelling part of it, for an objective reason, namely, the impossibility of its liquidation.

(President Dos Santos)

The People's Republic of Angola is this year marking 10 years of its existence as an independent and sovereign State. Its foreign policy is based on the principles of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and compliance with international rules governing relations among independent States. In no circumstances has the State of Angola engaged in action that contradicts the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

We are a peaceful country, motivated by historic imperatives. We have fought a war for national liberation to regain our dignity and restore our sovereignty, usurped for 500 years by a colonial Power. Today, for reasons beyond our control, the Angolan people continue to endure a war of aggression waged against them by the South African racist régime, a war that is affecting a large part of our human, material and financial resources.

We are geographically situated at a point on our planet where turmoil is more keenly felt and where the apartheid régime continues to create tension and instability in order to subjugate by force the independent States of the region or change their political régimes. The leaders of that régime describe themselves as defenders of the free world. They have therefore developed in South Africa an enormous capacity for the production of conventional offensive weapons, created conditions for the production of nuclear arms, maintained a vast repressive military and police apparatus, and increase their military expenditures every year.

The tendency of the South African régime to expand and strengthen its arsenal has forced the States in the region to spend more on their defensive capacity in the face of an increasing threat from South Africa, and consequently the arms race is reaching southern Africa.

(President Dos Santos)

On the pretext of defending the interests of the so-called free world, the South African apartheid régime is engaged in the violent repression of its black people who constitute the majority of the population, denying them all political rights. Forced expatriation and relocation of their people, the creation of bantustans and homelands, racial segregation and exploitation have brought social tension to a critical pitch.

(President Dos Santos)

The increasing discord among antagonistic social classes within the apartheid system has rendered it unworkable as conflicting forces have reached a critical and desperate stage, and this situation calls for urgent positive change. In our opinion all countries that have economic, political and other relations with South Africa should exert their influence radically to change this grim picture. The international community must exert pressure on the apartheid régime to cause it to lift the state of emergency, release its political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, and co-operate in the search for negotiable political solutions and thus abide by United Nations resolutions.

In this regard we cannot but feel sceptical about the consistency of the United States "constructive engagement" policy inasmuch as repeal of the Clark Amendment neutralizes any positive effects it may have had. And either of these two United States foreign-policy actions provides South Africa with the fuel it needs to carry out its aggressive expansionist policy.

Nevertheless we appreciate all the initiatives of the international community that may contribute to the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in southern Africa. We believe such initiatives should provide sufficient vitality to drive South Africa into total diplomatic isolation, which, together with mandatory economic sanctions, if seriously applied, could speed up the abolition of apartheid and create a climate of security in that troubled area.

Externally, once again using the argument of defence of the interests of the so-called free world, the South African régime poses as the guardian of the Cape sea route and southern African raw materials. Thus South Africa keeps committing aggressive acts against the States of the region, sometimes using armed puppet groups hired by it with the objective of debilitating those neighbouring States and causing the collapse of their Governments. Undoubtedly, this is a reckless and dangerous policy that arrogantly violates the United Nations Charter.

(President Dos Santos)

The reality is that every southern African State has important economic relations with Western countries, and those relations have continued to increase. Since those States have espoused non-alignment, their foreign policy is based on non-affiliation with any military bloc, the exclusion of foreign military bases from their territories, and so on. They are open to regional and interregional co-operation on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and peaceful coexistence in order to increase their resources, to consolidate their independence and to promote progress among all their peoples. They defend the idea of the denuclearization of Africa and the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

It is clear, therefore, that southern Africa can become a zone of peace and stability as soon as the aggressive policy of the South African régime changes. From our point of view, that will be possible only with the abolition of the apartheid system by the people of South Africa and the establishment of democracy, on the one hand, and with the suspension of the illegal occupation of Namibian territory and application of resolution 435 (1973) of the United Nations Security Council, on the other.

The 10 years of existence of the People's Republic of Angola have been marked by systematic acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa and its surrogates. In southern Africa, Angola has been and continues to be the favourite target of South Africa and its allies. Our people have since the dawn of our independence been compelled to make huge efforts to increase their defensive capacity and to preserve their independence and territorial integrity. Intensified external intervention against our country and the modest defensive capacity of the Angolan armed forces have led our Government to ask for aid from friendly countries in order to fight external military intervention in accordance with the legitimate right conferred upon it by the United Nations Charter. Today there are still Cuban

(President Dos Santos)

military forces in Angola for the simple reason that the intervention of foreign armed forces in our country has not stopped and our people is the victim of continuing aggression.

The Cuban forces cannot constitute a threat to the States of the region since they have never crossed our borders to infiltrate into neighbouring countries. Their presence is therefore justified in terms of defensive support for the Angolan armed forces until the latter reach the stage of full capacity that enables them to fight against major attacks. The strength of Cuban armed forces is not constant; it varies according to the level of the attacks of which we are the victims. Their presence is therefore one of the effects of the aggressive policy of Pretoria and its allies.

In joint statements that have been made public, the Governments of Angola and Cuba have laid down conditions for an agreement on the gradual reduction of those forces, thus accepting the principle of the withdrawal of those troops. However, to every effort of goodwill on the part of the Angolan Government, South Africa has responded with arrogance and launched new attacks.

We have therefore made world public opinion aware of the fact that the People's Republic of Angola has been undergoing a period of great tension provoked by the direct intervention of the South African regular armed forces as deep into our territory as 400 kilometres from the Namibian border.

In fact that act of aggression made only more obvious the links between South Africa's regular armed forces and UNITA's armed puppet groups operating inside Angola. These facts, presented to us by the Security Council's Commission of Investigation created by resolution 571 (1985), provided further evidence that the so-called Angolan conflict is in fact nothing more than a problem caused from outside by the forces of imperialism and exploited by Pretoria in order to mislead world public opinion and persuade it that there is a civil war in Angola.

(President Dos Santos)

Over the last four years the South African army has committed approximately 4,000 violations of our air and ground space, with 168 air attacks, 100 major land incursions, four landings by sea and countless air drops of material from helicopters. These acts have resulted in thousands of dead and injured among the military and civilians, as well as the destruction of a considerable amount of goods and equipment.

What is going on in Angola is not by any means a civil war. The People's Republic of Angola is in fact the victim of a war of aggression being waged against it by the regular forces of the racist régime of South Africa, which uses and commands UNITA's puppet gangs to achieve its goals.

This conflict could be considered an internal one only if the South African military intervention or any other external intervention in support of those groups of armed bandits had not taken place. The day when it is guaranteed that such external intervention will never happen again, the climate of peace and stability will be restored in our country very quickly.

The Angolan people is a peaceful people: in southern Africa our Government conducts a policy of constructive peace to safeguard its rights as a free, independent and sovereign nation. In contrast, South Africa continues to maintain an attitude that reveals its intention to delay the solution of the problems of Namibia and the security of southern Angola, thus failing to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

In our opinion more effective measures are necessary to persuade Member States to abide by the deliberations of the United Nations. I must express my concern about the difficulties the United Nations Security Council has had to face in trying to make Member States comply with its resolutions, even in cases where there is an absolute need to preserve regional security and avoid the intensification of international tension.

(President Dos Santos)

With regard to the Namibia issue, we find it necessary for the United Nations Security Council to adopt appropriate mandatory measures in order to exercise its proper authority and assume due responsibility for the international Territory of Namibia and prevent the use of this Territory as a springboard for committing armed invasion against the Angolan nation.

To conclude I should like to thank almost all Member States represented in this important international forum for their repeated expressions of sympathy and solidarity to the People's Republic of Angola, as we are living in a condition of continuing tension in a war provoked by the racist régime of South Africa.

May I thank everyone who has been kind enough to listen to my speech and express my wish that over the next 10 years of United Nations activities a new era will be opened up in relations among Member States for achieving the goals of disarmament, peace, justice and the progress of mankind.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the President of the People's Republic of Angola for his statement.

Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, His Excellency Mr. Radovan Vlackovic.

Mr. Radovan Vlackovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. VLAJKOVIC (Yugoslavia) (spoke in Serbo-Croat; English text furnished by the delegation): I take great pleasure in addressing this distinguished gathering in the year when the world Organization commemorates its fortieth anniversary.

(President Vojakovic)

Today, 40 years later, the United Nations encompasses the entire world and all its problems. Over the past four decades the world has taken a gigantic step forward in its political and social evolution. Therefore it is precisely here in this world forum that we bear a common responsibility to continue mankind's march forward, to speed it up and to have the objectives of the United Nations Charter become a reality for all in this interlinked and so interdependent world.

These are not ideals beyond reach. We are aware of our differences, often profound, even irreconcilable, but also of the need to live together. Notwithstanding all these differences, a safe future is our vital concern. We are all oriented towards each other. It is a reality of this world in which the feeling of safety is not enhanced by more arms, where no one can be secure if there is no security for all, where no one can count upon sustained prosperity if it is not achieved in co-operation with others, if it is not part of general progress. Peace and détente, equality and development are indivisible indeed.

We must approach the future in a constructive way. We must agree on the manner and direction in which we should proceed. Many achievements of the United Nations have been imperilled in the past owing to tensions and confrontations and to the frequent infringement upon the independence of countries. That is characteristic of the present stage of world development as well. May this great anniversary bring the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter back to our minds. We shall realize that their spirit and letter are as alive today as they were in the past. As a matter of fact, they are even more needed by this complex world.

The voice of troubled mankind resounds strongly and convincingly at this anniversary session as well. Mankind is concerned because in these times of enormous, epochal accomplishments in many fields of human endeavour there is still not enough united and creative effort to establish a world in which each nation

(President Vojakovic)

would live in peace and work in freedom, where there would be no disenfranchisement, oppression or inequality, no bloc rivalry and exhaustion of vast material and intellectual potentials in the arms race, no trouble spots, local wars and, above all, a world rid of poverty and hunger.

The growth of many nations, countries and even entire regions has been stopped owing to inequitable world economic relations. There are many who have never enjoyed the fruits of their own prosperity, nor could they develop their creative potential for their own benefit and that of the world. The debt problem has grown to become a most immediate threat to development and even to the stability of many countries. In fact, it is a paramount political problem of today. There must be no hesitation in seeking answers to our common economic problems, for failure to resolve them will result in an explosion that will shake the entire world. The right to progress, peace, equal rights and development has been defined in the United Nations Charter and is not the property and privilege of a small number of countries alone. It belongs to all mankind.

In this forum we have also heard more than once that the world has reached a historic crossroads. Nothing could be truer. Mankind is undergoing one of the most dramatic and dangerous periods in its development. All the greater, therefore, are its hopes that the great Powers will, through the results of their renewed negotiations, choose the safest road at this junction. However, no matter how great their responsibilities and possibilities may be, safe progress into the future requires the participation of all, each country in its own region and world-wide, so that détente would become all embracing, the equal right and obligation of each member of the international community, a feature of overall international relations.

(President Vlakovic)

The world Organization is an irreplaceable factor for translating the efforts of all countries, regardless of their size and strength, into a common resolve to replace altercation with ever more realistic, practical steps in order to start solving major international problems.

(President Vojakovic)

Many common and individual experiences in the struggle for freedom are still deeply imprinted in our minds. The very memory of the Second World War, which many of us still carry with us even 40 years after its end, is sufficient to make us realize what mankind has gained from the establishment and the activities of the United Nations. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has always been mindful of this throughout its active participation in all the endeavours of the world Organization. In the explanation of the proposal for the ratification of the Charter, which was signed on 24 August 1945 by President Tito on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, the following was stated:

"the objectives to which the United Nations aspires are the objectives for which the peoples of Yugoslavia also invested their best forces during the war and which they view as the best guarantee of peace and security and the building of a better and happier economic and social future for themselves and for all mankind".

At that point, with true foresight, mankind sought a common and reliable support for its peace and progress. In essence, the United Nations has not betrayed those expectations. It has remained the basis of hope in the material and intellectual progress of peoples and countries. Over 100 new countries, freed from the yoke of colonialism with the assistance of the world Organization, have joined its ranks as equal Members. All this shows how necessary it is constantly to strengthen the role and effectiveness of this unique Organization, which is so vitally necessary to mankind.

The United Nations Charter was the first international legal document in which the tenets of peaceful coexistence were made the foundation of relations among States. The United Nations has played a historic role in the emancipation of States and in the attainment of the rights of nations and individuals. With the power of its political prestige it has stopped aggression and helped in finding

(President Vlakovic)

peaceful solutions. It has contributed to the democratization of international relations through the expansion of economic, social and humanitarian co-operation. In addition, the United Nations is an invaluable factor in providing a legal framework for international relations by way of the codification and progressive development of international law.

Those are great common achievements of which we are rightly proud. This makes it all the more necessary for us to seek solutions to the difficulties encountered in the functioning of the world Organization. We have to counter attempts to belittle and deny its achievements, to turn it into an arena of bloc confrontation and to sidetrack it. In other words, we should oppose the resolution of key world problems within the narrow circles of the big and the mighty.

Clearly, we need an even more efficient United Nations, because, in all fairness, if it has not always been fully successful in fulfilling its mission, the reasons for that are not to be found in any shortcomings of the Charter but rather, and primarily, in the actual ratio of forces and the prevailing international circumstances in which the Organization had to act, and in the extent of the political will of the Member countries to abide by its substantive provisions and specific resolutions.

The non-aligned countries have always viewed the United Nations as the most important factor in bringing about understanding and co-operation among nations and as an instrument for bringing them together, for negotiation and for uniting their efforts towards peace and democratic relations in the world. The emergence of the policy and movement of non-alignment on the international scene has contributed, notwithstanding bloc division and pressures, to the Organization's remaining an authentic expression of the aspiration of peoples to freedom and independence. From the time of that emergence to the present day, the United Nations has been the focal point of the action of non-aligned countries. They are the political and

(President Vlakovic)

moral force which initiates and proposes solutions to many dilemmas burdening the world today and contributes to their resolution, doing this naturally because their policy is in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Demanding consistent observance and application of the provisions of the Charter in every specific international situation, the non-aligned countries have called for the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and its system in general. The United Nations has become the natural setting for the non-aligned countries, the developing countries, where they express their aspirations and adopt progressive stands on current problems in international relations.

The non-aligned countries once again strongly reaffirmed their commitment to the objectives of the United Nations and their vital interest in strengthening the Organization at the recent Ministerial Conference in Luanda, as well as at the Ministerial Meeting in New York at the outset of this session of the General Assembly.

Ever since the inception of the United Nations Yugoslavia has been its consistent and active champion and had worked in favour of strengthening its role and influence in international relations. Yugoslavia was one of the 50 States participating in the founding Assembly in San Francisco and was one of the first to sign the United Nations Charter.

That is why today we resolutely call from this rostrum, as we have throughout the past 40 years, for the renewal and promotion of the process of substantive negotiations within the framework of the United Nations, for the strengthening of the position of the Organization in international relations, and for observance of the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. All initiatives aimed at improving the operation and effectiveness of the Organization and its agencies, especially the Security Council and the General Assembly, will receive our support.

(President Vlačkovic)

We expect this anniversary session of the General Assembly to give an even stronger impetus towards dialogue wherever it is not yet taking place and to contribute to dialogue already going on. Keen awareness is necessary if we are to rise above all our antagonisms and ideological and other barriers, for the sake of peace, development security. Accordingly, we must go back to the hopes and convictions that engendered the Organization - that peace can be preserved and strengthened on the basis of dialogue and respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence and the sovereign equality of States, irrespective of their social system, size and military, economic or political strength.

There can be no substitute for the United Nations, the only truly global forum and the only one offering global solutions in this interdependent world of ours. Only through the United Nations can pave the way to the new international economic order, which is the only way to surmount the problems connected with existence in this world. It is here that answers can best be found to the problem of how to halt the frenzied arms race and initiate the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament. The world Organization is the place to prevent and deal with crises and wars and to counter pressures and intervention. It is here that unflagging efforts should be made to find solutions to the problems of all the trouble-spots that imperil peace, security and stability in the world of today - southern Africa, the Near and Middle East, South and South-East Asia, Central America - for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, for the final liberation of Namibia from colonial enslavement and for the liquidation of the brutal system of apartheid.

(President Vlačjkovic)

In this divided, armed, contradictory world of peace and war, of affluence and deprivation we have to appreciate the realistic fact that with all our differences and specificities, convictions and creeds we indeed have to turn to each other. The world edifice, and all of us with it, can stand firm only on those foundations that we laid 40 years ago.

As always, Yugoslavia will spare no effort to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, seeing it as a guarantee of its own independence and free development, and the only alternative available to the world of which it is a part.

Mr. Radovan Vlačjkovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will hear an address by the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Turkey, His Excellency Mr. Turgut Ozal.

Mr. Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. OZAL (Turkey): On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations it is a great privilege for me to address the General Assembly on behalf of Turkey. My country is proud to be one of the founding Members of the Organization. When we signed the Charter 40 years ago, we did so with deep dedication to the principles it enshrines.

Its turbulent history has imbued the Turkish nation with a permanent yearning for peace which found its best expression in the maxim "Peace at Home, Peace in the World", enunciated by Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. This principle has guided our policies since the establishment of the Republic and it will continue to do so in the future. It underlines our efforts to resolve

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

disputes through negotiations on an equitable basis and develop harmonious relations with all our neighbours.

Although having never been subjected to colonial rule, the Turkish nation has had to struggle constantly to preserve its independence. It is, therefore, with deep emotion and rejoicing that we have welcomed each of the more than 100 newly independent States, which have joined our Organization since 1945. The accession to independence of so many countries representing the overwhelming majority of the world is a momentous achievement for the United Nations.

As we take stock of the activities of the United Nations during its 40 years we focus on the performance of its central task, that of safeguarding international peace and security.

The Charter has entrusted the task of maintaining international peace and security to the Security Council where five countries, all nuclear Powers, have the right of veto. These countries, and in particular the super-Powers, have assumed an awesome responsibility towards the international community. They should fulfil their responsibilities bearing in mind not only their own interests, but those of the entire world.

The safeguarding of peace and stability requires a solution to regional conflicts. The United Nations has been successful in defusing and containing some of these disputes, but not in resolving them. A new impetus should be given to efforts to settle them.

In Africa, international action leading to the abolition of apartheid in South Africa is imperative. The world is unanimous in condemning the criminal policy of apartheid and in calling for collective measures to end it. South Africa should also implement its obligations on Namibian independence and stop the aggression against neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

In the Middle East, because of its geographical situation and historical legacy, and having special ties with the countries of the area, Turkey has a direct stake in the peace and stability of the region. In the aftermath of the Second World War we were convinced that it would be a grave mistake to alter the religious, ethnic and cultural unity of the area which was preserved during the Ottoman period. We voted against the resolution on the partition of Palestine in 1947, but even that resolution has not been implemented. A Jewish State was created but the Palestinian people were not allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, and this injustice is still continuing. We recognize the right of every country in the area, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized borders, but we support the right to full self-determination of the valiant Palestinian people and maintain our view that Israel should withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967. We commend the courageous initiative undertaken earlier this year by King Hussein and Chairman Arafat. We sustain the hope that if Israel refrains from further faits accomplis and seizes the recent peace initiative, a lasting and just solution to the Palestinian problem could still be within reach.

The war between Iran and Iraq has been a source of profound concern for Turkey. A million people have already perished as a result of this cruel conflict. Its continuation can only bring about more destruction and more destabilization in the region. These two neighbouring countries with which we have historical ties of friendship owe it to themselves and to the region as a whole to end this tragedy.

As a signatory, Turkey has always upheld the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have been constantly guided by the profound belief that human rights and democratic values should be fully respected.

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

We strongly support the view that human rights should be an international concern. Among the fundamental freedoms and basic human rights, the right to freedom of religion and conscience occupies a place of overall importance. This right, which includes the freedom to manifest one's religion or belief in practice and worship has taken centuries to evolve.

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

It is impossible to justify on any grounds the gross and persistent violation of this basic right in the final quarter of the twentieth century. We condemn the policies of oppression of minorities in certain countries in violation of their specific international obligations. Such is the case of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria where the rights of that minority are being persistently trampled upon, including freedom of religion and conscience, and the right to preserve its cultural identity.

Terrorism is a crime against the most basic of human rights: the right to live. The escalation in recent years of international terrorism should be a priority concern for the world community. We were deeply distressed to see that those very countries that consider themselves entitled to lecture everyone on human rights have tolerated and even tacitly or openly approved and, indeed, encouraged terrorist activities directed against other countries in their own territories.

Terrorism takes a high toll of innocent human lives, challenges the internal peace and stability of countries, disturbs international relations and the conduct of normal diplomatic activities. We were the first to warn that terrorism had strong links with arms smuggling and drug trafficking, and we see with satisfaction that this is now more and better understood. I would appeal once again for increased international co-operation to prevent, combat and punish all acts of international terrorism.

The Charter of the United Nations has assigned a crucial role to the Secretary-General. We have been fortunate that successive Secretaries-General have been dedicated men with wisdom, experience and courage. The Secretary-General has not only the task of fulfilling the responsibilities assigned to him by the Charter, but also of exploring all possible avenues when mechanisms envisaged by the Charter are blocked by lack of agreement. I should like to pay homage to all

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

Secretaries-General and also to reiterate our appreciation, support and confidence to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The activities of the United Nations are not confined to the maintenance of international peace and security. The United Nations system as a whole has played a major role in promoting the concept of development of developing countries. Development co-operation between Turkey and the United Nations system, its agencies and organizations, extends over a long period and has been most fruitful. I will mention here two examples:

First, over the past two decades, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has supported nearly 400 projects in Turkey. These wide-ranging projects cover such vital areas as agriculture, industry, natural resources, transport and communications, health, education and employment.

Secondly, in accordance with the goal of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to achieve universal immunization of children by 1990, we have launched, in early September this year, a massive immunization campaign. In close co-operation with UNICEF, we aim to halve the rate of infant mortality over five years. Five million children in Turkey under the age of six will be immunized by the end of this year. So far our success rate has been over 85 per cent. We believe that the results of this important experience will be disseminated to other interested countries through UNICEF.

I shall now briefly dwell on the present international economic situation. The course of global economic growth and development was abruptly disturbed during the past decade by the two consecutive oil shocks followed by a prolonged recession. The average rate of growth slowed down drastically; the rate of inflation picked up; real resource transfers towards the developing world first slackened and later declined; the free trade system gradually lost ground to

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

protectionist tendencies. The resulting resort to commercial credits without the necessary adjustment efforts led to a debt problem which in time acquired crisis proportions. In response to this crisis, countries almost instinctively became inward-looking, and took domestic measures with a view to putting their houses in order. In an increasingly interdependent international economic environment, however, they overlooked the implications of these measures for their partners. Indeed, inflationary pressures have been greatly checked and clamped down in industrial countries through demand-management policies. Nevertheless, erosion in free trade seems to be the indirect outcome of these efforts while indebtedness has reached explosive dimensions.

For the great majority of the Members of the United Nations - and Turkey is among them - the issue of development is of vital importance, because we have to meet the expectations of our peoples for higher living standards, more productive lives, better health and education and greater social justice. Without adequate growth in the developing countries, without gradual elimination of the disparities between the rich and poor countries and a more equitable distribution of the resources of the world, we can never attain the peace, security, stability and harmony to which we aspire. Interdependence necessitates concerted action. All countries should take care to refrain from taking measures which will work to the disadvantage of others. Normally, the task of realizing their economic development is the responsibility of the developing countries themselves. This entails the adoption of courageous decisions and programmes aimed at a structural adjustment of their economies.

Their success depends also on the existence of a favourable international economic environment. Their access to the markets of developed countries should not be curtailed. Similarly, the developing countries today suffer from a lack of

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

financial resources for their development, but their low credit ratings impair their ability to borrow. This vicious circle should be broken.

Turkey has made major reforms in its economic structures over the last few years. What was previously a closed, over-protected economy has been opened up to international competition and market forces. This was done basically by relying on market forces and liberalizing imports. As a consequence, Turkey has experienced a satisfactory growth in its foreign trade. Within a period of five years, there has been a more than threefold increase in Turkey's exports in dollar terms. This increase has allowed Turkey to boost its imports, as well as to improve its balance of payment performance and debt servicing ability. Turkey today is among the few developing countries able to meet its external debt obligations. We have achieved this through policies presented as a new initiative at the annual meeting of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

However, as we have gradually built up our exports from relatively low levels, we have been dismayed by the protectionist barriers placed in our path by industrialized countries. It is ironic that the very countries which advocated the abandonment of import substitution based on restrictive trade policies are the ones that are now imposing restrictions on our exports.

It is becoming more and more obvious that protectionism is turning into a serious threat to the world economy. The market-distorting protectionist measures built up over the last few years have, paradoxically, originated in industrialized countries. Protectionist measures calling for overt or dissimulated countermeasures are leap-frogging and spreading all over the world.

Developing countries cannot accumulate foreign exchange. What they earn is spent on imports that come to a large extent from industrial countries. This is the driving force of interdependence, trade expansion and global growth.

In a free-trade régime based on dynamic comparative advantage, restrictive trade practices should be very limited and of short term. Attempts to restore competitiveness, through restrictions, to areas where the comparative advantage has been lost are self-defeating.

The scope of the protectionist tendencies in some industrial countries or groups of countries, combined with restrictive demand-management policies, has now reached its limits. I feel that it is now appropriate to boost demand in conjunction with trade-liberalizing measures and reintroduce competitiveness so as to enable market forces to complete the process of structural adjustment. Such a reorientation will not only ease domestic protectionist tendencies but also speed up the integration of the world economy in a much more efficient, equitable and non-inflationary manner.

We believe that industrialized countries should try to reconcile their short-term preoccupations with the fundamental objective of re-establishing a

(Mr. Ozal, Turkey)

well-functioning free-trade system. If they fail to do so, not only the market economy, but democracy and, eventually, international peace and security will suffer. After all, industrialized countries should remember that a free-trade system based on market forces is the foundation of their democracies.

I do not like easy analogies. But I cannot help drawing a parallel between the present situation and the 1929-1930 crisis in terms of growing protectionism, unresolved debt issue and lack of co-ordination in global economic management. We should keep in mind the lessons of history and avoid repeating the same mistakes.

On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations the role of the world Organization in the promotion of international, political, economic and social co-operation assumes a particular significance. The world is on the threshold of new challenges requiring global undertakings.

I believe that the United Nations, along with the other competent international organizations, has a crucial role in identifying the fundamental causes of the problems afflicting the international economic system and in considering how those could be overcome during the remainder of the century.

Turkey maintains its faith in the "United Nations for a Better World". It rededicates itself to the purposes and principles of the Charter and reiterates its readiness to co-operate to the maximum extent with all the Member countries to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. We need the United Nations today. We shall need it even more tomorrow.

Mr. Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is His Excellency the Right Honourable Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister of the Republic of Uganda.

Mr. Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister of the Republic of Uganda, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. WALIGO (Uganda): Please allow me, Sir, to express my delegation's happiness at seeing you as President of the General Assembly during this memorable fortieth birthday. Your personal experience and diplomatic skill have already shown themselves and have proved to be of special value during the course of this session. We are therefore confident that under your presidency the deliberations of delegations will be very fruitful.

May I also take this opportunity to pay tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts in the service of the United Nations and of the ideals for which it stands. I am pleased to recall his short visit to my own country two and a half years ago, despite his tight and onerous schedule. He has demonstrated that he is Secretary-General for the entire Organization and its Members, be they big or small, rich or poor.

The aims and objectives for which the United Nations was set up are well known to all of us assembled here. Preceding speakers have dealt exhaustively with this subject. I propose, therefore, to restrict my remarks to the aspects in which my country has special interest, and these are, first, the observance of human rights; secondly, the elimination of all forms of discrimination; thirdly, the decolonization process; and, fourthly, the raising of the standard of living in the least developed countries.

It can be said right at the outset that, all things considered, the successes of the United Nations over the last 40 years outweigh its failures. The founder Members of this Organization therefore deserve our thanks and congratulations. However, I am sorry to say that a great deal still remains to be done in respect of the four items I have just enumerated, in order to ensure that the world is a better place to live in for all of us during the years to come.

(Mr. Waligo, Uganda)

Starting with the subject of human rights, we must admit that a great deal remains to be done all over the world. However, the example of South Africa stands out most vividly in that the apartheid régime has legalized the denial of human rights and self-determination to the overwhelming majority of its citizens, who are referred to as "nie blankes" - that is, non-whites - rather than as what they truly are - that is, Blacks, Asians and so on. In fact, it would be more logical to refer to the white minority as non-blacks rather than the other way around, but as two wrongs do not make a right, this should not be encouraged either.

We must uphold the United Nations' stand on the observance of human rights. I assure the Assembly that the Ugandan Government reaffirms its commitment to the observance of human rights and unconditionally invites any interested Member of the United Nations to examine the Government's human rights record over the very short period of less than three months since it came into power. Not only have political detainees been released, but an open invitation has been sent out to all Ugandans who wish to return home to do so, and a very large number of these, including a former President, have already returned from exile.

Discrimination in any form constitutes another violation of human rights. The worst form of discrimination in the world today is clearly that practised by the apartheid régime of South Africa. It is based on colour, and colour alone. I should like to commend the United Nations for boldly having condemned South Africa in that respect. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stands out as a landmark in the struggle against that injustice and the United Nations as a body should continue to urge its Members to do everything possible to deal a death blow to apartheid.

Uganda supports all the measures that the United Nations has so far taken in that connection and feels that such efforts should be intensified. At this stage, I wish to pay a special tribute to those gallant sons of South Africa who are

(Mr. Waligo, Uganda)

sacrificing life and property in their fight against apartheid and to those nations and organizations all over the world which have given them moral and material support. Apartheid will be destroyed. That is certain.

At the time that this Organization was founded 40 years ago, its total membership was 51. Many of the nations which have since joined were still under some form of colonial rule at the end of the last war. Suffice it to say that the fact that membership has since risen to 159 is in itself evidence that the decolonization process has succeeded.

It is immaterial at this stage to recount or to tabulate States into those that achieved independence as a result of intensive struggle and those that had an easier path. I believe that whatever wounds were inflicted during the road to independence have by now been largely or totally healed.

I therefore wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations for the role it has played in bringing about and furthering the decolonization process. Here we are in this forum where the same opportunity and dignity are afforded to the smallest as well as to the largest nation, to the least populated as well as to the most populous State, to the least developed as well as to the most developed and, finally, to the poorest as well as to the richest.

It is gratifying to note that in the General Assembly, at any rate, voting is on the basis of one nation, one vote. That is a tribute to national sovereignty, and I hope no change will come about in that respect. It would, however, be wrong for me not to give thanks to those Members whose financial and material contributions are making it possible for the United Nations to operate.

My plea to those very nations is that they adopt a more aggressive attitude to decolonize Namibia and to bring about a truly democratic and representative government in South Africa. There is no doubt that recent events in southern Africa

(Mr. Waligo, Uganda)

point to the fact that unless firm pressure is applied to South Africa by the big Powers, particularly the United States of America, Britain, West Germany and France, the Pretoria régime will continue to flout the resolutions of the General Assembly with impunity. It is now common knowledge that the current Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in the Bahamas has come out with an accord on South Africa, but for that accord to have maximum impact, a great deal of support will be required from non-members of the Commonwealth.

My final contribution is in respect of the raising of the standard of living in the least-developed countries, of which Uganda is one. The United Nations and its agencies, as well as multilateral affiliates such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have done a great deal in this connection, yet a great deal remains to be done.

The classification of development goes right down to the least-developed countries which have been most seriously affected by the world recession and on behalf of which I should like to plead for more financial and technical assistance. Statistics show that approximately 40,000 lives are lost each day as a result of curable diseases. It is a fact that these people have little or no access to medical treatment. In addition, the menace of hunger and drought is well known. Yet, at the other extreme, some \$2 billion a day are spent on armaments worldwide.

Reference to the world economic crisis and Africa's own debt burden has already been made by previous speakers and will be echoed by others to come. But no matter how brilliant our contributions on this subject at this forum may be, when people like myself go back home, the one matter of major interest to most Ugandans will be whether, as a result of my overseas travel, participation in the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, my address to the United Nations

(Mr. Waligo, Uganda)

General Assembly, dinners in expensive hotels and sumptuous receptions, I have been able to secure some material assistance for Uganda.

Consequently, it is important that at the end of the day, the United Nations should be able to bring about an improvement in the standard of living, particularly of the disadvantaged peoples of the world. The strength of the United Nations chain is at this, its weakest link, the yardstick by which the majority of disadvantaged people measure the Organization. I am convinced that a firm rededication by Members to the objectives set out in the United Nations Charter can ensure that within the next decade it will not only be possible for the entire world to be free but that, with the assistance of those that have, it will be possible for the standard of living of the "have nots" to be substantially raised.

Mr. Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister of the Republic of Uganda, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Minister of State and Special Envoy of the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium, His Excellency Mr. Pierre Harmel. I now call on him.

Mr. HARMEL (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like to begin my statement with a quotation from 40 years ago:

"We are the representatives of the interests of each of our countries but beyond that, we also represent the collective interest of mankind.

"Nothing good can come out of the mere adding-up of fifty-one different national interests... This Assembly will represent collectively the interests of the world but only in so far as we can put ourselves on a more general level and practise two cardinal virtues: good faith and goodwill."

Thus spoke, almost 40 years ago, in Januray 1946, the just elected President of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the illustrious statesman Paul Henri Spaak, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium.

The same idea was expressed here only a few weeks ago by the present Belgian Minister of External Relations, Mr. Leo Tindemans. He thus joined the appeal of our Secretary-General for increased solidarity and the establishment of a system of international relations, taking fully into account the obligations and responsibilities of each Member of the United Nations.

Today, on the occasion of these commemorative meetings, we want to reaffirm on behalf of the Belgian people our belief in an order based on justice and peace and entrusted to the United Nations. This, after 40 years, remains one of our credos. We do not intend to express ourselves on this subject with lyricism but as a witness to an immense work - with its successes and its failures - in which we have loyally participated.

In order to practise solidarity, peoples had to become aware of their interdependence. Now, for the first time since the beginning of mankind on Earth,

(Mr. Harmel, Belgium)

humanity, as well as the States sharing power on this planet, have grown accustomed here to a permanent and universal dialogue.

In the course of time, nearly all peoples have joined the 51 founding States. For the majority of the 159 present Members, they did so immediately upon their accession to independence and sovereignty.

Thanks to the United Nations, we have tried together to acquire progressively a common consciousness of the world's most vital needs and to establish rules of just behaviour which apply in an equitable manner to all kinds of human beings while trying to eradicate all forms of discrimination amongst them.

It is not by chance that the first Charter adopted here after the San Francisco Conference was related to human rights. It not only defines the individual and political liberties but also the new social liberties: the right to work and to salary, the right to a satisfactory standard of living, the right to security in case of unemployment, the right of children to free basic education. A bold Charter, no doubt, but one which often would have remained in vain if, on the one hand, the developing countries had not faced us with the subject of economic rights and if, on the other, the specialized agencies had not contributed substantially to the solution of acute problems of food in the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), of education in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), of help to children in the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and, more generally, of development aid in all the agencies active in this area.

With regard to the completely new theme of the economic rights of States, it was a slow movement which, from 1948 to 1966, lead to the proclamation, on the same day, of two Covenants, one on economic, social and cultural rights, and the other on civil and political rights. In accordance with this scheme, the Assembly

(Mr. Harnel, Belgium)

continued, together with the Economic and Social Council, its study of the problems of raw materials and of development. In 1974, the Assembly established the principles on which a new economic international order should be based as well as a programme of action. Each of us knows the slowness of its implementation due in large measure due to the impact of the world economic crisis.

We wanted to call to mind, the better to appreciate it, this active social and economic role of the United Nations, but we all know very well that the San Francisco Charter and our Organization have as their primary goal the maintenance of international peace. However, we must not forget that, in the course of these last 40 years, more than 150 international or domestic armed conflicts have continually plunged peoples into mourning. Each of us can think of one or more of those setbacks to peace.

We would, however, be unfair if we entered as a liability on the balance sheet of the United Nations every conflict which has not been settled forthwith. One must also take into consideration the preventive steps taken and the peace efforts made in the course of arbitration as well as the discreet endeavours made in the Security Council or outside it as well as by our Secretaries-General.

Never will we be able to gauge the incomparable value of rapprochement between statesmen, who, because of their meetings here, came to know each other, often to appreciate each other, and established at the United Nations a relationship of trust. Thanks to all this they have come to the aid of other States when those were faced with international problems.

Thus, my country, Belgium, has benefited from such assistance, stemming from closer international ties and, for its part, has tried to provide similar help whenever possible.

(Mr. Harmel, Belgium)

The witness speaking to this Assembly today cannot forget a memory from 1949.

We were here as representatives to the fourth session of the General Assembly, gathered on the spot where these halls were about to be constructed.

Secretary-General Trygve Lie, in the presence of President Truman and the Foreign Ministers of the 59 Member States, laid the corner-stone of this building. It was not the ceremony taking place on a cold morning and on a still barren plot that chilled the members of the audience. We were at a paroxysm of the cold war and almost on the brink of war as such.

(Mr. Harmel, Belgium)

It was only 10 years later that the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Krushchev, stated, "War is no longer unavoidable." Nevertheless, in 1949, in the grave uncertainty caused by a moment of extreme tension, we built together this forum of peoples for peace.

Today, in a very different world, tensions subsist not only in the East-West dialogue but equally between the North and the South. In a world searching for greater harmony, one undoubtedly has to add to those two destabilizing factors the diverging pattern of the present demographic evolution: almost a decline in the industrialized world and an explosion of life in the developing countries.

To avoid those grounds for tension and achieve greater harmony, the United Nations gave the large countries special responsibilities and powers. Among those large countries, two, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have taken upon themselves a larger share of power. We must recall today that the world-wide responsibility of the two super-Powers was strengthened further when over 100 countries signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

In 1968 the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics together asked us to renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons. By signing that Treaty we implicitly entrusted to those two States, or to one of them, our defence against a nuclear attack by a State that had not signed the Treaty or by a signatory State that disregarded its commitment. In return for the nuclear monopoly given to them and to the United Kingdom, however, those three countries committed themselves to sparing no effort to reduce their own nuclear armaments through negotiations undertaken with the desire to reach agreement.

(Mr. Harmel, Belgium)

It was by virtue of this increased authority of the two super-Powers that the Belgian Minister of External Relations, Mr. Tindemans, stated here on 26 September 1985 that my country attached the greatest importance to the forthcoming meeting in Geneva between the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He added:

"Belgium like all other nations, expects this summit meeting to contribute to breaking the barrier of distrust ...", (A/40/PV.11, pp. 76, 77)
the ill-effects of which he had just denounced.

I opened my remarks by quoting the address of the first President of the General Assembly, Paul Henri Spaak, in 1946. I will conclude with another short quotation from that address. In the present circumstances it appears prophetic. He said:

"At San Francisco a system has triumphed which, in this Assembly, confers considerable importance upon the great Powers. That system must now be accepted, and I am sure I am speaking for the great majority of the representatives when I say to the great Powers, ... that we attach the utmost importance to a good understanding among them and that it is from their agreement and collaboration that we expect success in our work, security and a lasting peace."

Understanding, harmony, co-operation: that advice by one of the founders of our Organization and those words of hope are still those which Belgium wishes to address to the United Nations on this fortieth anniversary.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Minister for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Colombia, His Excellency Mr. Augusto Ramirez Ocampo.

Mr. RAMIREZ OCAMPO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): We have come together to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Those have been decisive years. They have seen a change in the political approach to such important issues as those of war, peace and development and, of course, in the approach to countless rights which earlier were not recognized and which are now beginning to be exercised, causing at times immense upheavals, because any crisis that moves from an earlier stage towards improvement involves a great deal of suffering.

It has been our fortune to be the main protagonists in these difficult but promising times in which States have finally agreed on the need for dialogue as the appropriate way to settle their disputes. And although wars continue to be fought and the threat of a holocaust still hangs over us, it seems that in the final analysis it has been accepted that it is better to sacrifice something than to lose everything in a nuclear confrontation.

But this dilemma is not mankind's sole and main concern. Man and his societies are questioning today more than they ever did in the past, the role they should play, and the imbalances which allow development in many regions of the planet while others are still submerged in backwardness and misery.

Polarized though the world may be, there is a consensus on the fact that discussions on nuclear arsenals, missiles and space military power should remain in the hands of the two super-Powers, while mankind awaits the results of the forthcoming summit between the major Powers. We trust that a new ray of hope will emerge to dispel the shadows that now envelop us.

But the problem is not as simple as that. It is necessary to penetrate mankind's armour and travel the world's many paths to appreciate the pain, the thirst for justice, the hunger that causes agony and death and the misery that accumulates like a wound that will not heal in the cities and villages of the so-called developing world.

(Mr. Ramirez Ocampo, Colombia)

It is of the utmost urgency to eliminate privileges and establish structures that can satisfy to the just demands of the emerging countries. We must create the right conditions for new jobs, supply the human family with acceptable shelter, bring freedom to the oppressed and repudiate discrimination and racism in any shape or form.

Once all those pressing problems are on their way to a solution, in a world which at the beginning of history had a population of only 250 million and at the beginning of the third millenium will have about 7 billion we can come to terms with the question of peace in a quiet, practical and positive way and dare to nurture the hope that it may one day be stable and everlasting - something we have never known in the past.

(Mr. Ramirez Ocampo, Colombia)

I wish to say that it is from the right to human dignity that the right to development comes about, a right belonging to all men and all nations. From now on, in order to guarantee this right, it must become the fundamental concern of our Organization, because this is the requirement for an authentic peace, and because we have frustrated the hopes of the majority of human beings with the failure of the three Development Decades, and with the non-implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

The problem of development is not an exclusively economic problem, but also involves social and political elements that cannot be ignored. And for that reason, it requires, as in the case of the treatment of the external debt, a global approach, and a determined desire on the part of our Governments.

It also implies, of course, an improvement in the quality of life of the Colombian people, through the promotion of sound health conditions for the population. Consequently the Government of Colombia has put into effect a successful children's vaccination campaign, covering the whole child population, with the co-operation of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Pan American Health Organization. Millions of children have benefited from this campaign to the point that it has been imitated and, with our co-operation, introduced into various other countries. We cannot wait to be taken by surprise by the landslide of events. It was Hegel who pointed out that man understands the meaning of historical events only after they have occurred; in other words, once they belong to the past. We must understand in time the significance of everything that surrounds us and threatens us with its inescapable presence.

Colombia believes that from now on it is vital that all the energies of our Organization be directed to the effective implementation of the principles that gave it life 47 years ago.

(Mr. Ramirez Ocampo, Colombia)

Colombia believes that wherever there are human beings whose fundamental right to development and progress is denied or even infringed, there can be no peace. And if this peace is imposed, and justice is overlooked, it will only give rise to further violence.

Colombia believes in the need to place all United Nations institutions at the service of all countries and not just at the service of certain nations with selfish viewpoints. Colombia fervently believes that the United Nations is the appropriate instrument to eliminate the insults which weaken universal coexistence and solidarity.

Colombia believes that from the United Nations must come the appropriate machinery to abolish terrorism from wherever it may come, because it is the most criminal form of social disturbance.

Colombia believes that the United Nations must combat all racial discrimination practices such as that which unfortunately still subsists under the repulsive name of apartheid.

Colombia believes that the United Nations must prevent the exploitation of the weak and assure them equal access to the riches of nature.

Colombia proclaims its determination to take part in this great undertaking, which has begun within its borders and, in association with other countries, we will try to extend it through close fraternal ties to the peoples of the region, as can be observed from the difficult task being performed by the Contadora Group.

Colombia reaffirms its historical vocation in the defence and promotion of human rights and proclaims its faith in the United Nations as the best instrument to achieve it.

Our creed is a creed of optimism, but at the same time it is an invocation to reflect on the dangers that hate, indifference, fanaticism or the lack of solidarity can hold for us.

(Mr. Ramirez Ocampo, Colombia)

As long as a single one of the rights of a single human being is violated, the United Nations Declaration will accuse us all, and remind us that we lack humanitarian sense.

For as long as the majority of the peoples of the world live subjugated to the difficulties inherent in hunger, injustice and poverty, that document, which enshrines the highest ideals of mankind, will continue to be a utopia. Our task, one which we cannot renounce, is to make it a reality.

Today as yesterday, we can stand by the President of the Colombian delegation, Eduardo Zuleta Angel, to whom by unanimous election, it fell to inaugurate the first Assembly of our Organization 40 years ago, when he said

"It will be an arduous and difficult task to preserve future generations from the scourge of war. But this task can and must be carried out without delay, without weakness. We cannot frustrate the hopes of those who are awaiting the fulfilment of our duties to mankind."

It is true. Let us act promptly before it is too late. Today we are all responsible to the future, to see that what was predicted by the poet Benjamin Moloise, cruelly sacrificed in South Africa, does not take place:

"And tomorrow,
When the hardship comes,
where shall we flee to?
Where will the future spring from?"

Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): It is a great honour for me to present to this commemorative meeting of the General Assembly a message from the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Valentina E. Shevchenko, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The message reads:

(MR. KRAVETS, Ukrainian SSR)

"Forty years ago, on 24 October 1945, the most authoritative and representative international organization, the United Nations, began its activities.

"The anniversary of the United Nations is inseparable from another historic event which will stay forever engraved in the memory of mankind, the great victory of the peoples over the forces of fascism and militarism, the victory which inspired the United Nations to proclaim as the supreme objective of the new world Organization the goal of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

"In the four decades of its existence the United Nations has become an integral part of the system of relations among States and an important mechanism for solving pressing international problems.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

"The positive impact that the United Nations has had on the course of post-war developments in the world is due to its Charter, which is rightly considered one of the fundamental international legal instruments of modern times, a programme for peaceful coexistence. The founding Members of the United Nations, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic among them, inscribed in the Charter in clear terms the stern mandate of history, forged in sufferings and hardships, to live in peace with one another as good neighbours, to multiply efforts aimed at maintaining international peace and security and to struggle against war before it begins.

"History has shown that when States have followed the principles and purposes of the Charter, making use of the possibilities contained therein, the United Nations has succeeded in making its contribution to strengthening international security and has helped to create a climate conducive to fruitful co-operation among States.

"The United Nations has to its credit a number of important political decisions in the field of curbing the arms race, eliminating focal points of military conflict and of colonial and racist oppression and restructuring international economic relations. The world Organization has also made an important contribution to the development of the process of relaxation of international tensions in the 1970s.

"However, there still remains a great deal to be done by the Organization in order to overcome the present dangerous evolution of the situation in the world, to end the arms race on earth and prevent it in space and to bring about a change for the better in world affairs.

"Concrete ways to attain those goals are spelled out in the numerous decisions that the United Nations has adopted following the initiatives of the

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community supported by progressive and peace-loving forces. Their implementation would make it possible to eliminate the danger of nuclear conflict, to proceed to disarmament and the improvement of international relations and to strengthen confidence among States. For this purpose the efforts of all States are required.

"Today, like forty years ago, the peoples of the world are looking to the Organization with faith in the future and in the belief that the noble purposes proclaimed in its Charter can be attained. The duty of the United Nations and of all Member States is to make every effort so that the dreams of the peoples may become a reality. The effectiveness and prestige of the Organization can and must be enhanced through strict compliance by all States with the Charter. Mobilization of the efforts of the peoples and governments of all countries aimed at solving the key problem of our time, that of preventing a new world holocaust and preserving life on Earth, should become a fitting tribute to the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Not only the solution of many other urgent problems but also the survival of human civilization will depend on whether the world is able to avoid a nuclear catastrophe.

"As far as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is concerned, it will continue to work towards enhancing the role of the United Nations as an effective instrument for strengthening international security, peace and co-operation among the peoples."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Paraguay, Senator Ezequiel Gonzalez Alsina.

Mr. ALSINA (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The Constitutional President of the Republic of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner, has conferred upon me the honour of reading out his personal message to the General Assembly of the United Nations during the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of this Organization. The message from President Stroessner is as follows:

"The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, which we are commemorating today, prompts us inevitably to think about the major divisions that have taken place within our Organization and which are largely the same as those which motivated its establishment.

"The United Nations Charter gave effect to a code of international conduct in the form of purposes and principles to which all Member States were dedicated - purposes and principles defining the mechanism to ensure peace. As the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, has stated, peace implies a continuous threat participation in the betterment of the human condition.

"The United Nations is a mechanism to be used for this joint undertaking. The system created by the Organization established the necessary structure within which the nations of the world work together for progress - a progress that none of them could achieve separately.

"We should like to recall with particular gratitude the important role played by the United Nations in my country, both in the economic and in the social and cultural fields, through its various programmes and specialized agencies.

(Mr. Alsina, Paraguay)

"As we survey the present situation, it is easy to see the accomplishments of the United Nations. The Charter establishes a set of principles which in itself represents a new stage in international law, with significant results in the regulation of the most important areas of human activity.

"The Organization has fostered large scale decolonization and disarmament efforts, and within its jurisdiction it has formulated most modern concepts regarding economic, social and political development.

"It has become a forum for dialogue and encounter unprecedented by its universality. Within its jurisdiction, all States take part in seeking solutions and policies and, in increasing numbers, they demand the beginning of an irreversible process of peace within the international community.

"I wish to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Paraguay, our best wishes to the Organization and our hope that it will effectively carry out its primary responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security and that it will become stronger as an instrument for economic and social co-operation, bearing in mind the social and political structures of all nations and with due respect for human dignity.

"At this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, I wish to reiterate the commitment of the Government and people of the Republic of Paraguay to defence of freedom, justice and democracy, the values that give peace its true meaning. I also wish to reiterate my country's unswerving support for the Organization, true to the profound conviction of the Paraguayan people that it is necessary to contribute to peace with justice if we are to live in harmony with all nations throughout the world, in a spirit of co-operation, development, understanding and friendship."

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.